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DE BOW'S REVIEW;

DEVOTED TO THE

Restoration of the Southern States,

AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE

WEALTH AND RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY.

JOURNAL

OF

LITERATURE, EDUCATION, AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, MANUFACTURES, MINING AND STATISTICS,

THE QUESTION OF THE FREEDMEN.

J. D. B. DE BOW, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

Commerce is [illegible].—CARLYLE.

VOLUME I:—AFTER THE WAR SERIES.

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TO

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DE BOW'S REVIEW

U. S. JOURNAL

AGRICULTURAL COMMERCIAL INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS & RESOURCES.

January, 1866.

J. D. B. DE BOW, Editor and Proprietor.

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AGRICULTURAL.

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PERUVIAN GUANO contains organic, animal matter, 50 per cent., yielding ammonia 12 to 15 per cent.	PACIFIC GUANO contains organic animal matter 35 to 40 per cent., yielding ammonia 3 to 4 per cent.
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From this comparison it will be seen, that while Peruvian Guano contains more ammonia, the Pacific contains nearly twice the quantity of the far more essential elements of soluble and bone Phosphate of Lime. It is now established beyond controversy, that the value of ammonia in guano is limited chiefly to its solvent effects on the earthy phosphates; hence having, as in this guano, so large a per cent. of the earthy phosphates already soluble in water, the larger per cent. of ammonia can be dispensed with.

The additional quantity of earthy and soluble phosphate of lime found in this guano, more than compensates for the difference in *ammonia*—especially when we consider the fact which is now established by the best authority, that an acre of cultivated soil receives, by absorption from the atmosphere, from rain and dews, *more ammonia* than is consumed by any crop. *See Baron Liebig's Nat. Laws of Husbandry.*

The defect in Peruvian Guano unquestionably arises from its deficiency in earthy Phosphate of Lime; and it is a fact capable of demonstration, that unless applied in larger quantities than its cost will justify, its continued use must lead to exhaustion, because it does not compensate the soil for the loss sustained in producing the crop. Pacific Guano, on the contrary, while its effects fully equal Peruvian, more than compensates for this loss by reason of its large per cent. of earthy phosphates; hence increased fertility must follow its use.

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THE great losses incident to the war in papers, manuscripts, books etc., the breaking up of communication and correspondence with leading contributors, the manifold difficulties in establishing new offices and machinery, have all been seriously felt by the Editor, and will, it is hoped, be appreciated by the reader. In a month or two every arrangement will be completed to make the REVIEW in all respects the work contemplated by the Editor and announced in his prospectus.

In the meanwhile several interesting and valuable articles must be delayed until the next issue, in consequence of the necessity of anticipating in this number the date of publication.

Let those who favor the design and objects of the work extend to it an early support.

DEC. 1, 1865.
NO. 40 BROADWAY.

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DE BOW'S REVIEW.

WASHINGTON CITY, 1st October, 1865.

This Work, of which I have been Editor and Proprietor for over ***twenty years,*** which has had a very heavy subscription and advertising list in every part of the Union, is now established on a secure and permanent basis.

My purpose in the future is to give it a ***National Character,*** and to devote all of my energies and resources to the development of the great material interests of the Union—its Commerce, Agriculture, Manufactures, Internal Improvements, and General Industry.

In addition to these important topics, the work will embrace discussion upon such great questions of legislation as affect the relations of the States, the permanency of the Union, and the ***honor and prosperity of the Country.***

In an especial manner will it be devoted to the re-establishment of ***Southern Prosperity,*** and the building up of its fields of industry and enterprise, rendered necessary under the new and altered condition of things.

The restoration of the South ***can*** it is hoped, be effected upon the basis proposed by the PRESIDENT, and no greater field could be opened for the investment of capital now invited thither from every quarter. Its abundant and fertile lands invite emigration, which it will be a prominent object to secure.

Regarding the issues of the past as dead, about which a practical philosophy will not dispute, and those of the present as living and potential, it is the part of the REVIEW to accept in good faith the situation, and deduce from it all that can be promotive of the best interests of the whole Country.

Offices of the REVIEW will be located at ***New York, Boston, Washington City, Cincinnati, Charleston, Nashville,*** and ***New Orleans.***

J. D. B. DE BOW,
Editor and Proprietor.

☞ Communications are requested and solicited upon any of the questions or subjects within the scope of this work, and especially upon the working of the system of Emancipation in the South.

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DE BOW'S REVIEW.

ESTABLISHED JANUARY, 1846.

JANUARY, 1866.

ART. I.—FUTURE OF THE UNITED STATES.

WITH the opening of a new series of the REVIEW it will be proper for the Editor to venture a few remarks indicative of the principles and policy which will govern in the future conduct of the work.

Whatever may have been the theories of the past, the results of the great conflict which have shaken the land to its center, establish beyond controversy the fact that the United States is a fixed and permanent Government, and is capable of resisting every internal effort for its disruption; and that from the experiences of the past there is likely to be no movement in the future, looking to disruption, emanating from any quarter.

A nation which has proved itself capable of passing through such a crisis—involving the movement of armies and navies scarcely inferior to those which followed in the wake of the great Napoleon, and the expenditure of moneys to which the powerful States of Europe have been a stranger, and of which they can scarcely realize the facts, maintaining through it all its currency and credit unimpaired—is not likely to go down in any future contingency.

This much must be admitted: and the powers of Europe may now recognize in the United States a colossal rival, vast in territory, in population, and in ambition; enured to arms and to industry; a nation of soldiers, sailors, and workmen, ready for the sword or the scythe, fearing nothing which the world can offer in competition or in conflict. The monarchies of Europe combined would present but a feeble barrier to the future advance of this now giant power!

It is well—North and South—there is but one feeling in America, and it is that her destinies are in her own keeping;

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and that nothing of interest or of favor is to be desired or looked for from any of the monarchies of the old world. They have been tested in the hour of trial and have been found to be time-serving, bigoted, and in the last degree selfish. Incapable of great statemanship, they have taken their position and must abide the result.

A wise and liberal national policy will speedily restore to the United States all that it has lost by the war; and a magnanimous and forbearing spirit will bring into harmony again its recently jarring elements, and constitute one people out of its teeming millions.

Accepting the results of the war, our people everywhere have but to put their shoulder to the wheel, intellectually and physically, to redeem—such is the vastness of our resources and the flexibility of our institutions—what has been lost, and remove all traces of the recent calamitous times.

The purpose of the REVIEW is to aid in this great movement; and the editor, with twenty years' experience in the conduct of the work, launches it hopefully upon its career.

What is the present status of the United States in territory, in population and in commerce, compared with other powers? It is well to take a glance at the figures.

In Territory.—We have only to repeat what was said by us in the compendium of the census of 1850. The territorial extent of the Republic is nearly ten times as great as that of Great Britain and France combined; three times as great as the whole of France, Britain, Austria, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark together; one and a half times as great as the Russian Empire in Europe; one sixth less only than the area covered by the fifty-nine or sixty Empires, States, and Republics of Europe; of equal extent with the Roman Empire or that of Alexander, neither of which is said to have exceeded 3,000,000 square miles.

TABLE.

Area in square miles,	United States	2,936,166
" "	Russia in Europe	2,120,397
" "	Austria	257,368
" "	France	207,145
" "	Great Britain	121,912
" "	Prussia	107,921
" "	Spain	182,270

The shore line of the Republic, exclusively of bays, sounds, islands, &c., is in extent 12,609 statute miles; but if all of these indentures be followed, the navigator who makes the circuit (33,069 miles) will have performed a voyage equivalent to one around the earth, and a third of the distance besides.

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In Population.—The population of the great powers stood as follows in 1850:

United States . .	23,191,876	Austria . . .	36,514,486
Great Britain and Ireland	27,475,271	Prussia . . .	16,331,187
France . . .	35,783,170	Russia (in Europe) .	60,315,150
Spain	14,216,219		

In 1860, the population of the United States had swelled to 31,445,089, and upon the basis of its past increase, corrected for retarding causes, the Superintendent prepares and publishes this table:

1870 .	42,328,432	1890 .	77,266,989
1880 .	56,480,241	1900 .	100,355,802

In Commerce.—The following, which shows the exports and imports of the United States for the last ten years, including four years of war and interrupted communications, is a remarkable evidence of the self-sustaining power of the country:

	Exports.	Imports.
1854	278,241,064	304,562,381
1855	275,156,846	261,468,520
1856	326,964,908	314,639,942
1857	362,960,682	360,890,141
1858	324,644,421	282,613,150
1859	356,789,462	338,768,130
1860	400,122,296	362,162,541
1861	410,856,818	352,075.535
1862	229,938,975	205.819,838
1863	350,052,125	252,187,587
1864	340,665,580	328,514,559

The commerce of Great Britain for the past few years was as follows:

1862	Exports	£123,992,264
1863	„	146,602,342
1864	„	160,436,302

With a country reunited, and with such population and resources, it needs but another decade to bring the United States upon an equality of commerce with Great Britain; and in a decade longer, where is likely to be the competitor?

Prudence, moderation, and wisdom are all that we need; and may not these cardinal virtues be counted upon, after all the dear-bought experiences of the past?

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ART. II.—THE FUTURE OF THE SOUTH.

NECESSITY OF PROMOTING IMMIGRATION, AND ITS GREAT ADVANTAGES TO THE SOUTH.—ADVANTAGES OFFERED BY THE SOUTHERN STATES.

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR, TO GOV. PERRY, OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

SIR: I shall make no other apology for addressing you this communication than is to be found in the fact that you are understood, from recent publications, to have committed yourself publicly and actively in favor of opening the State of South Carolina, and with it the entire South, to the introduction of emigrants upon a liberal and enlarged scale; and the further fact that you are in a position from which a most important influence over the whole question may be exerted.

It has been evident to thoughtful men at the South, for a number of years, that her career in prosperity and wealth, in comparison with other sections, was greatly retarded by a deficiency of labor; and many among us went so far, even, as to theorize upon the reōpening of communications with the coast of Africa, and with Asia, for the purpose of securing laborers, either as coolies, apprentices, or under some other name. It occurred to scarcely any one that it was practicable, or even desirable, to open the doors to free white immigrants, a prejudice being understood to exist in the minds of such everywhere, against coming into competition with slave labor; and even if such prejudice did not exist, influences adverse to existing institutions, upon which the prosperity of the South was believed mainly to rest, was likely to be exerted by that competition.

It followed, that whilst the Northern and Western States, from the constant stream of hardy and industrious immigrants who were pouring in, exhibited miracles of progress and development, the South, with vast natural resources for mining, manufactures, and agriculture, advanced in but the slow ratio of its natural increase; and immense dominions, capable of contributing untold treasures to the commerce of the world, remained hermetically sealed.

The census of the United States was conclusive upon this point, and I quote from the compendium of 1860, page 170:

	Improved per cent.	Value per acre.
New-England States	26	$20 27
Middle States	35	28 08
Southern States	16	5 34
South-western States	10	6 26
North-western States	13	11 39

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The slavery question having been settled, by the military power of the United States, and the South having accepted, in good faith, the solution (slavery being recognized as an issue of the war, in which she has lost), and so framed her legislation as to recognize the negro, in the future, as a freedman, under no other obligation to labor than those which bind every other freeman, of whatever color, it becomes a matter of very anxious inquiry, outside of the social and political questions involved, what effect may be expected upon the great questions of labor and production, already disturbed by previously existing causes.

Before going further, it is well to remark, what your own judgment and information will bear me out fully in, that the people of the South, universally, are willing to give a fair and honest trial to the experiment of negro emancipation, which has been forced upon them; and that if let alone, to manage affairs in their own way, and with their intimate knowledge of negro character, and that sympathy with him and his fortunes, which is but the natural result of long and close association, every thing possible will be done, in good time, for the social, physical, and political advancement of the race; clashing as little as practicable, at the same time, with the great material interests of the country. Those of us who are familiar with the South are well advised that the restoration of slavery within its limits, even were it desired, would now be an impossibility, for reasons induced by the war, and by the subsequent action of the authorities, both State and Federal.

Having adverted to the great deficiency of labor at the South, prior to the breaking out of hostilities, as indicated in the small percentage of lands actually under cultivation, and their low average value, I am sure that no advocate of negro emancipation, however ardent, will expect me to look for any prospect of immediate relief as likely to result from that act. Whether the negro will work at all, or with greater energy and productiveness, under the stimulus of freedom, are questions to be determined in the future; but whatever the eventual determination, there must, it is evident, be a period of transition, in which, even under the most favorable circumstances, decline, rather than improvement, may be everywhere expected to manifest itself at the South.

While it must be admitted that experiments in negro emancipation have resulted unfavorably in other countries similarly situated, I cannot but derive hope from the consideration, that there were causes at work in most of those countries, which do not exist in our own, which may modify and control the result. I refer to the inferior civilization of the blacks in the cases re-

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ferred to, their small contact with the whites, the great disproportion between the colors, the nature of the climate, requiring little clothing, and producing food spontaneously, etc. Taking these facts into account, I am not despondent of the result, when time and judicious measures have been allowed to mature a system.

But what is to be done in the meanwhile is a point of grave interest, and one which will accupy a prominent place at the meeting of the State Legislatures during the present winter. Is there anything to be accomplished, and what, beyond the adoption of such local measures as relate to the status of the negro, and his character as a producing agent?

There is but one answer, and that may be condensed into a few words:

The South must throw her immense uncultivated domain into the market at a low price; reduce the quantity of land held by individual proprietors, and resort to intelligent and vigorous measures, at the earliest moment, to induce an influx of population and capital from abroad. This is entirely practicable.

That the landed properties of the South have been, in general, too large, and that great benefit would result to the proprietors, by disposing, at low rates of the surplus, can scarcely be considered open to argumentation. Several years since, I caused the returns of the United States Census, of which I was then in charge, to be examined upon the point, and the result for the number of farms, which were selected at random, was as follows:

	Farms.	Over 1,000 Acres.
Kentucky	943	33
Louisiana	1,558	467
South Carolina	9,400	2,718
Michigan	3,181	30
Ohio	1,055	19
Pennsylvania	1,044	17
Rhode Island	2,250	16

The staples of the South are of such inestimable value to the commerce of the world, that they have, in the past, and promise beyond all contingency in the future, to come into triumphant competition with those of every other country upon the face of the earth. Sugar, cotton, rice, tobacco, hemp, and naval stores, are all articles of universal and almost unlimited demand, at prices which, considering the cost of production upon cheap land, will yield results to agricultural labor for which there is no parallel. But beyond these staple growths, the climates and soils of the vast region, which stretches from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, are favorable to every product upon which industry and capital are expended in any country. The vast

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mineral resources which geological surveys have divulged, which no hand of industry has yet attempted to develop; and the infinite number of manufacturing sites, all present the most tempting baits to enterprise, and will open up results for it, which nothing in the history of the times has equaled, dazzling and magnificent as have been its past achievements.

In the single article, cotton, is found the most striking illustration of what has just been said. "King," he may not be, in the sense in which many of us formerly recognized him, but the sway which the potentate exercises over the finances of nations is by no means to be sneered at, and the hold which he has upon the necessities of the world seems to be fixed and irremovable. Four years of non-exportation, while they have given the most intense stimulus and energy to the growth of cotton in other countries, and increased the production in them several hundred per cent., have not left the South without the virtual control of the markets of the world. We may gather this from the fact that the million and a half of bales (an outside calculation), available for exportation during the summer and fall, from her ports, have a gold value greater than that of the four or five millions which were the product of the South in the days of her palmiest prosperity.

Admitting it to be true, as has always been maintained by Southern writers, that climatic conditions, existing in many sections, are unfavorable to European and Northern American constitutions, there can be no doubt of the fact that a large portion, and in most cases; by far the larger portion, of each of the Southern States is well adapted to white labor, and that actual mortuary returns indicate a much higher degree of physical health in these localities than in the New-England and North-western States. Upon this subject, Dr. J. C. Nott, of Mobile; Dr. Fenner, and the late Dr. Barton, of New-Orleans, shed much valuable light, in treatises prepared several years since, which may be consulted with great advantage now, and the statistics of the United States are believed to be equally in point.

The region referred to embraces nearly the whole of the great States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas, three fourths of Georgia and Arkansas, and one half of South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida.

Here there is a territory, vast in extent, and susceptible of development by *white labor*, from whatever quarter introduced, capable of maintaining a population as dense and wealthy as can be found in any other part of the Union; and yet, in 1850, its density to the square mile, as compared with other sections, was:

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	Persons.		Persons.
Slaveholding States.....	11.35	Texas.....	.89
New-England States.....	41.94	Ohio.....	49.55
Middle States.....	57.79	Massachusetts.....	127.50

In what manner, then, shall we proceed to invite capital and population to the South? I answer: *Consult and abide by the experience of those States and communities which have grown populous and rich by the success which attended their efforts to secure immigration.*

And first, I would suggest the appointment of one or two commissioners from each of the States, who shall meet at some central point, say at Atlanta, Georgia, or at Montgomery, Alabama, and, in order that no time may be lost, I would suggest that the commissioners be nominated by the Provisional Governors.

The object of the commission would be to advertise the world that our people are in earnest in the matter and in accord, and it would tend to secure such harmony of action between the States as would be most conducive to success.

The commission should be a permanent body, and should at once open correspondence with every section and district of the several States, inviting information upon the character and value of soils, and the quantity available for settlement, and the lowest cash and credit prices of the same. This information ought to be given to the public in the form of circulars and addresses, translated into German and French, and distributed abroad through our Consular agents.

It is needless, however, to suggest what would be the duties of such a commission. The intelligent and experienced minds thus brought together would soon develop the wisest system, and upon their recommendation, aid and legislation, as might be necessary, would readily be afforded by the State Governments.

In a matter of such delicacy, it is evident that any conflict or rivalry between the States would be productive of lasting injury, especially in presence of the great inducements to emigrants which are held out in other quarters, and the organized and well-established systems which exist for their introduction and settlement.

Everything will depend upon the earlier results; and if mistakes are made, from the circulation of false information, and disappointments ensue, it will be difficult, almost impossible, to correct them. Knowledge of these disappointments, it will be the purpose of interested parties to circulate, so that in a little while it will reach every village and town or hamlet in Europe. Active and independent competition, for emigrants,

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between the States will, it is to be feared, lead to these results. There are two points, New York and New Orleans, which will probably continue to be the most prominent ones, at which immigrants will be landed, and at these it will be indispensable to locate agencies to look after their interests, and to afford such information as will direct them, with as little inconvenience, loss of time and expense, as possible, to their several Southern destinations. This can be effected without much expense. In a single year, taken at random, which gave an aggregate immigration of 398,470 — it appeared that there arrived at

New York	304,876	Baltimore	14,148
New Orleans	32,316	Galveston	2,600
Philadelphia	17,956	Charleston	1,517

There is luckily a signal instance to which the attention of immigrants may be directed, showing the prosperity which can be enjoyed by them in certain parts of the South, and it would be well to ascertain and make public the facts in reference to this case at an early date. I refer to the German colonies in Texas, and would suggest a perusal of Mr. Olmstead's work upon that State, published a few years ago, for much interesting material.

Feeling convinced that the German States will be the chief source from which any large number of immigrants can be expected, I addressed a note recently to Charles L. Fleishman, Esq., a gentleman well known to the country for his agricultural and scientific labors in the service of the Patent Office, who has spent much of his life in Europe, and written several works upon the United States in his native German, which have exercised a wide influence upon the immigration question; and in reply have received a lengthy letter which will appear in the next number of my REVIEW, but from which I briefly extract at present. Mr. Fleishman says:

"You put to me the question, 'What is the best plan for drawing the attention of the German emigrants to the advantages which the South offers to settlers?' In answer, I say that the Southern States should, as soon as possible, publish a detailed and full account of their various resources; of the weather, and its influence on the constitutions of men coming from northern latitudes; of the lands, and their present condition as to fertility and titles; of the various products which can be raised; of the best location for vine culture and fruit in general; and an account of the existing railroads and canals, and also of the commerce, and the various branches of industry, to be carried on there, &c."

Mr. Fleishman says, further, that the Germans do not aim to become merely day laborers, but landowners; that, in general, they prefer to go where other Germans have gone before, and where their own language is spoken; that they

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never cease to be Germans; and that they love the soil they cultivate, love freedom and independence, hate aristocracy, and are not only good farmers, but mechanics and artisans. They all have more or less money and personal property, with which they buy lands or undertake trade. He says:

"The South must establish similar institutions to those that we find in the North for the protection and assistance of emigrants; they must protect them from runners and rapacious boarding-house keepers. The South must establish hospitals and almshouses for the sick and needy; it must establish cheap and regular rates on railroads and canals to emigrants, and do everything to show that it is not only anxious to see the Germans come among them, but they must also satisfy their former governments that the South is in earnest to fulfill the obligations which a call for settlers imposes upon any government or society.

"The States engage in an enterprise entirely new to them. It will require wise measures not to begin wrong. Should they displease the first settlers, they may rest assured it will be long before they succeed again to get them away from the old Western track. I would recommend that every Southern State should appoint capable persons and send them North to study thoroughly the measures which New York, for instance, has adopted in the promotion of the welfare and security of emigrants, and establish similar laws and expediencies.

"The South, with its enormous natural resources, its fertile lands for the production of valuable staples, its forests, minerals, and water-power, may rest assured that her new enterprise will be richly remunerated; she will soon see her property increase in value, and become the wealthiest portion of the Union."

The United States, alive to the importance of securing the largest number of immigrants, have established a Bureau of Immigration attached to the State Department at Washington, and also an Emigrant Office in the city of New York, under charge of a Superintendent. This legislation, in connection with the Homestead Law, which passed Congress on the 20th of May, 1862, and makes a donation of 160 acres to each settler, is having a very marked effect, and should advise the South of the difficulties which encompass her experiment, and of the course of action likely to remove them.

The Commissioner of Immigration at Washington has thrown into pamphlet form all the laws and instructions relating to the general subject, and caused the same to be distributed in Europe, in the English, French, and German languages. From a copy which he was good enough to furnish, I extract some questions which are propounded to the several State Governments.

1. What class of unskilled laborers are most required in your State and neighborhood at the present time, and the average wages paid for the same?

2. What kinds of mechanics or artisans are certain of employment, and the average wages of the same?

3. What means, either by legislative action or private enterprise, have been established to secure the advantages arising from the settlement of immigrants in your midst?

The purpose of obtaining this information is to furnish those about to emi

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grate to the United States real practical information which may lead them to the localities where their labor will be most in demand, and where in many cases, it is absolutely needed.

How much of the progress and development of the United States has been due to immigration may be deduced from the fact that the total number of foreigners who landed on its shores to the year 1860, reached the enormous aggregate of 5,062,414—a number nearly equal to the entire white population of the South, if we exclude the Border States from the calculation. In this number were included:

Merchants	231,852	Engineers	2,016
Farmers	764,837	Teachers	2,528
Laborers	872,317	Manufacturers	3,120
Miners	37,523	Artists	2,490
Weavers	11,557	Servants	49,494

The countries from which these vast numbers were thrown upon our soil to become prosperous and flourishing citizens, and to exercise important influences over its destinies were:

Great Britain	2,750,874	Switzerland	37,733
Germany	1,615,586	Spain	16,248
France	208,063	Italy	11,202
British America	117,142		

The localities which they sought as represented in the report of the census of 1860, prepared by Mr. Kennedy, which is our authority for this and other statistical data, were:

Alabama	12,352	New York	998,640
Arkansas	3,741	Pennsylvania	430,505
North Carolina	3,399	Illinois	324,643
South Carolina	9,986	Ohio	328,254
Virginia	35,058	Wisconsin	276,927
Texas	43,442		

The figures, it will be remembered, refer only to the *original stock*, and do not take into account the descendants of foreigners born in the country. In 1860 the percentage of foreign born residents in some of the leading cities, was as follows:

Baltimore	24·71	Chicago	49.99
Charleston	15.55	Richmond	13.07
Cincinnati	45.71	St. Louis	59.76

If there ever was, then, a period in the history of a people, when it became necessary for them to be aroused as one man into action, and to put their shoulders to the wheel, and with energy and spirit and the determination to make a giant and master struggle, that period has come for the South. With a

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country wasted by long and devastating war, with habits of labor broken up, with the machinery of industry destroyed, and a great social and industrial problem to be solved, under an extraneous pressure, which at times is most unreasoning and unreasonable, the condition of the South has scarcely a parallel in modern times. But dark as is the picture, there is a redeeming feature. All is not lost where the unconquerable will is left. The giant convulsion, which has just shaken the land to its centre, has not been without its beneficial effects. It has stirred up a new and higher spirit. The energies which were brought into play by arms, and the intellectual resources which were called forth and exhibited themselves in the thousand appliances and resorts to which a people, without machinery, without preparation, and without access to the outer world, were driven to support a conflict with the most powerful nation upon earth, each and all are the harbingers and augury of a future for the South from which she need not shrink. Resuming her place in the mighty empire of States, no son of hers will have reason to be ashamed of her place in the picture.

The successive waves of population which have been sweeping westward from the Atlantic, leaving as it were behind them a deposit of vast States and populous cities, the pride and hope of a great nation, have now reached the slopes of the Rocky Mountains, and here the tide, in the opinion of thoughtful men at the North, must turn; and there are substantial reasons for the opinion. Such a turn in the tide can only be in one direction, *and that is to the southward;* and in this respect it may almost be regarded providential, that at the very instant of the contingency the boundless domains of the South remove their dykes and barriers and invite the inundation.

The whole subject, sir, is one of so much interest to us all, that it would afford me great pleasure upon this occasion to elaborate it more at length, but I am admonished that the time and space are not at my control. At an early day I will resume the subject, and illustrate it with a variety of statistical data, which I have collected with some care.

With great regard, your obedient servant,

J. D. B. De Bow.

No. 40 Broadway, New York,
Thursday, Oct. 12, 1865.

Note.—Since the above was written, I have been put in possession of the latest report of the Superintendent of Immigration at New York.

By this it appears that the number of immigrants who reached New York in 1864 was 185,208 in 577 vessels, and from 18 different ports. Of these, 92,409

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intended to reside in New York; 23,518 in Pennsylvania and New Jersey; 21,014 in New England; 34,662 in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota and California; 4,979 in Kansas, Nebraska, Canada, &c.; and 8,118 in the Southern States. In the years 1863-4, despite the war, the number of German immigrants was larger than in the preceding years.

IMMIGRANTS AT NEW YORK.

	Total.	Germans.		Total.	Germans.
1861	67,258	27,248	1863	155,228	38,263
1862	76,700	24,172	1864	185,208	53,929

ARRIVAL OF PASSENGERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

1851	408,828	1858	144,652
1852	397,343	1859	155,302
1853	400,982	1860	179,469
1854	460,474	1862	114,475
1855	230,476	1863	199,811
1856	224,496	1864	221,535
1857	271,558		

ARRIVALS IN THE PORTS OF THE SEVERAL STATES.

	1862.	1863.	1864.
Maine	744	4,587	1,373
New Hampshire	9	2	16
Massachusetts	6,122	9,030	8,955
Rhode Island	34	46	54
New York	99,142	172,950	199,690
Pennsylvania	1,939	3,880	4,467
Maryland	2,389	1,176	2,968
Florida	126	140	199
California	3,970	7,403	3,185
Oregon		482	307

The above figures are taken from the Immigration Reports of the State Department at Washington, kindly furnished us by the Commissioner.

Remarking upon the above letter to Governor Perry, the "New York Evening Post" takes into account an element which was omitted by us when estimating the importance of immigration. The subject will be elaborated by us hereafter. In the meanwhile we quote from the article:

"There is, moreover, a source of repopulation for almost all the Southern States, which it is well worth while for Southern men to bear in mind. Any system which will effectually draw emigrants to them, will keep within their borders the great mass of native population of which the South has been drained for many years, which has sought in the free Northern States schools an equal chance in life. If we take South Carolina as an example, Mr. Tarver, a writer in De Bow's 'Industrial Resources,' tells us that 'thirty per cent. of the [white] population of that State, in the short space of ten years, broke all the social and individual ties which bind man to the place of his birth and sought their fortunes in other lands.'

"What is true of South Carolina applies equally to other Southern States which have for many years poured a large and constant stream of emigration into the free States. If we take the census report of 1850, which Mr. De Bow superintended, we find that the slave States had sent nearly six times as many of their population into free territory as the free States had sent into slave territory. We find that Kentucky had sent on to free soil sixty thousand more persons than all the free States had sent into slave soil. Little Maryland had sent more than half as many persons into free territory as all the free States

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had sent into slave territory. Virginia had sent sixty thousand more persons into free territory than all the free States had sent upon the slave soil. Kentucky and Tennessee were but little behind the other States we have mentioned. This shows the course of emigration. But it is even more clearly shown in some interesting tables contained in the last census report—that for 1860. In a table of 'Internal Migration' we find that there were in the country, and returned by the census-takers, 399,700 persons born in Virginia, but living in other States; 344,765 persons born in Tennessee but living in other States; 278,606 persons born in North Carolina but living in other States; 137,258 persons born in Maryland but living in other States; 32,493 persons born in Delaware but living in other States; 331,904 persons born in Kentucky but living in other States.

"Now it is true that not all these 1,518,726 persons who had migrated from only the border line of slave States were living in the free States, but by far the greater number were. The 'course of internal migration' is exhibited in a table of the Census Report. There we find that emigrants from Virginia have removed 'chiefly' to Ohio, Missouri, Kentucky, and Indiana; from Kentucky they have removed chiefly to Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio: from Maryland they have removed chiefly to Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the District of Columbia; from Delaware they have migrated chiefly to Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, and Indiana; from Tennessee they have removed chiefly to Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, and Illinois."

ART. III.—PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S POLICY OF RECONSTRUCTION.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF AFFAIRS AT THE SOUTH.—DIFFICULTIES, DANGERS, AND REMEDIES.

THE great civil war, in which we have been engaged, having ended, with the surrender of the armies under Lee and Johnston, the momentous question immediately arose, in what manner the Confederate States should be treated? It was acknowledged, on all hands, that slavery was at an end. The fate of war had determined this, and it was so understood by the South as well as the North. But beyond this remained the question, What policy should be pursued towards the defeated section? Two policies were at once suggested: one, the policy of repression; the other, the policy of conciliation. It was urged by some, that the South should be dealt with with the utmost rigor; that there should be a general confiscation of the property of the South; that all, in any degree engaged in or sympathizing with the rebellion, should be disfranchised; that the leaders should be capitally punished, and that the free blacks, and the few Unionists, should be alone intrusted with political power. Fortunately, for our country, this great question was practically to be determined by the President of the United States. And it was the destiny of the country, then, to have, in that position, a statesman peculiarly fitted to deal with this great question. President Johnson—called suddenly, by a startling and tragic event, abhorrent to all our ideas, antago-

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nistic to all our traditions; which revived, for a moment, in our midst, the horrible memories of the Guy Fawks, Borgias, and Orsinis of history—was preëminently suited to grapple with this momentous question. Born and educated at the South, he had an intimate acquaintance with the Southern people, understood their character, knew their leaders personally, comprehended their ideas, and the secret spring of action; was familiar with the character of the negro race, and understood thoroughly the relations between the two races. Besides, President Johnson was emphatically a Union man—his love for the Union amounting to a religion—believing it to be destined, in the providence of God, to perform a great work in the advancement of man all over the world. Further, President Johnson, by his political education and party associations, was indoctrinated in those political ideas which recognized, in a very liberal degree, the rights of the States; and did not, therefore, look with favor upon the Federal Government absorbing all the powers and privileges which, from the foundation of the republic, had been conceded to the States. While President Johnson had not recognized the extreme doctrines of State Rights as contended for by some—the right of nullification, and the right of secession—he had not denied a liberal share of rights and powers to the States. While he was not a disciple of the extreme school of Mr. Calhoun, he was a follower of the Jackson school—a school, which took medium ground between the tenets of Mr. Calhoun and those of Alexander Hamilton.

Another peculiarity in President Johnson's political character, was that he had an unbounded confidence in the people. He believed emphatically in the capability of the people for self-government. Another distinctive feature in the political character of President Johnson, was his sympathy with the masses of the people. Any one who will study his political career closely, will see that the corner-stone of his political philosophy has been an intense sympathy with and desire to advance and benefit the humbler classes. Whilst he has never shown any aversion to the negro race, yet his active efforts have been to raise up that portion of the white race who have lived in poverty and hardship. The secret of his success and elevation in his own State, was that he was a veritable tribune of the people. The people, the masses, the sons of toil, felt instinctively that in Andy Johnson they had a friend and advocate. This was the secret of his immense popularity in Tennessee. It was on the arms of the people, without the aid of the powerful, that he was borne, from his modest home, to the highest offices of the State. Besides, President Johnson

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was preëminently a man of common sense, a practical man, a man not carried away by his imagination, no theorist, no fanatic. The dreadful struggle through which we had passed had not shaken the even tenor of his soul. He was the same man at the end of the war that he was at the beginning. He was not crazed, as the madmen of revolutions usually are, by the smell of blood. He was in full possession of himself, his judgment unswerved, his mind under his own control, and as anxious to restore harmony to his country as he was before the first gun was fired. Fortunately for his country, fortunate even for humanity, it was to such a man, at such a time, the great work of pacification—at the end of a civil war between thirty millions of people, the greatest, the saddest civil war the world had ever seen—was confided. In the affairs of nations, we see at times the evidences of a hand stretched from above to work out some great destiny. In the memorable struggle of the Dutch Republics with the mighty forces of Phillip II., William the Silent seemed to be the man raised up by Providence to save his country. In the madness of the English Revolution, was it an accident that the rough and forbidding exterior of an obscure fanatic concealed the splendid talents of Oliver Cromwell, who saved his country from the horrors of her own delirium, and elevated her to the first rank in Europe? In our own country, was not the hand of Providence in the elevation of Washington? In great epochs of national life, destiny seems to select the man for the occasion. Surely I may be permitted to say, that destiny, an overruling Providence, not blind chance, selected President Johnson for the great mission of being the restorer of his country. Oh! noblest pride and prerogative of greatness, to do good on a grand scale, to accomplish a nation's happiness, to mingle one's name with the felicity of one's country, and to live in the annals of one's country as her benefactor.

President Johnson prepared, as we have seen by his character and antecedents, entered upon the great work before him. We have no knowledge of the consultations which took place in his cabinet, but it is reasonable to suppose that the question of the policy of reconstruction was most carefully and anxiously considered. In due time history will, no doubt, enlighten us as to the opinions of the members of the cabinet on this subject. In the meantime, we are left only to conjecture. Of the action of at least one member of the cabinet, its most distinguished illustration, Mr. Seward, we would venture the opinion, from our conception of his elevated intellect, the philosophical turn of his mind, and his well-known humanity and moderation of sentiment, that he would earnestly lend his great influence to

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the adoption of a mild and lenient course of reconstruction. Those who remember Mr. Seward's wise and humane utterances for conciliation at the beginning of the great struggle, are readily prepared to believe that his voice would not be silent in inaugurating a policy of reconstruction, calculated to soothe the angry passions of the war, and restore peace in reality as well as in name. We believe that in this great work of peace and goodwill to the defeated States, the record of Mr. Seward will present him as one richly meriting the gratitude of his country, and in an especial manner the grateful recollection of the people of the South; and we believe his name is destined to become as kindly cherished at the South as it is at the North.

All honor, then, to President Johnson and his Secretary of State, that they had the wisdom, and the firmness, and the humanity, to adopt a policy so advantageous to their whole country, so humane and generous to the defeated and the unfortunate.

Let us consider the probable results of the policy of restriction. Suppose that there had been universal confiscation at the South, a general execution of prominent men, and a deprivation of the elective franchise of all who had sympathised with the war, and the granting of the right of voting to the enfranchised slaves. The acerbity of feeling at the South, instead of being diminished, would have been largely increased; the material interests of the South would have been thoroughly prostrated; the two races at the South would have been delivered over to the most violent discord; the ignorance of the blacks at the South would have failed to furnish any basis for building up wise political institutions. Chaos, anarchy, and discord would have reigned supreme. The South would have been far worse than Ireland in the worst days of Ireland, when driven to madness by the oppression of the English Government, hate, rapine, and murder, did their hellish work. Nor would the Government of the United States have been able to realize any considerable treasure by such confiscation. The personal property that could not have been concealed, would have been destroyed in desperation by the unfortunate owners. The lands would have been the only resource of value. The lands thrown into market would have produced but nominal sums, as according to the Constitution, only the life estates of the owners could be sold, and purchasers would have proceeded with great reluctance, as assassination would have too frequently been the only fruit reaped from the purchase. The idea, therefore, of realizing any considerable sum from such confiscations, much less paying the national debt, was preposterous in the

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extreme. As an evidence of the poverty of the South, produced by the war, take the case of the State of South Carolina. By the census of 1860, the property of the State was valued at $400,000,000. Of this, it has been estimated that the injury to the banks, private securities, railroads, cities, houses, plantations, stock, etc., amounted to $100,000,000. There were, by the same census, 400,000 slaves, valued at $200,000,000. This leaves only $100,000,000 for the value of all the property left in the State. The principal portion of this consisted of lands, which have fallen in value immensely. It is impossible to say what the future may bring forth, but the lands of the State may be considered, at present, absolutely unsaleable in large quantities. What is true of South Carolina, is true, in a greater or less degree, of all the Southern States. From this statement, it may be seen, how fallacious is the idea of deriving large sums from the confiscations of the South. But while this policy of repression would have produced no money for the Government, it would have necessitated the keeping on foot, in the Southern States, of a large military force, which would have been an immense annual expense. But the mischief would not have stopped here: while the South would have been no benefit to the North, the North would have put in peril the existence of their republican form of government, by keeping a large standing army, as a permanent institution, to overawe the South; while the South would have been utterly ruined, the republican institutions of the North would have been undermined. The vast burthen of the national debt would have fallen on the North exclusively. The unsettled condition of the South, the necessity of keeping on foot a large military force, together with the failure to receive any material aid from the South, would have occasioned distrust of the ability of the country to meet a vast public debt, in process of constant increase; confidence would have abandoned the Government, and national bankruptcy and ruin would have been the result.

President Johnson, called to solve the great question, as to how the South should be treated, at once boldly put in operation his policy of restoration with conciliation, and the happy effects are daily becoming visible. And so rapid and important are the advantages of his policy, that we look on in wonder and admiration, and ask ourselves if it can be possible, that where peace is so thoroughly established, a few months since the fires of civil war were fiercely raging.

In considering the question, of how the South should be treated, the inquiry should be, What are the objects to be aimed at? and that policy should be adopted which is most likely to attain these objects. Let us make this inquiry.

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The first great purpose is to restore the Union, not technically, not as a dead body to be married to a living body, but in spirit and in truth, in heart and soul and mind. To accomplish this, hatred, and malice, and vengeance were not the proper means. The dragoon's sword, and the marshal's process of confiscation, and the negro thrust into precedence, were not the most proper pacificators. But, on the contrary, clemency and magnanimity. A people overcome in a great struggle, at the mercy of their conquerors, were in a condition to appreciate clemency; and if there was a spark of generosity in their character, it would show itself under kind treatment. By clemency, then, the foundations of the Union, at the South, were to be laid in granite. Masses of mankind are always influenced by generosity, especially where that generosity is attended by power. The policy of clemency has, therefore, done more, in a few months, to strengthen the Union cause at the South than centuries of oppression. It must be remembered, in this connection, that the people of the Southern States, by an overwhelming majority in every State, with possibly the exception of a single State, were, previous to the secession movement, attached to the Union. Secession was the result of apprehension of and indignation against a party, not against the Government of the United States. Thousands who yielded to secession, perhaps a majority, in most of the Southern States, hoped that secession would result in a satisfactory adjustment of the questions at issue. This class of the Southern people went into secession reluctantly, and the dreadful ordeal through which they were called to pass, satisfied them, long before the close of the war, that it was a great mistake; and they considered pacification with the North, which was but another name for reunion, as the only possible solution of their troubles. For some time before the close of the struggle, this party was gradually preparing the way for a pacific solution, under the lead of such men as Sharkey, in Mississippi; Parsons, in Alabama; Gov. Brown and Stevens, in Georgia; Baja, in South Carolina; Holden, in North Carolina; and Wickham, in Virginia. This party accepted the downfall of the Confederacy as an inevitable result, and looked with entire satisfaction to the restoration of the Union. This party, scattered over the entire South, accepts the Union, not with aversion, but with alacrity. The original secessionists have very many of them learned a great deal in the progress of the war, and are willing to accept the Union in good faith, as the only harbor of refuge from perpetual war and military despotism. In this way, the great majority of the people of the South are prepared to be loyal to the Union. With a popu-

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lation thus inclined, the policy of conciliation is obliged to be successful.

Another important object is to develop the material resources of the South as early as possible, so that the South might be able to bear its share of the burthen of the national debt, and by its products for exchange, prove itself again a useful customer of the North. Thus, while the South was increasing its ability to pay taxes, the various forms of industry at the North would, in the prosperity of the South, receive the richest development. And never was this aid more important to the North than at the present time, when the great edifice of Northern prosperity is in a large degree resting on the unstable foundation of paper credit. The holders of Government securities, the merchants, the manufacturers, the shippers, the laborers of the North, are all interested in the earliest development of the material prosperity of the South.

Undoubtedly, nothing is so well calculated to accomplish this purpose as the policy of conciliation. The sooner affairs at the South are restored to their natural condition, and the people relieved from the apprehension of confiscation and such kindred measures of repression, and in possession of their ancient political rights, perceive the troubled sea of politics to be at rest, the sooner they will feel ready to go to work and improve their condition.

Undoubtedly, another important object is to so act as to place the freed people of the South in the best condition. This benevolent and proper purpose is, we think, best attained by creating as little antagonism as possible between the two races at the South. If we attempt to force upon the people of the South the question of negro equality at this time, we produce a state of irritation between the two races, most unfortunate for both, but especially for the blacks. We avow openly that we feel the deepest commiseration for the enfranchised slaves of the South; and we earnestly hope every thing practicable will be done to alleviate their condition and advance their interests. But we confess we are not sanguine as to their capability of advancement. The black race is proverbially indolent and improvident, and we cannot shut our eyes to the facts of history. All readers are familiar with the experiment of emancipation in Jamaica. Undoubtedly there it has been a signal failure, if we may believe the almost universally concurring accounts we have received. At the Southern States the question has been with us whether there is any thing peculiar in the circumstances of the Southern States to produce a different and more favorable result. The climate of the Southern States being less tropical than Jamaica may seem to

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necessitate a greater degree of energy to support life; the black race at the South may have made greater advancement in intelligence than the same race in Jamaica; and there may be a superior spirit of enterprise in the white population of the South, to give direction to the industry of the blacks. Unless these conditions we have alluded to modify the experiment of emancipation in the South, we cannot well expect it to be more favorable than it has been in Jamaica. One advantage in Jamaica was, that the planters were paid for their slaves, by which means they were furnished with capital to organize labor under the new form; whereas at the South no compensation has been made to the owners of slaves, and they are almost destitute of any capital except lands, their country having been devastated by a most unprecedentedly destructive war. So far as we can form an opinion from the experience of the South so far, there is nothing to encourage hope that the labor of the freedmen can be made productive. Accounts from all parts of the South represent the freedmen as idle and indisposed to labor persistently. We are, therefore, not in any degree sanguine of this labor being made profitable. We have taken every opportunity in our power to ascertain the opinions of practical planters throughout the South, as to the availability of the freedmen's labor, and we know that almost universally the opinion exists that this labor cannot be relied on. While we are in favor most distinctly of giving the freed people every possible chance of advancement, and think that policy and humanity demand that every thing that is possible should be done for them, yet we cannot overcome our melancholy foreboding as to the capabilities of this class in a state of freedom.

It is a notorious fact, that almost universally throughout the South, the planters design to reduce the number of their working hands for the next year. What is to become of this vast surplus class of the freedmen of the South that in a short time no one will employ, is a question of the most serious import to us, looking at it from a humanitarian standpoint. It is useless to talk of compelling the planters to hire more laborers than they need. Hundreds of thousands will, therefore, on the first of January, 1866, be without homes or employment. It has occurred to us that the best thing to be done under the circumstances is for the Government of the United States to take the matter of their relief in hand vigorously and systematically, and on the following plan. Let agencies be established at every Courthouse in the South to ascertain what freed people cannot obtain employment for the next year, and let the Government take all this class and place them on plantations

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in the extreme South, and put them at work there, furnishing provisions, &c., for the first year. Unless some plan of this kind is adopted the most widespread suffering and destruction of this race will take place. We commend this matter to the friends of the blacks and the Government of the United States.

To return to our subject.

Another great purpose to be attained in the policy of reconstruction was in reference to preserving the public credit and providing for the national debt. To accomplish these great objects the first indispensable requisite was the restoration of peace, order, harmony, tranquility at the South. While antagonism existed between the North and the South, and the fires of civil strife seemed only smouldering, not extinguished, apprehension of new troubles would arise, and confidence would be wanting, without which credit languishes. Besides, the restoration of peace and order and civil government gave guarantees of the resumption of the industrial pursuits of the South, and her ability to contribute her proportion towards the payment of the national debt. While in the act of writing this article, we notice the improvement in Europe of our securities, resulting from the policy we have been advocating.

Satterthwaith's (of London) Circular 27th September, 1865, says:

"The amount of business done in American securities has lately been of a magnitude unprecedented since the outbreak of the rebellion. The conciliatory nature of President Johnson's speech to the delegates from the Southern States, appears to have inspired general confidence in the speedy and cordial reunion of the North and South, and all American securities currently dealt in, in London, have been in great demand."

All these great purposes have been furthered by the policy of conciliation pursued by President Johnson. It is gratifying to see good American common sense once more in the ascendancy with government at Washington. To President Johnson is due all the praise. In reëstablishing the Union he has set up his own statue. Long may he live to enjoy the highest honors of his country, in whose annals he will occupy a place second only to Washington, for as Washington was the father of his country, so President Johnson is the restorer. He has had great difficulties to contend with; he will be fiercely denounced and warred upon with implacable hate, for his great policy of "hazardous benevolence" to the South; but let him remain steadfast, the angry waves of the tempestuous sea of politics will break harmlessly at his feet; a nation grateful for his great services will bear him unharmed on their powerful

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arms, in triumph a second time to the capital, not amid the clashing of fraternal swords, and under the sinister clouds of civil strife, but in the midst of profound peace, the constitution in full efficacy, civil law in the ascendancy, the Union restored and perpetuated; and the representatives of every section will attend his triumphal progress, and the plaudits of the people of every State will make the welkin ring with their voices of approval

The President's policy of reconstruction has worked most admirably so far. The Southern States are amending their constitutions as fast as their conventions assemble, and abolishing slavery, and in every respect possible manifesting a proper and loyal spirit. In a few weeks their representatives will be at Washington to take their seats in the Congress of the United States. The admission of these representatives is the only step wanting to perfect the work of restoration. It is to be hoped, that the Congress of the United States will, with as little delay as possible, put this final seal to the President's policy, and the reunion of the States become an accomplished fact. We cannot conceive any useful purpose to be attained by refusing their admission. Some may propose in this way to coerce the Southern States into the concession of negro suffrage, but we are satisfied this result could not be thus accomplished. We are firmly persuaded the Southern States will not pay this price for the privilege of being represented in Congress. By the pending amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which appears certain to become a law, the power of legislating in behalf of the freed people of the South is granted to Congress. With this power in their hands it would seem unnecessary to raise the question of negro suffrage on the application for admission of the Southern representatives. We sincerely hope, therefore, that the Southern representatives will be promptly admitted and the whole machinery of our complex and wonderful Union put in operation.

ART. IV.—LANGUAGE:

ITS SOURCES, CHANGES AND PHILOSOPHY.

The primitive sources of the several languages of the earth remain as effectually concealed as the still undiscovered fountains of the Nile. We may ascend the current of any tongue, noting the lands through which it flows, and which it has fertilized and vivified in its passage. We may ascertain the direction which it has pursued, and the remote regions from which it has issued. We may learn its

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substantial identity at points where its waters are still shallow and attenuated, and turbid from the junction of confluent streams. But the sacred head of the mysterious stream still remains undetected.

No language is of sudden birth. Each is of secular origin. So far as History enables us to trace back or conjecture the series of human tongues, none is spontaneous or aboriginal. None is without ancestry or descent. None comes full formed into the world. A language is not produced by any mechanical deposition of successive increments of matter, for its own indwelling vitality continually exercises a plastic influence upon everything which it receives and embodies. Yet it does not grow like the fungus from a putrescent soil, nor like a tree from the seed. Its whole life and cause of development are not contained in the earth from which it springs, nor within itself. Its generation is from the earlier time. Its materials are derived from the analogous systems of speech which have preceded it, and which constitute its parentage. It receives nourishment and augmentation from multitudinous anterior and contemporaneous influences. The processes of decomposition, renovation and assimilation are always operating upon it. While it continues to flourish, it is ever enlarging by continual mutation of structure and accretion of substance. It never dies entirely except by the utter extermination, obliteration, or absorption of the race by which it was spoken. Even then, if it has been in any degree a cultivated speech, its works do live after it, either in the literature which it has bequeathed to posterity, or in the impress which it has left upon the tongues by which it has been supplanted and succeeded. But while the people to whom it belongs, exist, the language undergoes incessant transformations, sometimes rapid, sometimes so gradual as to be scarcely perceptible.

Every language is thus the bequest of previous generations of humanity. Each age in succession transmits to its progeny, not merely the vocabulary of expression, the modes of inflection, and the forms of syntax, but the habits of thought and feeling which are crystalized in its idioms, and the associations which cluster around the words of which it is composed. These nourish and mould the dawning and crescent mind, and are infused into the heart of the infant through the tender accents and affectionate solicitude of the mother's tongue. By this traditionary procedure, repeated in the infancy of every individual, the spirit and genius of buried and forgotten nationalities survive, and may often be distinguished in the hereditary vernacular of their successors. Each language, accordingly imparts to a remote and dissimilar posterity the slow accumulations of a long and varied lineage, enriched, and to be enriched, by the contributions of every age through which it descends, Nowhere is there any solution of continuity. The current speech of any period or people incorporates the permanent treasures of the language, derived by a subtle process of perpetual filtration and rectification from all the previous generations in the line of its descent. If authentic history did not soon fail us, and if other devices did not ultimately refuse

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any further aid, we might ascend the stream of time, and the current of change, and follow any living tongue through all the diversified phases of prior transmigration, till we reached the dispersion at Babel, the Garden of Eden, or the primitive type of human speech, whatever that may have been. Language possesses the transmutability of Proteus, with the vitality of the polypus. It may change its form—it may be mutilated or cut into fragments—but it still lives on with the same life, entire or divided, reclothes the same indwelling spirit, and reproduces all that has at any time been dissevered from it, when it is again required. This perpetuity of existence prevents the assignment of any absolute date to the commencement of any language, and compels us to recur in the study of its history and of its constitution, not to any definite and single original, but to the constituent elements which have been harmoniously conjoined in its being, and assimilated with it at different times, in different degrees and by different modes.

The English language, like all others, and from its eminently composite character, more than most others, furnishes an example of these well established positions. It boasts a long descent; it has a various as well as a remote ancestry; it has passed through many periods and forms of change; it has incorporated into itself, and assimilated with itself, large acquisitions from earlier and from contemporaneous tongues; it is connected with a numerous circle of kindred languages; by its shaping energy, it has reduced its manifold and dissimilar elements into felicitous concord; and it still retains in its lineaments the evidence of the sources, the modes, and often of the periods and occasions, in and through which its treasures have been acquired. If, therefore, we desire to understand the peculiar genius of the English tongue, to appreciate its capacities, to comprehend its idiom, to master its structure, to discover the significance and pertinancy of its words, to know the reason, and to feel the propriety of its peculiarities, we must follow its history through the various changes which it has undergone, to detect the circumstances which produced and regulated those changes, ascertain the successive races which have contributed to raise the fabric of our speech, and determine the nature, the amount, and the influence of their respective contributions.

But the same task has to be performed for the appreciation of any other tongue. In some languages, from their simpler and more homogeneous character, the inquiry is more readily achieved. In others, it is abridged or arrested by the total want of materials for a long continued or recondite investigation. In all, however, the same demand is made—and the degree of our knowledge of the constitution and power of any tongue depends upon the fulness and accuracy with which the demand can be satisfied. The study of language in general, or of any language in particular, thus requires a comprehensive insight into the whole circle of connected languages, and a continual retrogression through all the antecedent forms and filiations of the speech, till we arrive at the vail of darkness which precludes

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our ascertaining its primitive original—or discerning its "marvellous source."

Language is, indeed, a miraculous creation; and its first manifestation is full of insoluble marvels. It is the very body and substance of our thought, clothing with sensible forms the conceptions of our own, and all other minds. It has been felicitously termed "the dress of thought;" but this appellation has been more felicitously impugned by Wordsworth, who would designate it "the incarnation of thought."

It has been well observed by an acute writer in the "Edinburgh Review," that—

"To a man who reflects upon the common operations of human life, which are some of the most wonderful phenonema of our existence, nothing is more astonishing than the origin, the structure, the history and the effect of words. Those lifeless signs which carry to the ear or to the eye the infinite varieties of thought, seem to have acquired a vitality of their own. A mechanism so complete that it adapts itself to every conceivable motion of the mind, and conveys the same impression to the minds of others—a mechanism so various that every nation, and almost every province of the globe employs it in a different manner, seems nevertheless to acknowledge no author, and to have grown up like the productions of nature. The powers of the human intellect have indeed given birth to the signs and forms of expression they require to convey and perpetuate their meanings. The subtle inflections of grammar, which frame the organization of words, the combinations of syntax which array them in language, the indescribable nicety of use which discriminates every shade of intention, all pass in the habitual and almost unconscious exercise of the faculty of speech, though they embrace a science of great depth and completeness."

The mother tongue constitutes the intellectual and moral atmosphere into which each man is born, and by which his intellectual and spiritual life is sustained. It is the breath of his immaterial being. Through it he receives, in increasing proportion, as "the inward service of the mind grows great withal," the instruction of his parents, his teachers, his precursors, his contemporaries and his times. By it he gives utterance to his own thoughts, and renders them communicable to others. They obtain currency only by assuming the current types: they need the impress of the popular mintage to obtain circulation, and a recognized value. Each "articulately-speaking" being first imbibes the life-giving air, which he afterwards exhales charged with the freight of his own conceptions or sentiments. He first receives from without what he afterwards expends modified from within. His intellectual respiration is determined by the inspiration of the popular speech. His language is not an arbitrary instrument subject to his caprice, nor a curious production of his own fancy; but it is the ever-present and animating influence in which, and by which, he thinks and imparts his thoughts. This is the relation in which each and every man is placed with respect to his native speech. Accordingly, it affects all persons, periods, places, and tongues. In every conceivable instance, man receives the body of his language from others who have gone before him, and he can only determine or modify it in a very slight degree for himself.

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Language, therefore, is not merely more permanent and more potent than any individual, but it is also, in all essential respects, beyond the consciously exerted dominion of any and of all individuals. Single words or phrases, originating in the fancy, or in the necessitous invention of one man, may be accepted by the deliberate agreement or voluntary acquiescence of the people to whom the language appertains; but under no circumstance can the speech be methodically created, or materially altered by the exertions of one or of many. A change of race, or of the supremacy of a tribe, or the decree of a despot, may modify for a time any existing tongue, or may aid in substituting one tongue for another; but none of these things can create a new language.

The changes, then, which any language undergoes, and which are proceeding continually in every living language are spontaneous. They are not due in any considerable degree to intentional alteration. They are occasioned by changes of race—changes in the condition and wants of races—the amalgamation of races by foreign conquest, or peaceful infiltration—and to the persistent action of the organic process of decay and reproduction in all communities. In many cases even, when particular alterations can be traced to the deliberate efforts of individuals, those efforts are themselves only the manifestation and accomplishment of a prevailing tendency—the result of an undefined popular inclination in the direction of such alteration. The flood of Gallicisms, supposed to have been introduced into the English language by Chaucer, only represents the admixture of Norman and French elements in Britain, and of the imitation of French and Provençal models to the nascent literature of the country. It is probable, too, that most of these Gallicisms were imported, not by Chaucer, but in a still larger degree by his predecessors and his contemporaries.

Thus, from whatever point of view the question is regarded, the study of language in general, or of any particular language, compels us to recede in our investigations from any peculiar phase or era of speech to an antecedent form, and again to recoil to a still earlier type, till we arrive at the primordial forms or phantoms of utterance, or become perplexed and bewildered "in the wandering mazes lost."

This amazing instrument of human intercourse—this bond of society, "*vinculum societatis*," as it is termed by Cicero—is so familiar by daily and vulgar or vernacular usage, as never to engage the attention of the majority of those by whom it is employed. It is so full of wonders, when carefully examined, as to afford endless scope for curious and profound investigation. It is full of surprises; but it is also full of instruction. It is lisped by the lips of infancy; but it enfolds mysteries impenetrable by the profoundest philosopher. The blind palpations and blundering conjectures of the Cratylus of Plato prove how wide may be the aberrations of the most brilliant genius in the attempt to traverse the misty ocean which surrounds these enchanted islands. Despite these clouds, however, and the envel-

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oping darkness, there are revelations latent in the substance and structure of every tongue, which may be discovered and interpreted by patient research, and reward inquiry by the strange and fruitful instruction which they convey. For, after furnishing to every successive generation the means of communicating its thoughts and feelings in public and in private life, and of perpetuating the experience of each passing age, when the external means of perpetuation have been acquired, it preserves, and embalms in its own fabric the record of the changes which it has undergone, the memorials of the condition and fortunes of those whose behests it has served, and the indications of the near and remote originals from which it has descended. *

But, though the separate languages furnish us themselves with the means of tracing much of their past history, they afford little or no aid for the determination of their absolute beginning. Was Hebrew the original tongue of our first parents in Paradise, as used to be a favorite delusion, even among scholars? Was it High Dutch, according to certain German sages of the former day! or Walloon, according to Geropius Becarius and Adrian Schrieck? or was it Chinese, according to John Webbe's hypothesis in 1669? † Was it Sanskrit as was held by the early Oriental scholars? or a recent ancestor of the Sanskrit, according to Hugo and Ludolf, and many contemporary philologists? ‡ Who will give the descent and "harmony of languages?" We must still answer with Von der Hardt, "While the world lasts it will not be given." ‖ The origin of languages is, and must remain, a mystery.

Was it a relic of antediluvian times, transmitted by the family in the Ark, with the other representatives and traditions of the World before the Flood? If this conclusion is accepted, it does not aid us in the solution of the problem. It only rolls back the inquiry beyond the waters of the Deluge, but leaves the inquiry itself wholly unanswered.

Was it the gradual and spontaneous invention of the early inhabitants of the earth?—an instrument devised under the inspiration of necessity, taught by the desire of mutual communication, expanded and improved with the growing wants and enlarged capacities of society? There is much to render such a hypothesis plausible, but there is much also to render it impossible. It has been a favorite tenet of philosophers of the Materialistic school, and was held by the precursors and contemporaries of the French Revolution, and even by many recent theorists. But it supposes much that is inconceivable, and leaves much that is unexplained.

Was it the gift of God to our first parents?—a revelation in it-

* "Language bears in itself the indestructible record of its own history and origin, and is, in most cases, much more important for universal history by itself than all which is written in it afterwards, just as original compositions, like the Iliad, Herodotus and Plato are superior to their commentaries." Bunsen (Christianity and Mankind, vol. iv.) Phil. Hist. vol. ii., pp. 10 11. if. French Study of Words, Lect. I. pp. 33-4.

† Morhofii Polyhistor. Pa. I. lib. iv. cap. iii. §§ 1-4. ‡ Ludolf Ep. ad Leibnitz: Leibn. Opera. tom. iv. Pa. I. p. 102. Ed. Dutens. ‖ Harmoniam linguarum quis dabit? Dum orbis erit, non dabitur. Ep. ad Leibnitz. Leib. Op. vi. ii. p. 225.

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self?—an extrinsic manifestation or an internal development, passively received, or instinctively generated by Adam and his original progeny, in consequence of the possession of supernatural sensibilities and faculties, soon withdrawn from his posterity? To this opinion, the most reflective and reverent minds incline in our day, returning to the easy belief and unquestioning faith of ages less curious and sceptical than our own. But this solution amounts to little more than an indirect confession of ignorance, and is open to the further objection of explaining *ignotium per ignotiis.*

Was it a natural endowment of the progenitors of humanity, according to the declaration of the poet:

"Nobile fandi
Jus natura dedit."*

Was it connate with the race of man, as the aptitude for the slow and gradual acquisition of language is congenital with every infant born into the world?† This solution is scarcely more satisfactory than the others, because it does not remove the mystery of the origin of language, and leaves much, that is necessary to a solution of the inquiry, unsolved.

There are great difficulties attending the adoption of any of these theories—and the difficulties are not diminished by fusing them all together, because some of them are incompatible with others. The discrepancies and the agreements, the mutability and the rigidity, the mortality and the durability of the different tongues of men, present considerations not easily reconcilable with any of these systems, not wholly explained by all, even if all could be simultaneously received, as partial and concurrent explanations.

Here is the great dilemma which occasions inextricable perplexity.

Can language precede clear and definite thought?

Can clear and definite thought exist anterior to language?

This insoluble enigma is admirably stated by Jean Jaques Rousseau:

"L'esprit ne marche qu' a' l'aide du discours . . et la parole me parait avoir été fort nécessaire pour inventer la parole."

And still more precisely and epigrammatically by De Bonald, in his Législation Primitive:

"Il est nécessaire que l'homme pense sa parole avant de parler sa penseé."‡

So Donoso Cortés very forcibly observes: "Language is not a thing separate and distinct from thought; it is the thought itself,

* Statius Sylv. II., iv., 16.

† These questions are concisely put by Hermann Von Der Hardt in a letter to Leibnitz (Leibnit. Op. tom. vi., Pa. ii., p. 225, Ed. Dutens). "An concreata certa loquendi ratio et distincta sermonatis primo illi homini Adamo! Et si concreata, an tanquam appendix sic dictæ imaginis divinæ, et perfectionis in anima excognitione perfecta verum omnium, quæ describi solet, an peculiare illius viri donum? Et rursus, an tanquam effectus imaginis divinæ, an tanquam peculiare donum et Evæ!" etc.

‡ Vide Nettement. Hist. Litt. Franç. sous la Restoration. No. I. vol. i. pp. 54-5.

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considered in its essential and invariable form. As a being, regarded in its individual and concrete existence, can never separate itself from the form which circumstance circumscribed it, so, for the same reason, the thought of man cannot be conceived as existing in an individual and concrete manner, if it is not limited and circumscribed by expression. Man occupied in creating language is an absurdity similar to that of man occupied in creating society; the former is matter seeking its form, the latter an existence seeking its whereabouts. On whatever side we view it, rationalism falls into a vicious circle—the creation of man by man."*

Donoso Cortés is right in limiting this question of the origin of language with that of the origin of society. They are mutually connected, and give rise to similar riddles. We cannot conceive of the existence of society without language; we can hardly conceive of the existence of language without some incipient form of society. But, waiving this point, we have come to regard society in these latter days of more philosophical investigation, as a natural and primitive product; and this necessitates the admission of language also as a contemporaneous and equally natural production.

A somewhat analogous difficulty presents itself in regard to the origination of all the arts and sciences, which minister immediately to the institution and maintenance of society. Are these also revealed, inspired, or infused? But this difficulty does not solve the dilemma. It only directs us to the recognition of superintending or guiding powers above or beyond those which are included within the ascertained capacities of man. We cannot suppose that each of the elementary arts of life—the rearing of cattle, the tending of sheep, the tillage of the ground, the building of shelters, the application of fire, the use of metals, the preparation of food, the treatment of the sick—was the object of a special revelation. The gradual advancement in all of these procedures, the rude state from which they have been developed, and in which they remain among many savage tribes, preclude such an assumption. But, if we cannot accept the doctrine of divine manifestation in these cases, have we any right to infer its operation in the corresponding instances of society and language? It is true that in all these various phenomena of human existence, we recognize change, growth, and expansion as the result of conscious or unconscious human action; and that the question is in regard to the prime origination of language—to its earliest form or impulse, and not to its subsequent imitations. Here, the consideration of the process of development is unavailing; it reflects very little light on the causes or modes of the primitive commencement. The fundamental dilemma thus returns upon us. We must cut the Gordian Knot; we are utterly unable to untie it. We may exclude or ignore the question; but, if we contemplate it all, we must recognise a *nodus vindice dignus* and must accept, provi-

* Esquisses Hist. Phil. § vii. Œuvres. tom. ii., pp. 492-3 of French Study of Words, Lect. I., pp. 22-6.

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sionally at least, the intervention of some agency unknown to historical times. It is a very grave, conscientious, and painstaking historian who says:

"He who breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life, first opened the lips of man. . . . All essences, all modes of primordial production are completely beyond the compass of human understanding, and utterly unattainable by the results of human science." *

The origin of language is thus involved in clouds of mystery, which baffle all attempts to penetrate behind the vail. We cannot ascend to the commencement of the series of languages, but we can investigate the simpler and ruder types of speech, and can approximate very closely to the primitive origination of each of these which possess any historical interest or literary importance.

The investigations of Comparative Philosophy have rendered plausible the theory of the connection of all languages, and of their derivation from a single stock. These inquiries have rendered certain the descent of all the principal tongues of Europe, ancient and modern, and of many of those of Asia, from one parent source.

For the acceptance of these conclusions, we may be asked to admit into Historical and Literary Chronology the long secular periods of Geological science, or the equally extensive æons of Indian, Egyptian, Babylonian, and Persian Mythology. We may perhaps be driven, by the exaction of such speculations, to mitigate our ridicule of the thesis of the Chevalier Bunsen:

"A concurrence of facts and traditions demand for the Noachian period about ten millennia before our era, and for the beginning of our race another ten thousand years, or very little more; and must place the culminating point of its (the Egyptian language's) grammatical structure before that great, although local, catastrophe, which we call the Deluge." †

If "there's luck in odd numbers," there is a fascination in large numbers, especially when applied to conjectural Chronology. But the difficulty at present is not in swallowing the mountain, but in swallowing the contents of the mountain. Like Gargantua, we can gulp down the cabbage, but the pilgrim concealed in the cabbage leaf sticks in our throat. No amplification of the years of the world—no relegation of the transaction to the gloom of an unfathomable antiquity removes or diminishes the difficulty of conceiving the original formation of language. This remains the same whether it be supposed to have happened four thousand years ago, or twenty thousand, or a hundred thousand, or a million. The object is not changed, because the age is removed from it. The vision is not strengthened by deepening the gloom and lengthening the night of

* Sir Francis Palgrave, Hist. of Normandy and of England. Introd. ch. ii., vol. I., pp. 36-37 of Cantie Hist. Uuiversalle. In. ii., ch. xxi., vol. I., pp. 423-5. Donoso Cortés Esquisses. Hist. Phil. § vii., vol. II., pp. 496-9 (of vol. III., p. 455). Marsh Lect. on Eng. Lang., Lect. ii., p. 38.

† Christianity and Mankind, vol. IV. Phil. Hist., vol. II., p. 12.

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time. Neither is the difficulty alleviated by imagining many protoplasts of humanity and of language, as has been done, in place of the one original father of the race, presented in Adam. A miracle is not rendered easier of comprehension, by alleging its frequent repetition, than by its solitary occurrence.

There are, however, valuable indications furnished by the supposition of several protoplasts or originals for the diverse families of language. This hypothesis virtually admits the impossibility of discovering or interpreting the first manifestations of speech, and evades the question by commencing at a later stage, and imagining special centres of distribution, or primary germs of solution. It accepts the doctrine of spontaneous or equivocal generation for the origin of languages, because unable to discuss the process or mode of the first production of language, and unwilling to receive what it cannot present some semblance of explaining. But the very necessity, to which these theorists feel themselves subject, of referring to a definite or small number of original types or germs—all the languages of the earth—is an explicit negation of that doctrine of spontaneous production from which the theory takes its departure. If languages may be spontaneously evolved, why are not all so evolved when the people are disconnected by time, place, circumstances, condition, or grade of civilization? If language can, and has sprung up "without father, without mother, without descent," among rude and barbarous tribes in an early age of the world—how does it happen that it has failed to appear when all the conditions of the time were more favorable? Does not this inconsistency demonstrate that however distinct may apparently be the primitive types to which existing languages, living or dead, are reducible—that they are only broken and mutilated fragments, or distorted and transmuted specimens of a previous speech? And is not this inference justified by anology, when we contemplate the wide dissimilarity of the tongues, which have been proved to be descendants of a single primitive stock?

Of course, the closer we can approximate to the reduction of known languages to a single type, the stronger becomes the evidence of the impossibility of originating language, by deliberation, intuition, or accident. If all languages should be found to descend from one progenitor, this can only result from the inability of language to arise otherwise than by regular and unbroken tradition. If language can be preserved and perpetuated only by inheritance, there must have been an original and primitive type, which could not have so descended, as it was before all others; and this must have arisen in some mode entirely diverse from that which has prevailed in the generation of its near and remote descendants. Even, while we fail to prove the complete identity of all the languages of men, and to demonstrate that at some time the whole earth was of one blood and of one speech, the exhibition of the consanguinity of many tongues, spoken among many nations, under dissimilar circumstances, in diverse localities, and enjoying different degrees of civilization, points

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towards the same conclusion—that, as they have arisen by transmission, modification, and development, so the first speech of the world, being incapable of this habitual origin, must have arisen in some mode entirely foreign to the usual genesis of languages. Every line of investigation thus brings us round to the acceptance of the same doctrine: that the origin of language is mysterious, inexplicable, and ultra-natural, if not acknowledged to be supernatural.

ART. V.—CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE SOUTH TO THE NATIONAL WEALTH IN THE PAST.

Now that the Southern States have again taken their place as integral parts of the Federal Union, it is important to ascertain what were their past contributions to the national wealth. This we have put upon record frequently and fully, but the figures will be interesting and valuable again. What the future may have in store is not given to the wisest of us to see; but so glittering is the prize which is held out to enterprise by the fields and forests of the South, that even in the darkness which envelopes her at present, we would fain perceive the traces of light. Everything will now depend upon the wisdom of the state and national legislation in determining whether prosperity and wealth, or decay and ruin, shall be the fate of this once prosperous region.

For the following figures we are indebted to Mr. Kettell's valuable work, entitled "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits":

UNITED STATES EXPORTS.

Year.	Cotton.	Tobacco.	Flour and Provisions.	Rice.	Manufactures.	Total.
1790....	42,285	4,349,567	5,991,171	1,753,796	.....	19,666,101
1803....	7,920,000	6,209,000	15,050,000	2,455,000	2,000,000	42,205,961
1807.....	14,232,000	5,476,000	15,706,000	2,307,000	2,309,000	48,699,592
1816.....	24,106,000	12,809,000	20,587,376	2,378,880	2,331,000	64,781,896
1821.....	20,157,484	5,648,962	12,341,360	1,494,387	2,752,631	43,671,894
1831.....	31,724,682	4,892,388	12,424,701	2,016,267	5,086,890	59,218,583
1836.....	71,284,925	10,058,640	9,588,359	2,548,750	6,107,528	106,916,680
1842.....	47,593,464	9,540,755	16,902,876	1,907,387	7,102,101	91,799,242
1847.....	53,415,848	7,242,086	68,701,921	3,605,896	10,351,364	150,574,844
1851.....112,315,317		9,219,251	21,948,651	2,170,997	20,136,967	178,620,138
1859.....161,434,923		21,074,038	37,987,395	2,207,148	32,471,927	278,392,080

Taking the aggregate of the exports for the years 1857 and 1859, we have the following table:

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UNITED STATES EXPORTS FOR 1857 AND 1859.

Of Southern Origin:	1857.	1859.
Cotton	$131,575,859	$161,434,923
Tobacco	21,707,799	21,074,038
Rice	2,290,400	2,207,148
Naval Stores	2,494,530	3,695,474
Sugar	190,012	196,735
Molasses	108,003	75,699
Hemp	33,687	9,227
Total	$157,402,290	$188,693,496
Other from South	24,398,967	8,108,632
Cotton Manufactures	3,669,106	4,989,733
Total from South	$185,470,363	$198,389,351
From the North	93,416,350	78,217,202
Total merchandise	$278,886,613	$278,392,080
Specie	60,078,352	57,502,305

To the Southern credit, however, must be given:

60 per cent. of the cotton manufactures, being for raw materials...	$3,669,106
Breadstuffs (the North having received from the South a value as large in these as the whole foreign export)	40,047,000
	$43,716,106
Add	198,389,351
Southern contribution	$242,105,457
Northern "	34,501,096

ART. VI.—THE NATIONAL DEBT AND HOW IT CAN BE PAID.

As this is a subject of vast interest to the American people, whose discussion must employ the attention of Congress, the State Legislatures and the press for a long time to come, we introduce it to our pages by inserting the following statistics, which emanate from the Treasury Department, and add to them the exposition made some months since by Dr. Wm. Elder of that Department. Though the exposition has been widely distributed, it has not yet reached many parts of the country where our circulation will take it, and it is entitled to be read and preserved everywhere.

Having thus, as it were, introduced the subject, its discussion will be continued through ensuing numbers of the REVIEW by the Editor and his contributors.

The following is a late statement of the National Debt in detail·

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THE TREASURY.—PUBLIC DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES.

DEBT BEARING INTEREST IN LAWFUL MONEY.

Authorizing Acts.	Character of Issue.	Rate of Interest.	Amount Outstanding.		When Redeemable or Payable.	Interest.	When Payable.
July 1, 1862, & July 2, 1864.	Bonds, Cent. Pacific R.R. Co.	6 per cent...	.....	$1,258,000 00	Payable after Jan. 16, 1895.	$75,480 00	Jan. 16 & July 16.
July 11, 1862.....	Temporary Loan.....	4 per cent...	.....	618,127 98	10 days' notice after 30 days	24,725 11	
July 11, 1862.....	Temporary Loan.....	5 per cent...	.....	86,249,660 63	10 days' notice after 30 days	1,647,711 50	
July 11, 1862.....	Temporary Loan.....	6 per cent...	.....	79,017,960 81	10 days' notice after 30 days	4,741,077 64	
March 1, 1862.....	Certificates of Indebtedness.	6 per cent...	.....	62,899,000 00	1 year from date.... ...	3,773,940 00	1 year from date.
March 3, 1863.....	One and Two Years' Notes..	5 per cent...	$211,000,000 00	.....	.....	.....	1 year from date.
Less withdrawn and destroyed or ready to be destroyed,	.....	.....	178,045,770 00				
				32,954,230 00	.....	1,674,711 50	
March 3, 1863.....	3 Years' Comp'nd Int. Notes.	6 per cent...	15,000,000 00				
June 30, 1864.....	3 Years' Comp'nd Int. Notes.	6 per cent...	202,012,141 00				
				217,012,141 00	3 years from date.....	.....	At maturity.
June 30, 1864.....	3 Years' Treasury Notes....	7 3-10 per ct.	234,400,000 00				
March 3, 1865.....	3 Years' Treasury Notes....	7 3-10 per ct.	65,600,000 00				
				300,000,000 00	3 years from date.....	21,900,000 00	Aug. 15 & Feb. 15.
March 3, 1865.....	3 Years' Treasury Notes....	7 3-10 per ct.	.....	300,000,000 00	3 years from date.....	21,900,000 00	June 15 & Dec. 15.
March 3, 1865.....	3 Years' Treasury Notes...	7 3-10 per ct.	.....	230,000,000 00	3 years from date.....	16,790,000 00	July 15 & Jan. 15.
Aggregate of Debt bearing Lawful Money Interest.....				$1,260,009,120 44	Aggregate lawful Money Interest	$72,527,645 75	

DEBT BEARING INTEREST IN COIN.

Authorizing Acts.	Character of Issue.	Rate of Interest.	Amount Outstanding.	When Redeemable or Payable.	Interest.	When Payable.
Jan. 28, 1847.....	Bonds.....	6 per cent.	$9,415,250 00	Payable after Dec. 31, 1867.	$564,915 00	January and July.
March 31, 1848.....	Bonds.....	6 per cent.	8,908,841 50	Payable after 20 years from July 1, 1848.	534,500 50	January and July.
June 14, 1858.....	Bonds.....	5 per cent.	20,000,000 00	Payable after 15 years from Jan. 1, 1859.	1,000,000 00	January and July.
June 22, 1860.....	Bonds.....	5 per cent.	7,022,000 00	Payable after 10 years from Jan. 1, 1861.	351,100 00	January and July.
Feb. 8, 1861.....	Bonds.....	6 per cent.	18,415,000 00	Payable after Dec. 31, 1880.....	1,104,900 00	January and July.
July 17 and Aug. 5, 1861.	Bonds.....	6 per cent.	50,000,000 00	Payable at pleasure of Government after 20 years from June 30, 1861.....	3,000,000 00	January and July.
July 17 and Aug. 5, 1861.	Bonds exchanged for 7 3-10.	6 per cent.	139,331,000 00	Payable at pleasure of Government after 20 years from June 30, 1861.....	8,359,860 00	January and July.
Feb. 25, 1862.....	Bonds, 5-20s.....	6 per cent.	514,780,500 00	Redeemable after 5 and payable 20 years from May 1, 1862.....	30,886,830 00	May and November.
June 30, 1864.....	Bonds, 5-20s.....	6 per cent.	100,000,000 00	Redeemable after 5 and payable 20 years from Nov. 1, 1864.....	6,000,000 00	May and November.
March 3, 1864.....	Bonds, 10-40s.....	5 per cent.	172,770,100 00	Redeemable after 10 and payable 40 years from March 1, 1864.....	8,638,505 00	March and Septemb'r.
March 2, 1861.....	Bonds, Oregon War.....	6 per cent.	1,016,000 00	Redeemable 20 years from July 1, 1861..	60,960 00	January and July.
March 3, 1863.....	Bonds.....	6 per cent.	75,000,000 00	Payable after June 30, 1881....	4,500,000 00	January and July.
Aggregate of Debt bearing Coin Interest.....			$1,116,638,191 50	....	$65,001,570 50	

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DEBT ON WHICH INTEREST HAS CEASED.

Authorizing Acts.	Character of Issue.	Amount Outstanding.
September 9, 1850	Bonds, Texas Indemnity	$760,000 00
July 17, 1861	Notes, Three Years	332,250 00
April 15, 1842	Bonds	186,308 45
Acts prior to 1857	Treasury Notes	104,511 64
December 23, 1857	Treasury Notes	8,800 00
December 17, 1860	Treasury Notes	600 00
March 2, 1861	Treasury Notes	5,650 00
July 11, 1862	Temporary Loan Coin.	1,200 00
Aggregate of debt on which interest has ceased		$1,389,320 09

DEBT BEARING NO INTEREST.

Authorizing Acts.	Character of Issue	Amount Outstanding.	
July 17, August 5, 1861, and February 12, 1862.	U. S. Notes	$60,000,000 00	
Less Amount withdrawn		59,607,930 00	
Amount outstanding		392,070 00	
February 25, July 11, 1862, and January 17, 1863.	U. S. Notes	399,607,930 00	
Issued in redemption of Temporary Loan	U. S. Notes	49,800,202 00	$400,000,000 00
Less amount withdrawn		21,189,633 00	
			28,160,569 00
July 17, 1862	Fractn'l Currency	9,084,151 64	
March 3, 1863	Fractn'l Currency	17,458,603 06	
			26,487,754 70
			454,648,323 70
Suspended requisitions		1,220,000 00	
			1,220,000 00
			455,868,323 70
Amount in Treasury	Coin	32,740,788 73	
	Currency	56,236,441 13	
			88,977,229 86
Aggregate of debt not bearing interest			$366,891,093 84

AMOUNT OF DEBT AND RATE OF GROWTH.—We have contracted a debt of enormous amount as expressed in arithmetical figures. We cannot state the precise aggregate, for it is not definitely ascertained, but is known to be something more than half as large as the British debt, and may, when all footed up, reach to three-quarters of that brag monstrosity of national burdens. On the 31st of March, 1865, our debt was officially reported by the Secretary of the Treasury at the sum $2,367,000,000. The end is not yet, indeed, but it is fairly in view, and we have the data for an approximate estimate.

The public debt on the 25th of April, 1862, was officially stated at $523,299,945; and on the 10th of April, 1863, at $939,487,359—an increase in 350 days of $1,189,135 per diem. On the 26th of April, 1864, it was $1,656,815,105,—an increase in 381 days of $1,882,723 per diem. On the 31st of March, 1865, it stood at $2,366,955,077, increasing in 339 days at the average rate of $2,094,808 per diem.

ESTIMATED AGGREGATE AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR.—If we take the highest, as well as the latest, of these average rates, as the probable daily accumulation for the remaining term of actual war ex-

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penditure, and fix the limit of such maintained expenditure on the 1st of July next, ninety-one days after the last report, we have the additional sum of $190,627,528, which will bring the debt up to a total of $2,557,582,605 at the date assumed. And let it be noticed that the statements from which these figures are taken embrace every item of debt known to the Treasury Department—all bonds, notes, temporary loans, certificates of indebtedness, fractional currency outstanding, and all requisitions of the War, Navy, State, and Interior Departments, lying unpaid upon the Secretary's table. In a word—all the liabilities of the Government of every kind, except claims not presented, arising upon running contracts and services, unsettled or not matured—claims to become debts when ascertained and ready for payment. Those who have the least acquaintance with these unknown prospective claims, will put them at the highest figure that fancy can represent as possible; those who have the best means of forming a judgment hesitate most to name a sum; but we think that the wildest will be satisfied with the addition of the conjectural $442,417,395 which are required to bring the total probable debt to the round sum of $3,000,000,000, when all is settled, known, and provided for.

Here, then, we have firm foothold; and, we think, a very liberal margin allowed for contingencies, damages, pensions, and benevolences; and we can from this basis of reckoning help ourselves, with a comfortable assurance of safety, to a clear insight into the ways and means of meeting the round total of our engagements, in such way as shall at once comport with the welfare of the people who owe this debt, and the just rights of the parties who hold it.

American and British Experience of National Debts.—Nothing in our own past experience helps much to an adequate comprehension of our present situation, except by the measurement of proportions rendered difficult by a vast difference of conditions. In 1816, we had a debt of $127,000,000, which was an average charge of $14.67 per head upon the entire population of the Union, and 7 per cent. upon the estimated value of all the property of the people; but our assumed debt of $3,000,000,000 would be 15 per cent. of the present wealth of the loyal States, and $98.62 per head of their population. The debt of the Revolution, and the war of 1812, was wholly discharged in nineteen years, from the ordinary sources of revenue; and though within a fraction of half as great a burden upon the capital wealth of the people, was never felt by anybody; and at the end of the term of payment, the first trouble and alarm was from a surplus of revenue of $40,000,000, or one-third of the whole sum which had so long encumbered the Treasury.

Difference of Conditions.—In the first ten years of that debt-paying period, the wealth of the country grew at the slow rate of 25 per cent.; and in the next decade, which closed the term, at no more than 41 per cent.; while the wealth of the loyal States increased between the years 1850 and 1860, just 126 per cent.—in amount, no

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less a sum than $6,000,000,000, or quite double the debt we are now concerned to provide for. The increase of wealth of the entire Union between 1820 and 1830, did not reach above $800,000,000, so that here there is no parallelism of conditions, and no measure of resources and burdens to be had except by contrast.

In 1816, at the close of the twenty-two years' war with the French Republic and Empire, the British debt was $4,205,000,000. The entire wealth of the United Kingdom was then, according to the received estimates, $300,000,000 less than that of the loyal States in 1860; the charge per head upon her total population was $218.20, and the encumbrance upon the total wealth of the nation 40 4-10 per cent. In the fifty years since the Battle of Waterloo, her wealth has grown at a slow but steadily increasing rate from 20 per cent. in the first, to 41 per cent. in the last ten years, that is, increasing in the first decade about $2,100,000,000, and in the last quite $9,000,000,000.

Here we encounter a similar unlikeness of conditions, and a similar change in the rate of progress, as that which we find in the past and present periods of our own fiscal experience. At the rate of increase in the United States between 1820 and 1830, it would have required twenty years to double our wealth, and it now requires twenty years to double the wealth of Great Britain at the rate of her increase in the last ten years; but the loyal States doubled their wealth in eight years and a half of the last decade, and the rebel States even exceeded this ratio, increasing in the same time at the rate of 9 per cent. and a fraction per annum, and doubling in a little less than eight years.

Still the state of the British debt teaches us this—that whereas it was a burden of 40 4-10 per cent. upon the wealth of the kingdom in 1816, it has fallen, by the increase of the wealth of the nation, to be but 12 per cent. now, although the total debt of that date has been reduced but $250,000,000, or less than 5 per cent.

Difference between Principal and Interest in Relation to Resources.—The *burden* of a public debt is not at all understood merely by the figures which express its amount, nor by the *per capita* average to population, nor yet by its proportion to the capital wealth upon which it is charged. The payment of the principal is, by the terms of the contract, postponed for a longer or shorter period, and to a Government in good credit, the reimbursement may be further protracted at will, and, while thus not demandable by the public creditor, may be treated as a burden in expectancy only, or, as though during the interval it did not exist. The annual interest accruing is the form which its actual pressure takes, and until the time of reimbursement, it has no other. For all practical purposes, therefore, the aspect which the problem presents is not the proportion of debt to property, but the proportion of the current interest to the current annual product of wealth.

The great bulk of the British debt is in the form of perpetual annuities, having only a *capitalized* principal, which the Government

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is under no contract to pay at all. The holders of these stocks have no right to demand the principal at any time, and the Treasury may consult its own policy and convenience as to the extinguishment. In effect, our American loans, for fixed terms of years, if the Government chooses at maturity to substitute new stocks for them, are to all purposes rendered into annuities while they run; and the inquiry now in hand is only confused by considering the burden of the principal while that principal is not due or payable.

Interest on Our Debt.—On the 31st of March, 1865, the total amount of the interest-bearing debt was $1,851,416,370, the annual interest amounting to $102,836,531 — an average of 5.55 per cent. per annum. Of the bonds and notes which make the aggregate of the interest-bearing debt, 276 1-2 millions are at 5 per cent.; 1,117 millions at 6 per cent.; 156 1-2 millions, at 6.46 per cent. (the compound interest notes), and 301 millions at 7.30 per cent. The compound interest notes will all be due in June, 1867, and the 7.30 are payable or convertible into 6 per cents. in August, 1867 and 1868. It must be recollected, also, that the 510 millions of 5-20 bonds, issued under the act of February, 1862, will be payable, at the option of the Government, on the 1st of May, 1867; and the 5-20s, into which the present running loan of 7-30 notes are convertible, will, in like manner, be payable in August, 1872 and 1873. It is entirely probable that all these stocks will, at the period designated for their optional payment by the Government, be changed, if not discharged, into 5 per cent. loans. We are therefore, entirely safe in putting the average rate of interest upon our permanent debt at 5 1-2 per cent. per annum, payable half-yearly. The average interest upon the total debt, including 515 1-2 millions in greenbacks and fractional currency, is now but 4.35 per cent. per annum. Here, again, allowance is made for the possible funding of this large sum, now bearing no interest, thus overcharging the account of the Government by the amount added for interest on the Government currency, which will most probably be kept in circulation until such time as the revenue shall exceed expenditures.

The actually accruing interest upon the total debt for the current year is, as before stated, a fraction under 103 millions per annum; but to cover the possible additions of the loan now on the market we put it at 126 millions. For the year 1866, we assume the principal at 2,700 millions, and the interest at 148 millions; thereafter the debt is taken at 3,000 millions, interest 165 millions. We are now ready for the question of the

Burden of the Interest upon Our Resources. — The census of 1860 gives us the data for stating the wealth of the loyal States (slaves excluded) at 10,716 millions, and the products of the year at 2,870 millions, or 26.8 per cent of the capital. We know, also, that the wealth of the loyal States increased in ten

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years, 1850-60, at the rate of 126 per cent., or 8 1-2 per cent. per annum.

Assuming these amounts and rates as a basis, we have, for June, 1865, a wealth of 16,112 millions, and an annual product of 4,318 millions, on which sum the 126 millions of interest would be 2.91 per cent. The like calculation for the period to which the longest of our outstanding 6 per cent. bonds run before they can be converted to lower rates of interest would stand thus (all sums stated in millions of dollars except the percentages) :

Year.	Interest-bearing Debt.	Annual Interest.	Wealth.	Annual Product.	Annual Interest to Annual Product, Per Cent.
1865	2,290	126	16,112	4,318	2.91
1866	2,700	148	17,428	4,685	3.17
1867	3,000	165	18,909	5,067	3.25
1870	3,000	165	24,218	6,490	2.54
1880	3,000	165	48,236	12,059	1.36
1881	3,000	165	51,693	12,923	1.27

The increase of the wealth of the loyal States, it will be perceived, is reduced, after 1870, from 8 1-2 per cent. to 7 1-6 per cent per annum, and the annual product from 26.8 per cent. to 25 per cent. per annum upon the capital.

These rates of production and accumulation will, perhaps, astound European statisticians, and may challenge the wonder of those among us who borrow all their economic doctrines and ideas from transatlantic authorities ; but we can say with absolute assurance that they are proved by the most conclusive evidence, in the last ten years of our national progress, and if so, we are fully warranted in taking them as a basis for our estimates of the immediate future. In 1833, Pablo Pebrer estimated the wealth of Great Britain and Ireland at 17,200 millions of dollars; and there is not a respectable authority in the realm that will question the statement that it has quite doubled since that date. But our own figures depend in no degree or respect upon the estimates of experts. A decennial appraisement of the property and products of the nation, with no other suspicions of error than omissions and undervaluations, in the years of 1850 and 1860 respectively, give us the facts of our situation and rate of progress, and we can rely upon them confidently as a minimum exhibit of our economic condition. The census of 1840 was much less complete; but it shows that our advance in wealth in the last decade very exactly doubled upon that of the immediately preceding one. The best, and the best disciplined, ability of the Census Bureau gives us these results.

Prospective Resources. — The burden of interest upon the public debt is here calculated down to the rate of the increase in wealth in the last decade immediately before the rebellion commenced. Is this the measure of enhancement

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for the next sixteen years? Let us see: In that last decade, nine of our Northwestern States and Territories grew upon the valuation of 1850 full 411 1-2 per cent. — from 452 1-2 to 1,862 millions. Four new territories, which had not been reported in 1850, were valued in 1860 at 98 millions; and the still newer ones, Dakota, Nevada, Colorada, Arizona, and Idaho, are not valued at all. These last are among the richest in the precious metals, and are rapidly rising into equality of product with California itself, but have no report in our estimates. The Government still holds, in the great West and Northwest, 950 millions of acres of land undisposed of, which are now, at the conclusion of the war, to come rapidly into market, and what is much more to the purpose, though worth a thousand millions to the Treasury in purchase-money, will, after the example of those settled and improved since 1850, rise in taxable value at an average rate of 455 per cent., and in twenty years increase about thirty times the cash value of the property of their occupants; and if every dollar received from the sale of public domain shall be bestowed upon these new States by the Federal Government in donations to their internal improvement and educational enterprises, the taxable wealth and the resulting revenue in these new States will be thereby only increased in manifold proportion to the investment.

The Mineral Regions, which invite our disbanded armies and the still larger hosts of European immigrants to open up their treasures, extend through 17 degrees of latitude, and a longitude of nearly equal measure, making an area of more than a million of square miles. They are literally stocked with gold, silver, precious stones, marble, gypsum, salt, tin, quicksilver, asphaltum, coal, iron, copper and lead; asking only an amount of labor relatively equal to that expended on California, to yield four hundred millions per annum in gold and silver alone; and in the other minerals, which will be mined as soon as transportation is provided, at least half that sum. And these things are not merely in the possible of the far future; they are near enough to answer the exigencies of our condition. A population now of thirty millions, which, during the last half century, has doubled its numbers every 23 1-2 years, with all the industrial enginery and apparatus of the age at command, animated by the spirit of adventure, and spurred by the faith and hope which work wonders, will be found sufficient for the achievement of greater things than we shall need or dare predict.

But great as the promise is in these exhaustless sources of national wealth, our reliance is not alone, nor even chiefly, in the wilderness of our new world. The States called the older of the sisterhood did, in the last census decade, increase their wealth vastly more in amount and but little less in percentage than the comparatively new ones. Ohio, first settled 77 years ago, appreciated 136 per cent., but New Jersey and Connecticut, both two centuries under culture,

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enhanced their wealth in as great proportion in the same time; and Pennsylvania made an increase of 96 per cent. upon her large capital of $722,000,000.

PETROLEUM. — From the present developments made and making, it would seem that this new-found tributary of our national wealth is practically inexhaustible. The States of Ohio and Western Virginia are yielding it as freely as Pennsylvania, which has aready reached an annual product of 70,000,000 of gallons. The promise of Kentucky is very large, and Southern California gives assuring indications of equal abundance, and even finer quality, at less cost of labor and capital. This oil, already in universal demand, is rapidly being utilized more and more by the improvements made in its manufacture, which are bringing even the residuum of the earlier processes into service, and fitting all forms of the product for employment in new uses. As for the breadth of country which holds the supply, it is safe to say that it extends within our own territory from the Alleghany Mountains on the east to the Pacific Ocean on the west; and that throughout an area of 2,000,000 of square miles of our domain, it may be found anywhere, and made available in proportion to the enterprise employed in its development. In measure of use, quantity, and value, it may be classed with our iron mines and mountains, our coal-measures, our salt, lime, marble, and all the known varieties of useful minerals; each and all laid up in reserve without any other limit of enriching products than the demand we shall make upon them.

Such, briefly are our mineral resources, the chief materials of manufacture. The supplies of which the surface of our territory is capable are, in like manner, unlimited in quantity and variety. Put but 60,000,000 of population upon the soil, and divide their industries in due and co-operative proportions, and it is entirely within limits to say that we can furnish to foreign commerce from our surplus the manufactures and provisions required by the wants of four times our own numbers. And are we not sure of these conditions of such enlarged production in the 20 years before our present debt, under the terms of the contract, becomes payable? In each of the last three scores of years we have doubled our population, and the new epoch just opening in our history promises, on the safest grounds of estimation, to exceed this proportion within the like period.

REVENUE. — The sufficiency of the wealth, existing and expectant, to support, without detriment to the progressive prosperity of the country, the required revenue, is thus unquestionable. Let us now glance at the ways and means of raising it.

Under our present system of internal taxes, the actual yield is at the rate of $260,000,000 for the current calendar year. The cessation of hostilities, which is now to be looked for at an early day,*

* This paper was written in the early part of the year.

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will diminish the receipts from the manufacturers of army supplies while they are changing into new forms of production, but any such temporary reduction in the crisis will still leave a sum which, with the receipts from customs and lands, will certainly afford for the present year an aggregate revenue of $325,000,000. Now, the interest of the debt on the 31st of March last was $103,000,000; and if in the remaining 9 months this form of debt should be increased $400,000,000 at 7-30 per annum, the total interest will be a fraction lest than $126,000,000, leaving of the Treasury receipts $200,000,000 for ordinary expenditures.

With peace restored, the civil, military and naval expenditure will not exceed this sum, and the growth of the permanent debt will cease within the conjectural limit we have assigned it. The interest for 1866 will not exceed $148,000,000, if $300,000,000 of the total debt shall so long remain in the form of United States notes. For these and the following years, for which we have assumed $165,000,000 as the maximum annual interest, we have provision, in the well-assured increase of the revenue from taxes, customs, and land sales, as will presently appear.

Additional Sources of Revenue—Export Duties.—An export duty upon the cotton, tobacco, and other staples of the reconstructed Union, for which we have the command of the world's markets, is not only an ultimate reliance but a near probability, and can be made to pay from 60 to 100,000,000 dollars a year, without detriment to any American interest. *

Revenue from the Southern States.—Nothing of this has entered into any of the preceding statements or estimates; but a duly proportioned amount of excise and assessed taxes from the restored insurgent States must not be overlooked. Their wealth, in 1860, was $3,467,000,000, nearly 25 per cent. of the wealth of the entire United States. That they shall contribute in something like that proportion in relief of the public burdens, is clear as matter of right, and is indeed a constitutional obligation of all the members of the Union; nor is their ability in anywise doubtful. Whatever of enhanced cost or diminished quantity of production may occur in the earliest years of the restoration, will be borne by the consumers of their staples; a state of things, however, that can last for only a very brief period; for there is no product of agriculture that expands so rapidly as that of cotton. In the five years from 1855 to 1860, they doubled their product. It can be restored now in less time, and then advanced upon at the like rate; for they are soon to set forward in a career of prosperity unparalleled in all past experiences. The rebellion has disburdened them of an incubus. They have at command all that the temperate climate affords, with the semi-tropical added. They lack nothing but the population, enter-

* If the Constitution of the United States did not offer a practical barrier to such legislation, its manifest inequality and discrimination would.—Ed. Review.

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prise, and diversified industry of free institutions, and these are brought to them by the new order of things.

We say again, give us but 20 years to realize the promise of our means and conditions, and the United States will stand ready, with a population of 60 millions, and a wealth of not less than 60,000 millions, to meet the current burden and discharge the total debt of the nation. England, with half this amount of wealth, now feels that her still larger debt has dwindled from 40 to 12 per cent of her property. Ours then would stand at but 5 per cent of our capital, though undiminished in amount in all that period.

INTEREST OF THE DEBT AND ORDINARY EXPENSES FOR THE NEXT SIX YEARS.—The following tabular statement shows the result of our inquiry as to the ability of the loyal States to provide for the interest of the public debt, and the ordinary peace expenditure, until the year 1870. (All the figures of the table express millions of dollars, except the column of dates and that of percentages.)

Year.	Wealth.	Annual Product.	Annual Interest.	Annual Revenue Required.	Annual Peace Expenditures.	Per Cent. of Annual Revenue to Annual Product.
1865	16,112	4,318	126	325	199	7.55 per cent.
1866	17,428	4,685	148	348	200	7.42 "
1867	18,909	5,067	165	365	200	7.23 "
1868	20,516	5,498	165	365	200	6.63 "
1869	22,260	5,965	165	365	200	6.11 "
1870	24,226	6,492	165	365	200	5.62 "

Note.—The revenue for the calendar year 1865 is an estimate made upon data well ascertained. The peace, or ordinary expenses of the year, is the balance left for such use after payment of the accruing interest.

PAYMENT OF THE DEBT IN TWENTY YEARS FROM 1870.—It is assumed that, by the year 1870, the insurrectionary States will be fairly under the Federal Government, and in condition to contribute their due distributive share to the revenue of the Union, and that in that year the reduction of the public debt may be commenced. The following table shows the wealth of the restored Union; its annual product; the annual interest upon the debt while in progress of extinguishment; the percentage of annual product which may be applied in payment of the debt; the percentage of annual product required for ordinary peace expenditures (the amount of which is taken at 200 millions from 1870 to 1880, and thereafter at 250 millions, per annum); and the total charge per cent. of all disbursements until the debt of 3,000 millions shall be reimbursed.

RESOURCES OF THE RESTORED UNION.—ANNUAL CHARGE REQUIRED FOR EXTINGUISHMENT OF THE DEBT IN TWENTY YEARS.—The wealth of the Union in 1870 is obtained by taking that of the loyal States, according to the rate of increase for the 10 years before the rebellion, and adding thereto 25 per cent. for the wealth of the rebellious

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States, instead of 33 1-3 per cent., which was their proportion in past times. The rate of increase for the ensuing years is calculated at 7 1-6 per cent. per annum, or 100 per cent. in 10 years. (It will be recollected that the rate before the rebellion was 8 1-2 per cent. per annum, or 126 per cent. in 10 years. The annual product is also reduced from 26.8 to 25 per cent. of the capital wealth of the year.)

Year.	Millions of Dollars.			Charge per cent. upon Annual Product of the Union.			
	Wealth.	Annual Product.	Annual Interest.	Of Annual Interest.	Of Payment of Principal.	Of Peace Expenses.	Of Total requir'd Rev'nue
1870	30,282	7,570	165	2.18	1	2.64	5.82
1871	32,452	8,113	160.1	1.97	1	2.46	5.43
1872	34,777	8,694	155.6	1.79	1	2.30	5.09
1873	37,269	9,317	150.9	1.62	1	2.14	4.76
1874	39,940	9,985	145.8	1.46	1	2.00	4.46
1875	42,803	10,701	140.3	1.31	1	1.87	4.18
1876	45,870	11,467	134.4	1.17	1	1.74	3.91
1877	49,157	12,289	128.1	1.04	1	1.62	3.66
1878	52,680	13,170	121.4	0.92	1	1.51	3.43
1879	56,455	14,114	114.1	0.81	1	1.41	3.22
1880	60,564	15,141	106.4	0.70	1	1.65	3.35
1381	64,904	16,226	98.1	0.60	1	1.54	3.14
1882	69,555	17,389	89.2	0.51	1	1.43	2.94
1883	74,539	18,635	79.7	0.43	1	1.34	2.77
1884	79,881	19,970	69.5	0.35	1	1.25	2.60
1885	85,606	21,401	58.5	0.27	1	1.17	2.44
1886	91,740	22,935	46.5	0.20	1	1.09	2.29
1887	98 314	24,578	33.9	0.12	1	1.01	2.13
1888	105,360	26,340	20.4	0.07	1	.95	2.02
1889	112,910	28,227	5.9	0.02	1	.88	1.90
		316,262					
	Excess,	16,262					

One per cent. on 300,000 millions pays $3,000,000,000, the principal of the debt.

It must be noted, however, that the figures representing the percentage of the annual product of the nation's industry required to carry on the Government, pay the accruing interest, and repay the whole principal of the debt, do not express an actual taxation upon the annual product, but upon a sum equal to such product. Much of this expenditure may be borne by export duties, if adopted; some considerable share by the proceeds of the public lands, and a very considerable amount will be raised from miscellaneous sources, which are not taxes.

BURDEN OF BRITISH TAXATION UPON THE ANNUAL PRODUCT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.—Compare the following statement of the charge of the annual interest and ordinary expenses of the United

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Kingdom upon its industry, by which her debt has been reduced less than 250 millions of dollars in 50 years, with the burden upon our growing wealth in the demonstrably practical scheme for extinguishing ours in 25 years from the close of the rebellion. The British revenue, pressing with an average weight of above 10 per cent. per annum for above 30 years, ours declining from less than to less than 2 per cent.

In the 4 years 1811–14 the average amount of annual revenue raised by taxes in Great Britain was:

$327,489,291	equal to	21	per cent.	of annual product.
1823—279,714,100	"	16.4	"	"
1833—224,415,931	"	9.8	"	"
1841—233,209.146	"	10.6	"	"
1850—258,326,707	"	10.54	"	"
1859—344,784,895	"	11.15	"	"
1860—340,875,829	"	10.8	"	"

It will be observed that in the scheme submitted for the payment of the national debt, and exhibiting the charge to be incurred in the process, we have allowed the relative percentage of the revenue to wealth to decline regularly to the end. This is done to allow for any possible new debt that may be incurred in the interval. The statement shows that as early as 1877, the productive industry of the Union would bear an additional 50 millions of interest, and in 1885, no less than 333 millions, without carrying the annual charge of the total of such a debt and ordinary expenses above 4 per cent. upon the annual yield of the nation's capital and labor.

The faith of the nation is pledged for the discharge of all its obligations, its people have passed through a wonderful experience of their financial ability, from hope to confidence, and the cautious moderation of our calculations show that, early and easily, the national debt can be paid."

ART. VII.—NEW ORLEANS.

The annual Reports of the Commerce of this great mart are presented perhaps more carefully and minutely than are those of any other in the Union, and they have been regularly presented to the readers of the Review from 1845 to very nearly the present time.

We are now in possession of the Report for 1864-5, and shall cull from it some valuable data.

The effects of the war upon the commerce of the city, as a matter of course, are noticeable in almost every particular:

ARRIVALS AT THE PORT OF NEW ORLEANS.

Western Steamboats.	Sea Vessels.	Western Steamboats.	Sea Vessels.
1860-1.....3,171	1,579	1863-4.....1,414	2,981
1861-2.....1,456	241	1864-5.....1,481	1,449
1862-3..... 655	2,045		

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VALUE OF IMPORTS.

1859-60	$185,211,254	1862-3	$29,766,454
1860-61	155,863,564	1863-4	79,233,985
1861-62	51,510,940	1864-5	111,013,293

COTTON TRADE OF NEW ORLEANS.

Years.	Total Crop.	Receipts. Bales.	Av. Price.	Value.
1855-56	3,527,845	1,759,293	$40 00	$70,371,720
1856-57	2,939,519	1,573,247	57 00	86,255,079
1857-58	3,113,962	1,678,616	52 50	88,127,340
1858-59	3,851,481	1,774,298	53 00	92,037,794
1859-60	4,675,770	2,255,448	48 50	109,389,228
1860-61	3,699,926	1,849,312	50 00	92,465,600
1861-62	.....	38,880	45 50	1,749,040
1862-63	.....	22,078	231 32	5,107,082
1863-64	.....	131,044	356 20	46,677,872
1864-65	.....	271,015	270 54	73,326,398
Total, 10 years	.....	11,293,221	$58 93	$665,527,153

EXPORTS BALES COTTON.

Years.	Great Britain.	French Empire.	North of Europe.	South of Europe, Mexico, &c.	Total to foreign ports.	Sent Coastwise.
1855-56	986,622	244,814	162,675	178,812	1,572,923	222,100
1856-57	749,485	258,163	156,450	129,619	1,293,717	123,204
1857-58	1,016,716	236,596	116,304	125,454	1,495,070	164,637
1858-59	954,696	256,447	182,475	146,963	1,580,581	196,590
1859-60	1,426,966	313,291	136,135	129,270	2,005,662	208,634
1860-61	1,159,348	388,925	122,042	113,358	1,783,673	132,179
1861-62	1,312	472	.....	21,571	23,355	4,323
1862-63	2,070	1,849	.....	372	4,291	19,459
1863-64	1,155	4,023	.....	307	5,485	122,645
1864-65	31,326	5,952	402	167	27,847	165,604
Total, 10 years	6,359,696	1,710,532	876,483	845,893	9,792,604	1,458,275

The sugar trade of New Orleans, which in 1861 reached 459,410 hhds. has declined to 9,800 in 1864, and such is the general destruction of estates by the war that many years must elapse before there can be any approximation to the past.

	Crop.	Value.		Crop.	Value.
1861	459,410	$25,095,271	1863	76,801	$13,801,139
1862	87,231	7,749,602	1864	9,800	1,994,300

The tobacco trade of New Orleans is represented by the following figures:

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Stocks.	Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Stocks.
1855-56	56,090	59,074	9,123	1860-61	84,892	39,806	15,121
1856-57	52,067	50,181	13,715	1861-62	1,063	2,224	12,711
1857-58	87,141	72,215	28,418	1862-63	155	12,556	311
1858-59	75,925	79,974	23,369	1863-64	1,363	797	594
1859-60	80,955	82,689	20,635	1864-65	2,410	1,831	873
Total, 10 years					$395,061	$401,347	$..,873

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We conclude with the following table taken from the New Orleans Prices Current of 1861, showing the receipts and distribution of cotton from the several ports of the South during one year of commercial activity:

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS, EXPORTS, AND STOCKS OF COTTON AT THE FOLLOWING PLACES AND DATES ANNEXED.

PORTS.	RECEIVED Since Sept. 1.		EXPORTED from Sept. 1, 1860, to dates.				
	1860.	1859.	To Great Britain.	To France.	Other Foreign Ports.	Total Foreign Ports.	U. S. North'n Ports.
New Orleans Aug. 31	1757150	2155898	1159348	388925	235400	1783673	132179
Mobile..... Aug. 28	537881	798851	340845	96429	19147	456421	67753
Savannah.. Aug. 31	477952	529822	282994	10061	9132	302187	182084
Charleston. Aug. 31	335961	512130	136513	29886	47989	214388	122121
Florida.... Aug. 10	108517	173488	27140	....	933	28073	60146
Va. & N. C. Aug. 17	134277	91822	84	....	....	84	97794
Texas..... Aug. 17	142968	247819	47229	3640	12315	63184	51321
Memphis... Aug. 31	185491	134820	14989	....	....	14989	170502
Nashville, &c.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Columbus, Ky....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
New York.. July 7	....	....	150085	48671	37661	236417	....
Other Ports. July 6	....	....	12912	87	8296	21295	....
Total Bales.....	3680197	4644650	2172139	577699	370878	3120711	883900
Total to date in 1857	4644650	....	2653868	599868	501205	3754941	1037225
Increase this year.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Decrease.....	964453	....	481729	22169	130332	634230	153325

ART. VIII.—OUR MEXICAN FRONTIER: ITS COMMERCE, ETC.

IMPORTANCE OF THE VALLEY OF THE RIO GRANDE — THE HARBOR OF BRAZOS SANTIAGO AS CONNECTED WITH THE PUBLIC WORKS NOW IN PROGRESS AND CONTEMPLATED IN MEXICO — ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC CONNECTION.

The Rio Grande is a river two thousand miles long, extending from the Gulf of Mexico, in latitude 24, beyond Santa Fé, in New Mexico.

It is now navigated by steamboats about 330 miles, and, as appears by U. S. Government surveys, the navigation could, at small expense, be greatly extended. It is laid down by the geographers as the most navigable stream in Texas or Mexico.

This river, with its tributaries, gives at least five thousand miles of river valley, much of it suited to agriculture, and nearly all of it the finest pasture land in the world.

The natural coast outlet for all this vast extent of country, embracing all the Northern States of Mexico, to which it is the "key," is the one harbor of Brazos Santiago, the mouth of the river not being available.

Through this harbor must pass all the supplies for our military posts on a boundary line of between twelve and fourteen hundred

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miles. It is the only harbor available for commerce, between Aransas and Tampico, a distance of about four hundred miles.

Previous to the United States possessing the harbor of Brazos de Santiago, it was occupied by the Mexican Government as the port of entry for Matamoros and the Northern States of Mexico, the custom-house stores being located at Point Isabel.

Thus far, want of protection from Indian depredations, and continuous revolutions in Mexico, and marauding therefrom, cause a great extent of this vast country to remain unpeopled. Much of the country was known only (that is the river valley, shut in by mountains) as it appeared at the several river crossings, which were few and far between; for instance, the "Great Indian Crossing" was the only one for four hundred miles. The only extended exploration of the river was made in 1850, by order of Major W. W. Chapman, Assistant Quartermaster, as appears by his report made to Major General Jessup, Quartermaster General, from which we extract:

"H. Love left Ringgold Barracks (about 200 miles above the mouth of the river) with the keel-boat 'Major Babbitt,' under instructions to carry her to the highest attainable point on the Rio Grande, which he found at a distance of about 967 miles from Ringgold Barracks (1,167 miles from the mouth of the river), where his further progress was stopped by impassable falls. This expedition was made when the river was lower than it had been known for several years."

The only obstruction to the navigation of this river for steam boats, for 817 miles, is Kingsbury's Falls. Of these, Major Chapman, in his report, says:

"They are about two hundred feet long, with a fall of four feet; and the rock which forms them is argilaceous limestone, which is easily removed with a crow-bar. Captain Love is of opinion that a channel could be cut through them, or rather that the present channel could be widened, to admit of the passage of the steamboats 'Corvette' or 'Major Brown' (boats then running on the river below), for about $8,000.

"From Kingsbury's Falls up to the mouth of the San Pedro, or Devil's river, a distance of 232 miles, there is nothing to obstruct the navigation of the river with steamboats of the largest class running the lower Rio Grande.

"If the obstructions at Kingsbury's Falls were removed, Fort Duncan would be furnished by keel or steamboats, thus obviating the necessity of an expensive wagon train. Should the river be rendered navigable to the mouth of the San Pedro, it would then become an important question whether it might not be judicious economy to establish a depot at that point, and transport our stores thence by land to El Paso, where it is believed a good road could be made without much labor or expense. I think the route indicated well worthy of examination; and if Captain Love's opinion should prove correct, the subject of a change in the manner of supplying El Paso and perhaps Santa Fé, which is 320 miles above El Paso, is well worthy the attention of the Government."

The face of the country between the mouth of Devil's River and Babbitt's Falls is described as generally mountainous and barren along the river, though portions of it, back from the river, between the San Pedro and the Puerco, are good for cultivation or grazing. A valley about ten miles wide, covered with fine musquito grass,

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stretches for hundreds of miles between the Puerco (the Puerco is 1,200 miles long) and the Rio Grande. With this exception, the report describes the soil on both sides of the river as very fertile, and at intervals well timbered with live oak, mulberry, pecan, ebony, ash, elm, musquito.

The main extent of the valley is described as:

"Beautiful and rich beyond description, and watered by numerous streams flowing into the Rio Grande on both sides. On these streams are many fine mill sites, with excellent water-power. Large droves of wild horses, herds of thousands of black-tailed deer roam over the country. Game of nearly all kinds is abundant. The streams abound with perch and the regular speckled trout of our mountain streams.

"The country is the finest in the world for grazing, and capable of sustaining any given number of cattle, sheep and goats. From the mildness of the climate, sheep, in this region, and in fact along the whole valley of the Rio Grande to its mouth, require no sheds during the winter months, as they can graze the entire year. The sheep along the valley of the Rio Grande seem to be free from the diseases so common to the North."

The small expense of taking care of them is evidenced by the fact that, previous to the late war, sheep could be purchased there at fifty cents per head. A pamphlet by J. A. Stevens, Esq., entitled, "The Valley of the Rio Grande, its Topography and Resources," contains much valuable and correct information, from which we quote on this subject:

"This pasturage is a grand element of the wealth of the country, and stock may be rapidly increased. The cost of raising beeves five years old is about $3; of horses and mules, about $10 to $12 per head. At the time of the annexation of Texas, in 1845, the stock-raiser thought himself well paid at $8 to $10 for fat beeves; but the increase of trade with the Northern States had carried the prices in 1860 to $20."

To understand fully the value of these immense pasture fields, let us look at the increased value of their products. The price of cotton is five or six times the price of 1860, and years will probably elapse before it rules less than threefold its price in 1860. As a natural sequence, wool now commands and will continue to command an increased value. Texas or Mexican wool, quoted at about ten cents in 1860, is now quoted about thirty cents per lb. Beef has increased in nearly the same proportions. On the millions of acres of these pasture lands of the Rio Grande Valley and its surroundings, it costs no more to raise sheep and beeves than it cost in 1860; and it costs less than in any other part of the world where property is protected.

In view of this state of facts, we cannot easily over-estimate the value of the vast products of this immense territory, nor can we suppose that so inviting a field for capital and enterprise will remain neglected. But much of this country is well adapted to agriculture, to cotton, tobacco, grains, and the valley is suited to irrigation.

We have now referred to the country along the valley for about eleven hundred miles, so far as our keelboat ascended. We will now go three hundred and twenty miles by the river, further up to

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El Paso, between 1,400 and 1,500 miles above the mouth. In the year 1850, the "New York Herald" called attention to the "Importance of the trade of the Rio Grande Valley, situated within two weeks' sail of our city;" and, referring to the productions of the valley, gave a letter from El Paso, to the Hon. W. L. Marcy, Secretary of War, from which we extract:

"The settlement of El Paso extends from the falls of the Rio Grande on the north, to the Presidio on the south, a distance of twenty-two miles, and is one continuous orchard and vineyard, containing at least eight thousand population. This spacious valley is about midway between Santa Fé and Chihuahua. The breadth of the valley is about ten miles. The falls are about north of the public square, and afford sufficient water for grist and sawmills to supply the entire settlement. The most important production of the valley is the grape, from which is annually manufactured not less than two hundred thousand gallons of perhaps the richest and best wines in the world. This wine is worth two dollars per gallon (at El Paso). These wines are superior in richness of flavor to anything I ever met with in the United States, and I doubt not are equal to the best wines produced in the valley of the Rhine, or on the sunny hills of France."

And the country bordering on the valley is thus described:

"Near El Paso the whole vast country bordering on the spurs and chains of the Sierra Madre is studded on every side with metallic ore, valuable beyond the calculation of man, and the possession of which may well excite the cupidity of dynasties, decide the destiny of nations, and change the political aspect of the world."

Three hundred and twenty miles *vid* the river we reach Santa Fé, in New Mexico.

New Mexico contains 207,000 square miles, and is about 700 miles from East to West, and 400 miles from North to South. New Mexico proper in its general aspect is mountainous, with a large longitudinal valley running from north to south, and through which flows the Rio Grande. This valley is generally about twenty miles wide, and bounded on the east and west by mountain chains. The main artery for New Mexico is the Rio Grande. The mineral resources of the territory are abundant. Gold, silver, and copper are found in the mountains and in the valley of the Rio Grande.

New Mexico was taken possession of by the Spaniards in 1598, many towns, of which only the ruins now remain, were established at that time; the mines were successfully worked, when in 1660 a general insurrection of the Indian tribes broke out against the Spanish yoke. The Spaniards were either massacred or driven southward, where they founded "El Paso." There must exist some great inducements in this country to have caused these considerable settlements by the Spaniards *so far in the interior*, nearly three hundred years ago.

We will now glance at the Northern States of Mexico, tributary to our harbor, which are the States of Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila and Chihuahua, at least, and we are again indebted to Mr. Stevens for some careful compilations in reference to these States:

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"NUEVO LEON is a mountainous country abounding in mines of silver, iron, copper and lead, capable of a great development with the aid of the new improved machinery and reduced price of quicksilver. The mines are essentially virgin, and have been little worked, owing to the difficulty of transporting the product to the coast; nitrate of potash and muriate of soda are also found in large quantities. *Monterey* is the capital, with a population of 30,000, and is fast improving. This city lies at the foot of the Sierra Madre, and is the natural point of distribution for a large part of Northern Mexico. The roads are open throughout the year from this point, in all directions, while that from Tampico is almost closed during the rainy season. The transportation from Tampico is by mules, there being no wagon trains across the mountains which lie between the coast and the interior. Eight or ten cotton factories have been established in this State. *Coahuila* is more mountainous than Nuevo Leon. Its population is sparse; the vine is cultivated to some extent with great success. Formerly the mines were extensively worked, and with large results, but the internal disturbances and Indian raids, have destroyed this industry. There are several cotton factories in this State, of which the principal is at Saltillo, the capital, a place of about 20,000 population. *Chihuahua*, adjoining Coahuila to the westward, is rich in agriculture, in vineyards, in pasturage, and in mines, principally silver, of matchless richness."

The copper mines of Chihuahua are said to be the richest in the world.

In addition to Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, and Chihuahua, the States of Zacatacas, Durango, Aguas Calientes, and part of San Luis Potosi, all mining districts, have received part of their supplies through the harbor of Brazos Santiago. Humboldt estimated the yield of the mines of Mexico prior to 1803 at $1,767,952,000. The most brilliant of Mexican fortunes have been the result of successful mining. Of the most noted instances are:

"The family of Buslamento, from the products of a Northern mine, purchased for $300,000, made a present to the King of a ship of the line and loaned a million of dollars. In Somberette, Durango, the mine of Pavillan yielded at one period, twenty thousand dollars a day for five years; the water then rose, overcame their rude machinery, and the mine lay abandoned for eighty years. It was again restored and yielded immense revenues. The Count of Regla in twelve years obtained a net profit of $5,000,000. Zunega took from the mine of Santa Anna over $4,000,000. These are instances of the most famous mines. The mines in the Sierra Madre, in the three States named, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, and Chihuahua, are as yet nearly virgin, and have never been worked with any regularity or system; the Indians have almost broken up the settlements outside of the large mines, but there is nothing in the configuration of the country which warrants the belief that they are any less rich than those of which these wondrous tales are told; and this remark is equally applicable to the Rio Grande mountain region in Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico. Moreover, the yield is as yet only partial, the old "patio" process not being equal and adequate to the treatment of refractory ores. The application of the new processes has been found to increase the yield three to five fold. The mines in the districts named are peculiarly well situated for early and cheap developments, the country being well timbered, the soil capable of any production, and the climate healthy in an uncommon degree. As an evidence of the abundant yield of some of the lead mines, it is stated that lead from Monterey, taken from mines in its vicinity, was sold in New York at five and three quarter cents per lb. and paid a fair profit to the miner, after the payment of all expenses, freight and comissions; this ore was transported by wagons from Monterey to Brazos Santiago, about two hundred and forty miles. Copper ore has also been forwarded in the same way, and with the same re-

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sult. From this some idea may be imagined of the wealth which this industry will yield when steam and railroads will have diminished the cost of transportation.

We have thus seen the importance of the harbor at Brazos Santiago, under the existing state of things. The glance we have taken of the undeveloped wealth and rescources of the vast country tributary to it, point to an incentive for the improvement of the navigation of the Rio Grande, and the construction of railroads connecting with it. "The New York Chronicle," of July 15, says:

"Maximilian has issued an Imperial decree, authorizing a Company of 'Mexican American Immigration,' and to that Company extends the most inviting prospects; and it will not be uninteresting to exhibit the resources that Mexico has in store for those who propose emigration or investment. They are embraced in an official document.

"By the laws of the Empire, aliens can hold possession of the mines as well as Mexicans, whether by furnishing capital to the proprietors for their working, or by right of discovery. In this category nature has been so prodigal in Mexico that occupation will not be lacking for capital as well as for strangers who may immigrate."

The decree further continues:

"*Public Works*:—Thus far a single line of railroad is in construction from Vera Cruz to Mexico, another has been granted to the Pacific to follow closely the direction of the great valley through which runs the Lerma, that is to say, by way of Toluca, and the Department of Mexico, Moralia, Guanajata, and Jalisco, and to terminate at San Blas. But others are to be constructed, and the Government is well disposed to issue the grants to private companies. The lateral lines to connect with this principal artery are as follows:

"1. From the River Acambara to Guanajata.
"2. From Guanajata to Guadalajara, via Leon and Largos.
"3. Queretaro to *Matamoros*, via San Luis Potosi and Saltillo.
"4. From Zacatacas to Durango, via Aguas Calientes.
"5. From the Port of Mazatlan to Durango and Chihuahua."

The "New York Tribune" Correspondent, August 12, 1865, says:

"The great railroad which is to unite Vera Cruz with the City of Mexico is progressing rapidly. Eight thousand wheelbarrows had just been landed at Orizaba for the service of the Company. Another railroad is to be established in Sonora, by Mr. Neil, who is assisted by several European and Californian capitalists."

And at a later date says:

"The work of building the railroads in Mexico is being pushed vigorously by Smith, Knight, and Co., the great railway contractors of South America and elsewhere."

In this article we do not intend to discuss the question whether the Imperial Government is, or is not, a permanent institution; but we intend to show what public works are feasible and are called for. These contemplated roads are the results of scientific examinations and preliminary surveys made, as we are aware, at the instance of the present Government.

Our attention has been particularly arrested in this connection by

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the contemplated roads leading to connect Matamoros with Mazatlan; Mazatlan is the most considerable Mexican port on the Pacific coast, and is the usual stopping place for the American and European steamers.

This road between Matamoros and Mazatlan will pass through the States of Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Durango, Guadalajara, and Sinaloa, and border on the States of San Luis Potosi, and Zacatacas. Here are eight States at least directly and vitally interested in the prosecution of this work; what would be the cost of such a road compared with the increased value of the country that would be thereby developed? the increased revenue to the Government from the increased productions from its mines, its fertile agricultural valleys, and the cities, towns, and villages that would spring up along its route, and its depots on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts?

But, independently of a pecuniary point of view, it is a great national work. A glance at the map will point it out as a natural, direct and necessary line of communication between the two oceans.

Our subject is the Valley of the Rio Grande, the harbor of Brazos Santiago, and their connection with the public works of Mexico, and we dwell upon this work connecting Matamoros and Mazatlan as one that must be achieved. Look at it with its contemplated and necessary laterals as connected with the harbor of Brazos.

We are interested in the prosperity of Mexico. She is and ever must be our customer. Consider her cotton factories at Monterey and Saltillo, and even much farther in the interior, all of the machinery for which were taken from our workshops, transported through Brazos, and thence, *via* Matamoros, by wagons from 300 to 500 miles in the interior. Heavy machinery for mining operations has taken the same route, and indeed almost every other article of northern manufacture.

When the great works contemplated will be in the course of execution, by whatever government—when emigration shall have had its full sway—when capital will take the route to Mexico—when, by the aid of improved machinery, its mineral wealth will be developed—when public confidence in the security of property and the stability of the Government will be established—when its commerce will be freed from the shackles that have weighed so heavily upon it in the past, for "she it is who points the way and beckons skill and labor on"—then, who can estimate the value, the extent of the productions and commerce of that country, and of our commerce with Mexico? Mexico—our next door neighbor for nearly two thousand miles of boundary!

In 1857, a movement was made under Governor Vidaurri in Mexico to establish railroad communication between Monterey and Matamoros, there to be met by rail communication between Point Isabel and Brownsville—thus connecting Monterey with the Gulf. This road would have accomplished more than one-third the distance between the Gulf and Mazatlan.

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"The route from Matamoros for three-fourths of the distance to Monterey is almost level, the approach to Monterey being the only section which would need any considerable outlay. Labor is cheap, timber is plenty; and all the materials can be had in the country except iron. Perhaps in no part of the world could a road of the same length be so cheaply constructed, and the value of this road alone, without any extension, cannot easily be too highly estimated; but the revolution of the Church Party in 1858, and foreign intervention since, checked the enterprise."

The New York Chamber of Commerce, in a memorial to the United States Congress in 1864 (which we find in their Annual Report of that year), asks for subsidies to be granted to ocean steamship lines in the general interest of the country. Among other subsidies asked for was one for a line to be established from New York to Point Isabel at the Brazos Santiago. This recommendation, as appears by the memorial, was made with especial reference to the trade with Northern Mexico, and in that connection the importance of the Atlantic and Pacific connection which we have discussed did not escape attention. It says:

"This line (from Point Isabel *i. e.*, Brazos Santiago) will ultimately become very important when railroad communication is open to Monterey, and thence to Mazatlan on the Pacific. This road will make one of the most important connections in the world, being on the direct line from London to Hong Kong."

From official documents we see that at the commencement of our War with Mexico, the attention of our Government was especially directed to securing a main depot for supplies for our army that was to operate against Matamoros and the Northern States of Mexico. It will be remembered that General Taylor with his army approached the Mexican frontier by land, and remained some months at Corpus Christi, so that he and his staff had personal knowledge of the coast of Texas. In January, 1845, Secretary Marcy wrote to General Taylor, calling his attention to Brazos Santiago harbor thus: "From the views heretofore presented to this Department it is presumed that Point Isabel (Brazos Harbor) will be considered by you an eligible position;" but instructed him that the officers of the Engineer Corps should examine under his direction the country "with a view to occupation for depots of supplies, arms, and munitions of war." In January, 1846, General Taylor arrived at Point Isabel, commenced fortifying and erecting barracks, a hospital, etc., and immediately wrote to the War Department: "Our great depot must be here, and it is very important to secure it against any enterprise of the enemy."*

* An idea has prevailed to some extent that no permanent improvements can be made in the harbor of Brazos, or on that portion of the coast, while the fact is, we have in one portion of the harbor, to wit, Point Isabel, by official reports, as secure a location as the city of New York itself, and for miles in extent. These official reports to our Government also show that the land at the mouth of the river and Brazos Island are subject to inundations by overflows from the sea, and the destruction to life and property by storms and overflows had been so great that previous to our occupation the Mexican Government forbid any settlements either at the mouth of the river or on Brazos Island, and Mexico established her customs stations for Brazos harbor at Port Isabel.

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We have now shown the extent of our river valleys and the mineral wealth surrounding them; the capabilities of the Rio Grande for extended navigation; the increased value of the products of these valleys; that the main depot for the army supplies for this extended frontier must be at Brazos harbor; that it is the only available harbor on the coast for four hundred miles; that it is the coast key to the Northern States of Mexico; that these States abound in mineral wealth, with, also, great agricultural capabilities; that the contemplated public improvements in Mexico bear directly upon our frontier and harbor, and upon the prosperity of our country generally; that the contemplated route between Matamoros and Mazatlan is a great national work, pointed out by nature; and that it will be achieved.

The whole subject will, however, come under discussion at an early day in our pages, and much additional and valuable information will be given.

ART. IX.—THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO POPULATION.

THE QUESTION OF COLONIZATION WITH RFFERENCE TO THE EMANCIPATED NEGROES CONSIDERED—PLANS OF COLONIZATION—LIBERIA.

We expressed our opinions frequently and fully in the past with reference to Liberia and the Colonization Society; and although willing to accord the purest and best motives to the movers of the scheme, we did not regard it desirable, either for the interest of the white or negro population of the South, and thought that we proved by the figures that for any practical purpose, further than as a missionary enterprise, it was a failure.

Since these discussions a great change has taken place in the relations of all the parties, and it must be evident enough to every intelligent statesman as well as philanthropist, that but three practical propositions are before the country: Either the negro must work and remain a productive element of society, or he must cease to cumber the soil and be transported to another, or he must, in contact and conflict with a superior race, like the Indian submit to annihilation.

The momentous subject is opened for the future, and prior to experience nothing can be determined upon it.

In this view we insert the article which follows, and will open our pages for the further discussion of the subject from time to time, without committing ourselves to any theory or argument which we have not especially endorsed. The writer in this instance was born in Mississippi, and resided most of his life in that State, in Louisiana and Texas, where he was universally esteemed and respected.—EDITOR.

WHILE the late civil war was raging, it engrossed the national mind. The negro population were occupied with visions of indefinable benefits, which they were to reap from the issue of the contest. It was not to be expected that they would turn aside, and consider the offer of a new home on a distant continent. But since the war, as its actual results have been transpiring, a sober contemplation of the prospect before them, has led one hundred and fifty freedmen of Virginia to apply for the aid of the American Colonization Society in embarking for the land of their fathers, and a wide-

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spreading desire to follow them may be occasioned by future developments.

The Colonization Society, anticipating an increased demand for its services, has adopted resolutions formally recognizing the augmented responsibilities devolved upon it by the enlarged number of freedmen. The spirit with which the directors meet the crisis reminds one of the abiding confidence expressed by a zealous and indefatigable promoter of their scheme in its incipiency. On a certain occasion, when pressed by innumerable objections, he closed his patient reply by affirming, "The cause is God's, and must prevail." This utterance sprang from an unwavering conviction that the plan was not only righteous but providentially adapted to the existing state of things. Time shall prove whether Finley was an enthusiast, or a sage. The direct aim of the enterprise is "to colonize with their own consent the free people of color." Yet it achieves certain incidental benefits of vast importance. As the founders had these in their eye, they demand our notice. The first is the *prevention of the slave trade.* The territory of Liberia lies in that portion of the continent which was for centuries the field of the slaver's greatest activity. Thither the victims of predatory war were forced from their homes in the interior. Thence they were shipped, many of them to die from suffocation, and the remnant to endure countless horrors before reaching the land of their bondage. Towards the suppression of this commerce the settlements of Sierra Leone and Liberia have effected more than navies. The boundaries of the latter, having been extended by successive treaties with about forty tribes, embrace seven hundred miles of sea-coast. Within those limits about two hundred thousand natives are supposed to reside, who are amenable to the laws of the Liberian Government. These have been forbidden to engage in their former inhuman barter, and persuaded to substitute various kinds of lawful traffic. The vigilance of the authorities may be inferred from the mission which they sent to France in 1856. At that time, vessels in the employment of contractors, patronized by the French Government, were engaged in procuring laborers on the coast of Africa, for the sugar plantations in the French colonies. The pretense was, that the laborers were engaging voluntarily to work for stipulated wages. But as the contracts were made with the chiefs the service of their men was actually involuntary. In order to stop the practice, negotiations at Paris were determined on; and President Roberts was appointed to conduct them. He was successful, and the traffic was abandoned.

More than once has the colony been attacked by neighboring tribes because of its interference with the slave-trade. It has at different times burned down the houses erected for the storage of captured negroes. About six thousand captives, rescued from slavers, have found a safe asylum and a happy home on Liberian soil.

Another incidental benefit of the Society's enterprise appertains to the *cause of evangelization.*

"How can the dark regions of Western and Interior Africa be

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illumined by the mild radiance of the Gospel?" is a question which has perplexed many minds, and burdened many hearts. The difficulty of solution arises from the undeniable fact that the climate is fatal to the white man. Under the successors of Augustus, the best Roman legions marched against the unarmed inhabitants of Ethiopia. But the laws of climate and of race asserting their supremacy, destroyed the invaders. After a lapse of centuries, in 1841, an agricultural colony from England settled at the confluence of the Niger and Chad. But out of one hundred and forty-five white persons all sickened, and forty died; while, on the other hand, out of one hundred and fifty-eight colored persons, only three or four sickened, and none died. Similar attempts have always resulted abortively. Yet, the disastrous disclosures have not prevented missionary expeditions. Roman Catholics, of different nations and orders, have hazarded experiments, extending through four centuries. Sad is their history. In spite of their zeal, Portuguese, Spaniards and French-Capuchins, Dominicans, and Jesuits, have succumbed to the malaria. That the field has not been entirely abandoned by Protestants is a proof that there still exists in some hearts a spirit of martyrdom. To a friend, who was arraying before Samuel J. Mills the dangers of the climate, he sublimely replied, "I am immortal as long as God has use for me." A similar sentiment has inspired the chivalric men, who, from time to time, have stepped forward to fill the vacancies, made by pestilence in the missionary ranks. We admire their apostolic heroism. Yet we hail any suggestion by which a desolating sacrifice of life can be avoided. Therefore, we look with glad interest on the scheme of colonization. The atmosphere, which is so destructive to the Caucassian, is comparatively harmless to the African. Though the latter seldom escapes a process of acclimation, the ordeal is not severe. This comparative impunity designates him as the appropriate cultivator of the missionary field in that portion of the tropical zone. Liberia is destined to be a community of light-bearers. Her churches are yet in their infancy, but they have already made an impression. As the fruit of this impression, they have received into fellowship hundreds of converted natives. These may be regarded as earnests of trophies yet to be won by releasing from Fetichism and cannibal superstitions thousands who are now paralyzed by their grasp.

These benign results have been dwelt upon because they were predicted, and the anticipation of them was fondly cherished by the projectors of the American Colonization Society. But the constitution of the society states as "the object to which its attention shall be exclusively directed, the promoting and executing a plan for *colonizing with their own consent the free people of color residing in our country.*"

That special object gave it favor in the eyes of many among our purest and most enlightened statesmen.

To confirm this remark it is merely necessary to mention the names of those who have presided over it since its organization. The

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first President was Bushrod Washington. He was succeeded by Charles Carroll, of Carrollton. After him, the post was filled by James Madison. His successor was Henry Clay, and the present incumbent is J. H. Latrobe, Esq.

Among its earnest advocates we might refer to Francis S. Keyes, Edward Everett, G. W. Bethune, and others, whose identity with it was sufficient to give a prestige of which few benevolent institutions can boast.

If those great men were again among us, they would probably insist that the present national juncture ought to place the claims of that society before us in bold relief. Though slavery is extinct, the negro still remains, an object of solicitude and speculation. Discussions are rife upon the best method of directing his lately-acquired freedom, so that it shall advance his own and the general welfare. Without controverting any theories, the Colonization Society is content with the making a practical offer. To every colored person desirous of a residence in Africa it proffers a gratuitious passage thither, with provisions, medical aid, and a shelter for six months. It also presents him a title, in fee-simple, to five acres of land, with an additional quantity for each member of his family.

In asserting that the society avoids the arena of physiological and political controversy, we are not overlooking the fact, that its noiseless movements are characterized by the assumption of two opinions. These must have a distinct consideration.

It assumes the negro's *capacity for self-government.*

Confident as to the result, it ventured to initiate a Republic, of which the citizens are all Africans or their descendants. It hazarded the experiment under every disadvantage. Its citizens were to be adventurers in the forest of a foreign soil, and encounter difficulties similar to those which almost baffled the hardy emigrants of Plymouth and Jamestown. But in addition to these obstacles, another presented itself, which threatened to be insurmountable. That obstacle was created by the character of the natives residing within the purchased limits of the commonwealth, and the relation into which they would be permitted to enter. Though they were barbarians of the lowest grade, they were to be cordially embraced, and allowed the rights of citizenship. Would not the incorporation of this impracticable element into the body politic, occasion a total failure? Some strong believers in the negro's capacity for self-government had misgivings, lest the Republic, with such an incubus, should prove to be an abortion.* But up to this time nothing has occurred to justify their forebodings.

* QUERY.—Were not the emigrants for Liberia taken from the most advanced and cultivated class of our negroes, who had long the benefits of civilization before them, and was there not an influential element of mulatto blood, and do not these colonists make up, practically, the Republic? Believing as we do that Republicanism is scarcely more than possible with the advanced and enlightened races of Caucassian blood, it is going to the verge of our faith to admit the practicability of a republic of civilized negroes; but how boundless is the faith that would draw into the sacred circle the barbarians whom Mungo Park describes, and Livingstone, Barth, and others, exhibit in their native deformity! We cannot and do not suppose our worthy contributor, or the society to which he is referring, intend such a meaning to their words.—EDITOR].

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The natives have manifested an unexpected desire to enjoy the opportunities of education; twenty thousand of them have become full citizens by taking the oath of allegiance; several of them are even holding offices; and order has been maintained throughout the entire population. The Government has now stood amidst the storms of forty years. The President, Cabinet, Legislature, Judges, Army and Navy, are all men of the negro race. Forty vessels for commerce are owned, manned and officered by her own citizens. They control their own public schools and college. They have their own clergy with numerous congregations. If they are not manifesting the activity of Americans, they present a fine specimen of orderly and happy society.

In consequence of this self-sustained prosperity, Liberia has been acknowledged as an independent nationality by the leading powers of the earth. Her friends proclaim that the experiment of self-government has been satisfactory. They who think the Emancipation Proclamation premature, must agree that the enterprise merits serious and special consideration. The new attitude into which the negroes have been thrown will test their capacities. Some experiment is unavoidable. Where can it be tried under more favorable auspices, than in a community composed of their own race, which has sustained its organization, despite unparallelled discouragements?

The other assumption of the colonization scheme is the inability of colored persons to realize *in the United States*, that happiness which depends on social equality.

This position has been stigmatized as harsh and oppressive. But they who utter that censure are requested to observe that the society adopts no measures to render the race uncomfortable in this land. Its operations are based on the belief that they are already encircled by influences of taste and feeling from which they cannot escape, unless they emigrate. In the view of these influences, it merely says to them, "If you wish to change your residence, we will furnish the facilities for gratifying your aspirations."

What framed the law forbidding Africans to reside in the State of Indiana? What controlled the vote of Connecticut which (despite the intense sympathy occasioned by the late war) excluded them from the elective franchise? What excited the gangs who rushed along the wharves of New York, driving off the negro stevedores, and inflamed the rioters, who hunted negroes like wild beasts in her streets, and applied the torch to their Orphan Asylum? In public conveyances, the presence of colored men or women is merely tolerated. They are not seen in private parlors—nay, even in the sanctuaries of religion they are separated from the other worshippers as a distinct class.

Such is their treatment even in States where slavery has been abolished for more than half a century. If the potent influence of time has not overcome the repulsion, what will? Intellectual elevation? Instances of such elevation have not been wanting. Yet, while it has commanded respect, it has not secured freedom of inter-

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course. Even when those possessing it have been thrust forward, they have been mortified by the mere toleration received at the hands of their friends, and by the absence of any hearty and genial feeling.

As a specimen of their convictions on this subject, we cite an extract from a letter written by the Rev. Martin H. Freeman, the principal of an institution for colored persons in Pennsylvania. Having resolved last year to emigrate, he gave, in justification of that course, the following reason:

"I am persuaded that emigration to Liberia is the quickest, surest and best way by which the negro can arise to the proper status of mankind. I do not expect to improve my pecuniary condition. I have a congenial situation, and a comparatively prominent position. But I have an earnest conviction that I am a man, and, by consequence, that it is not only my privilege, but my duty, to secure for myself and my children all the rights and immunities that pertain to humanity."

His language utters a conclusion drawn from the actual state of public feeling. The African mind which expands here must resist the contracting force of the obstacles referred to. If it is to attain happiness, it must soar to independence of social sentiment. In most cases, the feelings engendered by repulsion will have a bitterness proportioned to the advancement of those by whom it is experienced.

They who expect the barrier between the races to be obliterated in the United States, might learn a lesson by glancing at the West Indies. Of the prosperity and progress in those Islands, let us suppose the brightest picture to be correct. With that picture in view, it may be asked whether this prosperity or progress has secured for the negro the coveted boon of social equality? A negative and significant reply is given to that question by recent developments. Within the present year, three hundred and forty-six citizens of Barbadoes emigrated to Liberia. As a preliminary step, it seems that, in the year 1848, there was formed on that Island an "Association for furthering African Colonization." In 1855, they addressed to President Roberts a letter containing the following language:

"To go into a detail of all the differences between the colored classes of this colony, and indeed the West Indies generally, and the more favored races, would be superfluous. Suffice it to say that an amelioration of our condition can only be hoped for in a country where there are no conventional bars, or unnatural obstacles, to our entering in the race of competition with any class or race of our fellow-citizens, and reaching the goal, how exalted soever, if we carry in ourselves the necessary mental and other qualifications which warrant the indulgence of such aspirations . . . Driven by stern necessity to carry our genius and acquirements elsewhere, if we would avoid ultimate mental debasement and social degradation, and that widespread demoralization which must inevitably result from the shipwreck of self-respect, we have elected to proceed to Liberia."

In 1864, C. T. Fortune wrote to President Warner, from Trinidad:

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"I am requested by some of my countrymen, sons of Africa, who are suffering under the yoke and oppression of colonial prejudice, to address your Excellency, praying for all the information necessary for facilitating their passage from these shores; as they are over-anxious to emigrate to that land where one breathes the air of independence, and feels himself at home in the fullest sense of the word."

Mr. Henry B. Hooker (of whom it is remarked, in the report of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, that "the accuracy of his observation and the soundness of his judgment need no attestation") visited the West India Islands in 1857, and became deeply interested in the colored population. In a letter from Barbadoes, to the Rev. Joseph Tracy, he said:

"There runs through the Island that marked line of distinction between the English and the African races, which, as in other parts of the world, prevents their meeting on the same level, in the intercourse of social life. 'Education and refinement only render the condition of the colored race the more irksome. The intelligent and aspiring cannot rise to the condition of the white man;' and they cannot merge themselves again in the mass of the ignorant and degraded, from which they have arisen."

In St. Thomas, one of the Danish Islands, has been formed "the St. Thomas Liberia Association, for the purpose of promoting emigration." As to the character of that association, E. W. Blyden, a native of that island, but now a prominent citizen of Liberia, informs us that it "embraces the wealth and intelligence of the community." Thus it appears that the negroes, long since emancipated in those islands, are pressed down by the weight of public opinion. The larger our concessions, as to their advancement in knowledge and morals, the more irresistible is the conclusion that repugnance between the African and Caucassian is indestructible. Let it not be forgotten that the proportionate number of negroes is far larger there than here. In Jamaica, there is a population of 346,000, of whom only 16,000 are white. In Barbadoes, of 126,000 inhabitants, only 15,000 are white. It is seen that, in the former, the negroes constitute nineteen-twentieths, and in the latter, seven-eighths of the people, whereas in the United States they number one-eighth. There, they have an overwhelming majority; here, they count but a small minority. If, with the force of numbers on their side, they cannot make their way to the level there, why expect them to reach it here, where the numbers are largely against them? Legislation may allow them equal rights in our courts of justice and privileges at the ballot-box, equal means of common and professional education, but it cannot raise them above the position of an inferior caste. With such inferiority, most of them may be satisfied. But, probably, every year shall swell the number of those who wish to emigrate. When that desire is expressed, whither shall their attention be directed? To the British or Danish West Indies? We have seen that the inequality complained of here is lamented there. Shall they seek a home in Hayti?

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It has already been tried, and found wanting. In 1824, and during several subsequent years, a large number from the Northern and Southern States repaired thither. But they were not admitted to full citizenship; the avenues to preferment were closed against them; and such was the incompatibility in manners, and politics, and religion, that hundreds returned, and the project was abandoned.

Statesmen, in high places, have proposed to set apart for this purpose some region on the American Continent. This proposition might be entertained by many if there were reasonable grounds for expecting that a territory could be insured to the colony as an isolated residence. But such an expectation overlooks the past history of American advancement. Remembering the extent to which the Indians have been pressed by "the white man's greed of land," it were idle to expect the permanent segregation of a negro colony. According to the present ratio of increase, the population of the United States, in seventy years from to-day, will be two hundred millions. If, when the census is but thirty-five millions, the Aborigines cannot be left undisturbed, what dykes could prevent the swelling flood of future emigration from overflowing the negroes? No colony in *America* could be secured against encroachment. The requisite locality is found in no quarter of the globe, except Western Africa. There, the white man cannot live. The Liberian, shielded by his climate against intruders, is "monarch of all he surveys." Recognized as a peer, he can stand erect, and enter the career of competition without a paralysing sense of inferiority.

In the crisis through which our country is passing we look with anxiety to the American Colonization Society. It were extravagant to anticipate the removal of our entire colored race. Yet it is not unreasonable to conjecture, that the number of departures may grow with the facilities for emigration. Those facilities may be multiplied by the increase of trade with Western Africa. As to the future extent of that trade, there are no data on which to base a positive opinion. Yet it is worthy of remark, that there are present signs of expansion. In 1833 the palm oil, imported from Western Africa into Great Britain, was valued at $2,045,000. The amount has been steadily rising, and in 1862 (the date of our latest statistics) it was upwards of $7,000,000. In consequence of the augmenting commerce in that and other articles, the British West African Steamships have announced an arrangement for a semi-monthly mail. "The Company of African Merchants" and "The London and African Company," are the titles of two commercial associations recently organized in London. Their ships, are scattered along the seaboard of Western Africa, and are forming business relations with the merchants of Liberia. Their movements indicate a rising appreciation of the trade. Let it be observed, that this result has been occasioned by the fact that the colonies constitute *media* of traffic with the natives in the interior. Much larger results may be expected, when the resources of the colonies themselves shall be developed by the hand of civilization.

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Those resources have not been fully explored; yet sufficiently so to prove that they are valuable. Iron ore abounds; and the opinion is confidently expressed that there is a rich supply of copper and other minerals. The rivers, though generally too small for extensive navigation, are numerous. The character of the soil may be inferred from a list of its productions. Among them may be mentioned rosewood, teak, mahogany, hickory, poplar, sassa wood, and other trees valuable for ship-building and architecture; camwood, ebony, acacia, copal tree, caoutchouc, and several varieties of palm; maize, rice, and on the highlands wheat, barley and oats. The principal farinaceous and esculent plants grow well. Among the fruits are the mango, lemon, lime, orange, guava, tamarind, pomegranate, cocoanut, plantain, banana, pineapple, and African peach. The staples are cotton, sugar, coffee and indigo. The quality of these has been attested by the price they bring in the United States market. They sell at a rate as high as those imported from any country. A firm who recently purchased several bales of Messurado cotton have written the following testimonial:

"We worked it alone, in our mill, to test its quality; and can say that we think it fully equal to our own American upland cotton. It has an excellent fiber, dyes well, and can be used in manufacturing cotton fabrics of all kinds."

A specimen lot of indigo from Bassa County was submitted to the scrutiny of a merchant in Philadelphia, who had been long conversant with the manufacture of that article in India. He declares "it better than the medium quality from Bengal; and it is evident, that with care, the best of indigo can be obtained from Liberia." A soil yielding products such as those above mentioned must be capable of furnishing the material for extensive commerce.

It is a matter of regret that the Liberians have done so little to develop their agricultural wealth. Attention has been chiefly devoted to commercial pursuits. This is accounted for by their contiguity to natives whose wants and trading propensities offer inviting opportunities for barter. Harper's "Gazetteer" asserts that about two millions of inhabitants receive their supplies of goods from Liberia, giving in return palm oil, ivory, camwood, etc." Hence there are many wealthy merchants. That the country is prospering must be admitted, in view of the report that their exports are exceeding their imports. Yet it is unfortunate that a trade, furnished to their hand, has diverted labor from agricultural pursuits. However, it is gratifying to see of late a growing inclination to till the land. This is evident from the comparative price of choice lands. Tracts which, a few years since, could be purchased at two dollars per acre, now cost twenty and some are even valued as high as fifty. At present, sugar seems to be receiving more attention than any other staple. In 1864 the sugar crop on the St. Paul's river amounted to 4,211,200 pounds. One of the planters, Jesse Sharp,

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who emigrated in 1852, was in 1859, by a generous loan from H. M. Schefflein, Esq., enabled to purchase a steam sugar mill. He has paid his debt, and last year he sold 70,000 pounds of sugar. The scale on which that article is being cultivated may be inferred from the fact, that several planters now own and employ steam mills. Cotton and coffee are also receiving increased culture. Editors in the Republic are dwelling upon the subject of agriculture in their columns. Legislators are urging its importance in their addresses. If their efforts should succeed in making the people a community of farmers, the result must be a large addition to the quantity of exports.

We have seen that even now, without awaiting the development of the above-mentioned agricultural resources, trade with Western Africa is continually on the increase. Of course, the development of them shall impart an incalculable impulse to commerce. When that transpires, the means and inducements for emigrating shall be multiplied. The frequent receipt of news from Africa, and the oft-recurring departures thither, may produce on our negroes an impression similar to that which has been felt by the operatives of Europe when hearing from the United States, or bidding farewell to embarking friends. Let it be remembered, that the arrivals from Europe on our shores within the last twenty years have exceeded the whole number of the negro population in the United States, and there will be the less inclination to brand as enthusiasm the largest anticipations with regard to colonization in Africa.

It will probably be retarded by ignorance of freedmen respecting the benefits which they and their children would realize. Their blindness is likely to be prolonged by the visionary guides who teach them "to look for their chief good in this country; and in the face of all the repulsions of social inequality, to stand here and fight it out." Yet as such advice is contrary to their real interests, their eyes may be opened to the truth. Their views being changed, the applicants for a passage to the Land of Promise may multiply beyond all precedent.

Time will prove whether these conjectures as to the future are correct. In the meantime, they do not affect the claims of the American Colonization Society to patronage. It is not to be estimated by the contraction or expansion of the work which it may be called to perform. It stands ready to perform all that may be assigned to it by Providence. As an instrumentality judiciously adapted to the times, and to the interests which it was intended to promote, we bid it God-speed.

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ART. X.—SECURITY FOR CAPITAL.

WHAT the country needs now more than anything else is capital. Unable to compete with us for population who offered republican institutions to the emigrant, the leading countries of Europe have contented themselves with outbidding us for capital. Either competition is a noble one: to invite new settlers, or new wealth: because the means which it is necessary to employ, are in their nature beneficial and elevating. No large numbers of men can be persuaded to emigrate to foreign countries, unless the atractions offered to them are of permanent value; and no great amounts of capital can be induced to seek employment away from the countries where it is owned, unless palpable and enduring advantages are held out to it.

Patterson's Darien scheme led a handful of deceived emigrants to colonize the sickly isthmus, there to perish with heat and disease; and Law's Mississippi Bubble sank some large amounts of capital in that ill-founded and deceptive enterprise; but to invite men and money by millions it is necessary to offer those advantages which are only to be found in political freedom and social security.

Ever since the foundation of the United States Government the advantages offered to settlers in this country over those which were to be obtained in other countries, have been so great that the strongest ties of family and fatherland have been overcome, and five millions of European emigrants have been drawn towards our shores. These people have populated the country and made it prosper to an extent that has lifted it to the foremost position among the nations. The advantages held out to them consisted of religious toleration, political equality, universal suffrage, free tenures of land, and the abrogation of the laws of entail and primogeniture. In a word, the feudal system in this country was refused a footing, in so far as it concerned the Rights of Persons.

A time has now come, when this beneficial policy must be carried still farther. The war has destroyed a vast amount of wealth. That which is represented by the United States and by the Confederate debt, added to that which is not included in either, must amount in round figures to 5,000 millions of dollars in value. Towns are destroyed, whole districts laid waste by fire and sword, and a large amount of personal effects are consumed. The country needs capital; and to obtain it she must use the same means which were employed to obtain population. The feudal laws which affect the Rights of Property must be abrogated, and our legislation, in this respect at least, made equal to that of the advanced countries of Europe.

Many of these laws have become so crystalized in men's minds that to advocate their repeal will doubtless create much opposition; nevertheless the unprejudiced mind must perceive in them the cause that keeps European capital from being invested, more freely than it is, in the United States; and once this fact is thoroughly recognised, our people are too practical not to act upon it.

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The principal laws of the Feudal syatem which still prevail in this country are those which interfere with the perfect freedom of trade; but there are others, which although not strictly feudal laws are derived from a condition of affairs created by them. Such are our navigation laws, our laws of liability, of bankruptcy, of usury, etc. These are the obstacles which stand in the way of the accumulation of capital in this country; and the sooner we recognize this fact, the better.

For instance, several hundred millions a year are lost by our people through our tariff laws, which only yield seventy-five millions a year to the Government. Were the tariff abrogated, the people could afford to pay all that it now yields to the government, in some other shape; and yet be largely the gainers by the operation. An article can be manufactured in Europe for one dollar. In the United States the same article cannot be manufactured at a less cost than two dollars. To encourage the manufacture here (a useless object) a tariff is placed upon the importation of the article, of one dollar. Thenceforth the people pay twice as much for this article every time they have occasion to purchase it as before. But who gains by this arrangement? Not the government, for the article is no longer imported. Not the manufacturer, for it *costs* him two dollars to manufacture it. Therefore nobody gains by it, and every body loses. the tariff is made higher or lower, a careful analysis will lead to the same conclusion.

Next take our navigation laws. These laws prohibit American merchants from purchasing the cheap iron ships of England and hoisting an American ensign on them. What is the result of these laws? These cheap and enduring iron vessels, being able to carry freight cheaper than our expensive and perishable wooden vessels, have completely taken away our foreign trade, a most profitable branch of industry, and given it to England, to France, to Holland, and to the free cities of northern Europe. As to our laws of liability we are outdone by almost every nation in Europe. Laws which limit the liability of stockholders and partners, whether active or sleeping, are common all over northern Europe. Here, in almost all the States, a man is liable to the extent of all he possesses for the solvency of any enterprise to which he may choose to apply his capital. Our bankruptcy laws are equally antiquated; and so is our law of usury, which seeks to limit the rate of interest on loans of money by attaching a penalty of forfeiture to all transactions at a rate of interest exceeding that which happens to be fixed upon.

Further than this, our general administration of the law of contract is bad. The debtor has no security against easily fabricated charges of false pretense; the creditor no security against fraud and the empirical decision of political judges.

Here then is ample room for reform. In all these respects the leading countries of Europe have long since surpassed us, and it is time we shook off our inertia, and looked to our true interets.

The South is a vast garden. Fine table lands for grazing pur-

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poses; rich alluvial bottoms for agricultural purposes, sunny hillsides for the vine and the fruit tree; and plenty of water-power for manufacturing purposes, abound in every direction. Besides this, beneath her soil lie gold and silver, coal, copper, iron and petroleum in abundance. Above all, she possesses a vast line of sea-coast and river navigation; so that not only for agriculture, for mining, for manufactures, but also for commerce, does she possess immense and easily reached natural resources. All that is necessary to develop them is capital; and even with the disadvantages which we labor under from the influences of those feudal laws, which still hold their place on our statute books, the profits to be derived from these pursuits are so great that capitalists would be repaid, after deducting all risks, tenfold what they could by any possibility earn for their wealth, in Europe.

We are glad to know that these facts are already attracting the attention of capitalists. A grand "Crédit Mobilier" intended to be applied to the development of Southern resources, is now being established in Boston, with Governor Andrews of Massachusetts at its head. A similar enterprise is being founded in New York by a leading banking house of the Empire City. Still another, a sort of "Crédit Foncier," is in process of formation in the latter place; and we understand that one of our leading economists is about to start for Europe to attempt a similar organization in London. President Johnson, in one of his bold and free spoken addresses during the past summer, declared himself the friend of the working classes and the enemy of monopolies and restrictions. With such means at work, and with such a sincere and powerful champion of freedom and justice at the head of the Government, the South may indulge in the happiest auguries of her future prosperity. Reforms which, if instituted, will no less benefit the North than the South, New England than Louisiana, are now agitating men's minds, and before long will be carried into practice. A knowledge of the stability of our Government, of its free institutions, so conducive to personal activity and the acquisition of wealth, and of the frugal and industrious character of our people, will soon be, nay is even now being, spread among the capitalists of Europe; and before long cannot fail of attracting to the United States large sums of capital to be employed in the development of her vast natural resources.

Whatever Europe has done for capital, let her remember that she has done very little for person; and that a reckoning day is in store for her, which will render the security of money investments within her borders extremely precarious. As before all things capital demands security, perhaps it may be worth while for Europeans to weigh the respective claims to security for property which are afforded in their own countries and the United States. Let them then add to the balance the almost certain contingency that our present laws will be remodeled at an early date; and we put it to them whether twenty per cent. per annum in the United States on the security of real estate is not something better than four per cent in Europe on similiar security.

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ART. XI.—THE SOUTH: ITS DUTY AND DESTINY.

THE writer of the article which follows is a distinguished Professor in the South Carolina College, and gives expression to the views of the most hopeful class of Southern people. What he says of the West India experiment will receive further elucidation in the next number of the REVIEW, when we hope to give a full examination to the recent work of Mr. Sewell, who visited the islands and furnishes an elaborate and favorable exposition of their present condition. —EDITOR.

ON the fourth of July 1865, the citizens of Columbia, S. C., were the spectators of a scene most impressive and instructive. A large body of freedmen gathered from the surrounding districts, united with their countrymen in the city to celebrate the day of national festivity. There were not less than twenty thousand present on the occasion; yet no act of violence nor even of incivility was perpetrated. No disturbance occurred. All were sober, sedate and courteous. The cup of freedom had not made them delirious. These sanguinary barbarians, who, according to the theory of fanaticism, had been kept in subjection by the whip and the chain, adjusted themselves to their new relations with a calm dignity which, however subversive of the aforesaid theory, reflects the greatest credit upon their former masters. The institution of slavery had transformed the African savage into the nucleus of the American citizen.

The South is thus vindicated from unmerited calumny. "The past at least is secure"; and the Southern master, thus unexpectedly cited before the world's tribunal, has proved that he has discharged his high trust, by the employment of an institution devolved upon him by the cupidity of the North, on the moral improvement of the class thus committed to his charge. That institution no longer exists. The stern arbitrament of the sword has decreed its extinction, and the South, acquiescing in the inevitable result, has surrendered its trust. A new era has dawned upon it. The relation of labor to capital assumes a different position. By a revolution unexampled in the history of mankind, philanthropic projectors have converted slaves into freemen, without warning or preparation, without that apprenticeship which has been hitherto deemed the appropriate and even necessary transition from bondage to liberty. It remains to be seen how the South will meet this new condition of affairs. Is it adequate to the crisis? To deny this, would be an ungenerous reflection upon its established character for sagacity and energy. A people that converted an inconsiderable foreign plant into the autocrat of the commerce of the civilized world, and made cotton king, defying and distancing all competition in its cultivation; that held at bay for four years the most powerful government on the face of the earth, and succumbed at last only to overwhelming numbers, waging a war of devastation, plunder and rapine, has settled the question of their energy and endurance. Such men even an enemy

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might be proud to claim as brethren. They have asserted their high lineage, and proved themselves adequate to any task which Providence may devolve upon them.

The vital question for the South at the present time, is: Can the colored man be profitably employed as a free laborer? Will he work? or is he an exception to the general rule, which determines that when the laborer is remanded to his own interests he will prove most effective? The results of the experiment in the British West Indies would throw great light upon this inquiry. But unfortunately the requisite documents are not at hand. Gen. Sherman, in his devastating occupations and marches, has so effectually done his chosen work, that the private libraries, to which we might repair for information, lie in ashes. We can avail ourselves only of such information as is within our reach; and fortunately we have at hand the "Edinburgh Review," which happens to have escaped their touch and torch.

A writer in that Quarterly for April, 1859, affirms that "the West Indies are rising with great speed to a height of wealth, happiness and comfort unknown before," that "they are swiftly becoming a gem in the British crown, of higher value than they ever were before." The act of emancipation took effect in 1834; the apprenticeship system ceased in 1838. The new system seems to have worked very well until 1847, when a dreadful crash came, brought about mainly by a vast fall in the price of sugar. Free trade exposed the planters to the competition of Brazil and Cuba, whilst the protective measures of France and Belgium and other continental countries in favor of their beet sugar excluded cane sugar from their markets, and caused a surplus in England, so that, although the produce of the Islands continued to increase, the profits were as steadily diminishing, and the planters, crippled by the debts which they had brought with them out of slavery, were crushed and ruined. But from these disasters the Islands have gradually recovered; and the writer affirms that "official statistics and reports absolutely demonstrate that the West Indies are rapidly advancing in wealth and prosperity, with a corresponding advance in the general character of the people."

The South enters upon its new career under circumstances strikingly different, and far more advantageous, than those which attended the experiment in the West Indies. Our colored population is far superior in intellect and morals. The plantations in those islands were managed principally by agents, the proprietors residing in England; and there was little intercourse between the whites and the blacks. The latter remained in ignorance and barbarism. Our people have been civilized and christianized. They are intelligent, have been trained to habits of industry, and can appreciate the importance of regular and well-directed labor. Moreover, we have the advantage of climate. Those tropical regions enabled the negro to live upon the spontaneous productions of the soil, and hence tempted him to sloth. But, in our climate, work is indispensable to

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existence. The negro must labor or starve. Hence the proprietor of land can present a controlling motive to overcome the native sluggishness of the African. Again, the British Government committed the fatal mistake of allowing the emancipated negroes to become owners of the soil. The wild lands were occupied by the freedmen; and cuffie settled down upon them in easy indolence, content to live upon pumpkins and whatever a bounteous nature might lavish at his feet. But here, the white man is the proprietor of the land. Cuffie must work for him, or try the experiment of living without work, with the privilege of starving. He is free to starve if he pleases. But even the negro can understand that starvation is not the most desirable privilege of freedom, and his own sad experience will impress him with the importance of working for a living.

We are, we confess, deeply solicitous that a fair experiment shall be made with the free colored population. The South has already proved itself their greatest benefactor, by rescuing them from barbarism and heathenism and blessing them with the light of a pure christianity. It now remains to complete the great work by elevating them to the status of intelligent, industrious and effective hirelings. Let us not shrink from this arduous, but benevolent, enterprise. The negro is indeed ignorant, and he has been perverted and demoralized by fanatical teachers; but the instincts of humanity are yet vital in him; and the kindly remembrance of former and brighter days will concur with a regard for his own interest to attach him to his former master. Prudence, forbearance and a tender indulgence of his infirmities may yet protect him against the insidious influences which are employed to make him regard his former master as his enemy, and may revive those earlier associations of love and duty, which once made him contented with his humble lot.

The primary condition of success with the Southern planter consists in a full appreciation of the altered relation of the negro laborer and a corresponding change of treatment. In this respect, the West India planters blundered most sadly. The managers of estates (for the proprietors were mostly absentees), forgetting that the negro was no longer a bondman, carried into their new sphere the habits of thought and action to which they had been accustomed, but of which the freedmen was very naturally most impatient, and attempted to subject the latter to a system of discipline which the laws had made obsolete. Distrust and alienation were the inevitable consequence. The laborer in disgust abandoned his old home, and set up for himself. It is not without some degree of truth that a writer in the "Westminster Review," February, 1853, asserts, "The diminution of labor was the direct and immediate consequence of the mismanagement of the planters."

Southern planters, it is to be hoped, will avoid this error. Our colored people are possessed, we believe, of the most kindly feelings towards their late owners. Many of them have declined to accept

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the proffered boon of freedom; all, with perhaps the exception of the few who have been corrupted by those who left their masters and took up arms against them in the late struggle, wish and hope to live among us quietly and orderly. The negro is by nature submissive and peaceable. He has no propensity to acts of violence and blood. Intemperance is not among his crimes. His chief faults are falsehood and theft; and these were the incidents of his servile condition, just as gaming, gallantry, the pleasures of the table and extravagant display in dress and equipage are the products of a higher stage of civilization. Possessing with inhimself the constituents of an effective laborer, he may be transmuted by judicious and painstaking efforts into a valuable coadjutor in the new career of progress upon which the South has entered.

One striking peculiarity of his character is his strong local attachment, his love of home and its surroundings. The Southern planter may avail himself of this element of his nature, and turn it to beneficial uses both for himself and his dependent. The negro's original attachment to the homestead may be confirmed and invigorated by kind and courteous treatment, by affectionate interest in his family and regard for his welfare. He may thus be made a permanent fixture of the plantation; and our patriarchal institution may be replaced by one combining all its advantages with none of its evils. Slavery is an abnormal and, as the history of the world has proved, a deciduous institution. Whether this is the growth of man's virtues or his vices we stop not to inquire. We accept the fact. But the relation of master and servant is natural and unalterable Our former system may be replaced by one such as that which exists in England, where the playmate of childhood becomes the confidential agent of later years, resides at the old homestead, and dying leaves his children's children in the service of his original employer, and attached to their native spot by all the sweet and gentle associations of home, kindred and friends. Such a system of hereditary employment, of transmission of duties and affections from parents to children, is the fairest school of human nature. It is the nursery of all that is noblest, and dearest, and best in our social relations, and far transcends the miserable scheme of mercenary and transient service which pervades the domestic economy of the North.

We are, as we have said, anxious that a fair experiment should be made with the colored people. We are hopeful, even confident, in regard to its issue. But should the experiment fail, there exists no ground for despondency in reference to our future. Our broad lands and fertile fields will invite foreign emigration. The young, the vigorous, and the enterprising will come among us to seek their fortunes; and the indomitable Anglo-Saxon spirit will in the end triumph over all obstacles. We have said nothing of the aid which we may derive from the influences of Christianity in subsidizing the colored labor of the South. We hope to discuss that subject in another article. The religion of the negro is *sui generis*, and demands the careful scrutiny of the philosopher.

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But we must stop. The conclusion of the whole matter is this: We call upon the people of the South to be manly, enterprising, hopeful. Their fortitude in adversity is even more admirable than their gallantry in the field. They are capable of great things, and may achieve a high destiny. Let them turn away from the dead past, and look at the living future. "Men are sometimes masters of their fates;" and the critical period has arrived in which they are summoned to enter upon a new career of unexampled prosperity, happiness, and virtue. Adversity is a stern school, but it is the gymnasium of great souls; and the awful calamities which have befallen the South may prove in the end to have been only the discipline of Providence to purify and consolidate its character, and to make it, as hitherto the ornament, so now and hereafter, the support of a great nation.

ART. XII.—THE USES AND MORALITY OF WAR AND PEACE.

THE article which follows is from the pen of one of our oldest contributors; and although we have often differed from him, the originality of his views has been universally admitted, and his power as a writer has never been questioned. Whilst giving full weight to what are recognized as the "horrors of war," and of which the people of many of our States have had a fearful example recently before them, we are not unwilling to admit, with Mr. Fitzhugh, that it has its compensations, even as Shakespeare has expressed it:

> "Sweet are the uses of adversity,
> Which, like the toad—ugly and venomous—
> Hath yet a precious jewel in his head."—EDITOR.

ALMOST all men are prone to believe that wars are unmitigated evils, and many look forward with hope and expectation to a milennial state of society, in which there shall be no wars, no strife, no discord, no jealousies, no rivalries, and wherein all men shall love, aid, and assist each other. If the absence of national and foreign wars could beget intestine peace, could banish rivalries, competitions and hatreds among neighbors, could beget universal love and concord, then eternal peace would be the *summum bonum* of human existence. But such milennial beatitude is a utopian chimera which man is doomed ever to pursue, and never to overtake.

National peace begets intestine war—makes men love money, greedy of gain, selfish, low-minded, effeminate, and sensual. The universal pursuit of wealth begets fierce and angry competitions, and sets each man at war with his neighbor—for no man ever did acquire wealth, or ever expected to acquire it, by the labor of his own hands. No man in pursuit of wealth expects, or is willing to exchange the results of his own labor for an equal amount of the results of other people's labor. All men, in times of peace, try to acquire wealth by the profits of capital, which does not labor at all, which is a non-producer, which taxes or *exploitates* labor, but does not pay or compensate it; or are trying to grow rich by professional

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or mechanical skill, or by sharpness in trade, or in some way to get a great deal of the results of other people's labor, for a very little, or none of their own. Peace begets universal war, of the worst exploitation; or, in plain English, cheating.

When nations, communities, sects, or individuals, resolve never to fight, and persevere in practising their resolves, they take to cheating, and become thoroughly contemptible, selfish, and sensual—lose their intellectual and moral natures, assimilate themselves to the lowest order of the brute creation, and grow fat and lazy, like well-fed pigs. All history shows that over-pacific individuals, sects, and nations become knavish, cowardly, mean, and contemptible, depraved in morals and in intellect, and, finally, the easy prey of more warlike, virtuous, and intelligent peoples. Sodom and Gomorrah, with all their crimes and sensuality, were but the legitimate outgrowths of peace long continued. "The canker of a calm world and a long peace."

American character, North and South, had suffered much from long-continued peace. Not so much at the South as at the North, because we were not, in theory or practice, non-resistants—yet we all worshiped alike the "almighty dollar," all were engaged in the mean pursuit of gain, and thought of little else than sensual enjoyment, of "hog and hominy." All education was directed to money making, and we had the best-fed bodies and the worst-fed minds of any people in Christendom. The war has purified and elevated our natures, taught us to respect ourselves, and has won for us the respect of foreign nations.

We have not been able to discover the morality of peace, or what single virtue it begets or cherishes. Yet peace has its uses; if none other, than it is needed to repair the damages of war.

Peace and war are antinomes, whose due alternation preserves the health and well-being, and promotes the growth, progress and improvement of society. War draws men closer together, makes them dependent on each other, allays domestic strife and competition, in a great measure equalizes conditions, banishes selfishness, and makes men live, labor and fight for each other; and continually seeing and feeling their mutual inter-dependence, it begets brotherly love.

Patriotism itself, the noblest of human virtues, is not love of the soil of our country, but love for our fellow-citizens. This virtue is dormant and almost extinguished in time of peace, but bursts forth with beautiful light and intensity in time of war. There are more generous, liberal and charitable actions performed in one day of war than in a year of peace. Men then obey the scriptural injunction, and love their neighbors as themselves. And woman, noble woman, throws aside all her little vanities and frivolities, and devotes her means, her time and her labor to the relief of the sick, the wounded and the needy. The rich no longer hold themselves aloof from the poor, for they feel the need of the poor, who are battling side by side with them for the rights, liberty and independence of all. The poor no longer envy and hate the rich, for they see the wealth of the

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rich sustaining the war, and, when needed, supplying the wants of all, either by voluntarily imposed taxation, or by the liberal hand of private charity. It is a season of almost universal love and brotherhood. A few cold-hearted speculators and extortioners prey upon the wants and necessities of their fellowmen, but their number is much less than is generally supposed. Thoughtless people charge our merchants with extortion, but on investigation it will be found that they pay high prices for their goods, and sell them at reasonable profits.

In all ages and in all countries war has been considered the most honorable pursuit. Virtue and valor were expressed by the same word among the Romans. So long as they were virtuous and prosperous they were always at war. They and all other nations, who have been most distinguished in war, have succeeded best in cultivating the arts of peace. The Romans were more remarkable for justice, clemency, piety, morality and general enlightenment than any of the profane nations of antiquity. They originated the first great system of jurisprudence, which is still the groundwork of the laws of most civilized nations. We find in the Old Testament that great warriors were the favorites of God, and that wars were often ordained and commanded by him. The subject is exhaustless; but our object will be answered if we have shown that peace and war are antinomes or opposing concurrent forces, whose opposition and alternation are necessary parts of the economy of the moral world.

ART. XIII.—HISTORICAL SKETCH OF PAPER CURRENCY.

INVENTION OF PAPER MONEY — FRENCH EXPERIENCE — JOHN LAW — ENGLISH EXPERIMENTS — COLONIAL — RUSSIAN — CONFEDERATE STATES — OUR NATIONAL CURRENCY.

THIS article, which has been for sometime upon our table, has been amended in a few particulars by the author, and slightly enlarged. It is an interesting discussion of the paper money question from the pen of one of the leading literary and practical men of the South; the author of the "History of Louisiana," and other valuable works.—EDITOR.

IN the latter months of the year 1863, only two years after the beginning of the great struggle which has lately terminated, and long before there was any doubt, in the Southern Confederacy, of its final success, its paper currency had depreciated to an extent which made it almost valueless. This was looked upon as the natural and inevitable consequence of its excessive redundancy, but that redundancy was not the only reason of its depreciation, because it would have depreciated without it, although to a much less degree. We believe it may be laid down as an almost settled axiom, without much fear of any successful refutation, that depreciation is of the very essence of paper money, whether it exceeds or not the wants of the community where it is current—that its over-issue only accelerates, or

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increases the depreciation—and that the depreciation becomes still more rapid and fatal when that paper, either by the action of Government, or from the no less powerful dictates of circumstances, becomes a *forced currency*.

Before proceeding further, let us, on the threshold of this disquisition, determine what we are to understand, strictly speaking, by paper currency. We wish it therefore to be kept in mind, that we mean by paper currency all notes or obligations which are intended as a substitute for coin, and which are not redeemable on presentation in metallic currency, to the full amount of the promise to pay contained in those notes or obligations. Otherwise—that is, when it can be converted at will into gold or silver, or is believed to be thus convertible—it does not circulate as paper currency, but merely as the convenient and useful representative of metallic currency, over which it possesses a decided advantage for transportation and for other purposes of trade ; and so long as this is the case it does not depreciate.

Although paper currency is a modern invention, the teachings of history in relation to its effects are sufficiently numerous and sufficiently instructive, if not to cause it to be altogether rejected by the rulers of nations, at least to inform them how to guard, as much as possible, against its evils, when it is once resorted to, if man could be kept from the commission of well-known errors by the warning examples of his predecessors.

We believe that we are correct in asserting that paper currency is an invention of the eighteenth century, and that all those nations which, since its invention, have had recourse to that fatal panacea, did not, in the end, have any reason to congratulate themselves upon the experiment. The temptation, however, to create in pressing exigencies, by so simple an operation as that of a printing press, an abundance of fictitious wealth in substitution of the precious metals, is too overpowering to be resisted by modern statesmen. The only hope is that it is a resource which will be rarely used, on account of its dangerous consequences, and that when used, it shall be with the necessary precautions ; although from the knowledge of the past, and the spectacle offered by the present, we are not justified in expecting much from the future. Great national wars have generally been the pretext for the emission of paper currency on a large scale, as a matter of course ; and so much so, that in such contingencies it seems to be the first measure which, from its seductive facility, presents itself to the mind. It ought not, however, to be forgotten that the seven years' war of single-handed Prussia, under Frederic the Great, against the combined forces of France, Austria and Russia, in the last century, is a magnificent proof that a long struggle for national existence can be successfully maintained without having recourse to paper currency. It is true that, as Macaulay says, "The King carried on war as no European power has carried on war, except the Committee of Public Safety during the great agony of the French Revolution." Prussia, which had been devastated in

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every one of its provinces by uncivilized hordes of Croatians, Cossacks, and other barbarians, had been converted almost into a howling wilderness; but, adds the historian: "One consolatory circumstance, indeed, there was; no debt had been incurred. The burdens of war had been terrible, almost insupportable; but no arrear was left to embarrass the finances." We all know how soon Prussia, free from debt, recovered from so many wounds which seemed mortal, and how those meagre domains which so recently enjoyed no prouder name than that of *Marquisate of Brandeburg*, assumed an importance and a rank equal to those of the most powerful kingdoms of Europe. We admit, however, that such an example is not easy of imitation, although it shows for the instruction of the world what the genius of one man and the endurance of a nation can accomplish without "*issuing bonds*," and without manufacturing a paper currency, which inevitably leads to demoralization, repudiation, bankruptcy, and national disgrace.

We have said that the genealogy of paper currency can hardly be traced up further back than the beginning of the eighteenth century. For the first time, we believe, in 1702, a paper money was created in France, which was to be withdrawn on the 1st of April, 1705, bearing in the meanwhile the enormous interest of 7½ per cent. per annum. It was received by the public with great favor, and circulated at par. But on the 1st of April, 1705, the paper could not be redeemed, as promised, and in order to induce the holders to consent to its renewal without too importunate clamors of discontent, the Government added 2 per cent. to the original interest, making 9½ per cent. Notwithstanding this encouragement, this tempting bait—notwithstanding this sop thrown to the fears of the multitude, the currency lost in a few days as much as 75 per cent. In 1706, by a decree of the Government, it was made a legal tender, and thus became a *forced currency*, under the penalty of pillory, exile, and a fine of three thousand livres. But, strange as it may appear to those among us who favor measures of this description, from that moment th ecurrency became valueless, so much so, that the Government paid one-fourth of it in coin, on condition that the rest should be converted into treasury notes—which conversion was followed by other conversions, until at last the Government emitted notes bearing an interest of 20 per cent., but without succeeding in stopping the increasing depreciation of every paper currency that was issued in rapid succession. Merchants asked their customers in what currency the goods desired were to be paid for, and had one price for those who offered to pay in gold or silver, and another price for those who tendered paper; and frequently to those of this latter denomination they pretended that they had no goods at all on hand. The peasantry of France refused also to take it, as many of the Southern farmers refused to take Confederate currency. A maximum rate having been decreed, at which the French peasants were compelled to sell the produce of their labors, many ceased to work their lands. This circumstance, combined with the effects of an unusually

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rigorous winter, produced such a famine in 1709, that, even in Paris, only coarse brown bread was used for several months; that in the very palace of Versailles, the seat of so much splendor, several families fed on bread made of oatmeal, and that the celebrated Madam de Maintenon, the avowed confidential friend and the secret spouse of one of the most magnificent monarchs of the world, gave the example of abstemious frugality by partaking of this rude diet. The price of wheat flour had gone up to 120 livres the sack, but the Government having found out the means of reducing the amount of the paper currency afloat, flour suddenly fell down to 40 livres. It would be profitable and instructive to examine separately and in detail the curious devices to which financiering ingenuity resorted in those days, but this could not be done here without exceeding the bounds which we have prescribed to this article.

Soon after, under the regency of the Duke of Orleans, followed the introduction of the famous scheme, invented by John Law, to absorb the paper currency which had been emitted with so little success in the preceding reign, to relieve the other necessities of the State and supply the scarcity of the precious metals. That wonderfully skillful adventurer had first attempted to try his great financial experiment in Holland, but had found an insurmountable obstable in the cold phlegmatic temperament of the Dutch, whom he could not dazzle into the adoption of his magical discovery of assimilating paper to gold and silver. Then, in 1705, he had, under the patronage of some of the highest magnates of Scotland, whom the plausibility of his plans had fascinated, presented to the Parliament of that kingdom a scheme for removing the difficulties resulting from the scarcity of coin and from the stoppage of payments by its national bank; and in illustration of his views on that subject, he gave publicity to a work entitled: "Money and trade considered, with a proposal to supply the nation with money." What could be more tempting?

The proposal of Law was that commissioners, appointed in the manner provided for by Parliament, and remaining under the control of that body, should be empowered to issue notes, either in the way of loan at ordinary interest upon land mortgages, provided the loan should not exceed half, or at most two-thirds of the value of the land; or upon land pledges redeemable within a certain period of time, to the full value of the land; or, lastly, upon sale, irredeemably, to the amount of the price agreed upon. The most timid, as he conceived, could not object to this kind of paper money on the ground of its being deficient in safe guarantees, and he maintained that it would constitute a currency equal in value to gold and silver coin, to which it might even be preferred for reasons which he enumerated in his work. Thus a piece of land would not only be a farm answering all the purposes for which it was originally destined, but also, according to its value, so much capital thrown into circulation. The wealth of the kingdom would evidently be doubled, argued Law, and an incalculable impulse given to industry and en-

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terprise of every sort. By this ingenious operation a double source of profit was to be secured to Scotland, the one proceeding from the agricultural produce of her soil, and the other from the employment of so much capital as that soil represented. But this scheme, though presented to a needy public in a glowing style, and with arguments elaborate with exquisite art, and though powerfully supported by the court party, and by the influence of such men as the Duke of Argyle and others of high, social position, was rejected by the Parliament on the ground that, "to establish any kind of paper credit, so as to oblige it to pass as currency, was an improper expedient for the nation." This conclusion was worthy of the proverbial sagacity, prudence and integrity of the Scottish people. That a government should change its metallic currency into printed notes or promises to pay, and compel its citizens, who had loaned certain sums in gold and silver, to receive in reimbursement, the same amount in depreciated or worthless paper money, may, not without some appearance of reason, have appeared, to the Puritanic but brave and loyal descendants of Wallace and Bruce, a somewhat doubtful question of morality and policy. They also apprehended that if Law's plan were adopted, all the real estate in the kingdom would thereby be brought to a complete dependence upon the bank proposed by him, and collaterally upon the Government, as the bank itself was dependent on the Goverment.

It is useless to add that the wisdom of England and her knowledge of the laws of trade and the exigencies of public credit prevented her from listening to the proposals of Law. But, nothing abashed by these repulses, Law, after the fashion of Columbus searching for a sovereign into whose lap he should be permitted to shower the treasures of America, wandered about in quest of some Power who would accept the El Dorado which teemed in his brains. In his peregrinations he repaired to the Court of Turin, and addressed the reigning prince, Victor Amadeus, on the financial conceptions which he thought had been so unwisely rejected: but that prudent sovereign shrewdly and quaintly answered, "I am not rich enough to afford being ruined."

This short historical sketch shows the instinctive aversion entertained in Europe for paper currency, when it made its first appearance at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is evident that the dangers of such an innovation were as apparent then as they are now, although not actually demonstrated by experience as they have been since. It was impossible to be oblivious of the fact that, for ages, great nations had existed, with great military and commercial wants, as great comparatively as in modern times, and that they had met those wants without any paper currency, or anything like it. Why depart from the line of safe precedents? said the enemies of the new system. Coins, it must be admitted, had frequently been debased by governments as a momentary resource, but always with fatal effects; and the policy of paper money was certainly, they thought, as questionable as that of adulterating coin

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for temporary purposes. It is possible, however, that paper currency might have been distinguished as an earlier invention if the press had been sooner known, or if, shortly after it was known, it had worked with as much marvelous rapidity as in our days.

Is was at a time when the wise heads of France could not see their way through the embarrassments of the national treasury, that John Law came forward with his panacea, which was to liquidate the debt of the State, to increase its revenue, and at the same time *diminish taxation.* All these prodigies were to be suddenly produced by the easiest process in the world—the creation of a paper currency—which, representing all the commercial, agricultural and other sources of the kingdom pledged to its ultimate redemption, would add another currency to the one already existing—another currency equally as good and solid as that metallic currency which was no longer adequate to the increasing wants of the nation. The Regent, who was incessantly craving for money, and who had an imagination naturally and easily captivated by specious schemes and attractive novelties, eagerly jumped at the conclusions of Law, and granted him all the required facilities to carry into practical operation his new system of finances. With wonderful celerity the adventurer soon created the most stupendous financial fabric ever presented to the world! All the national property and all the revenues whatever of one of the most powerful kingdoms of Europe, and the profits to be derived from extraordinary monopolies and from other sources which it is useless to enumerate, were wedged together into a unit, and that unit made responsible for the security of the new circulating medium to be introduced into that country! Could any currency be better than that which rested on such foundations? exclaimed the advocates of Law. And yet what were the results? The year 1720 saw his financial system expanding like a gigantic mushroom, embellished with hues as bright and dazzling as might emanate from a huge mountain of pure and solid gold, under the rays of a tropical sun. But we all know that in one day, as it were, it withered away, leaving desolation brooding on ruin, where before all was hope and joy.

Then happened what has but too frequently been seen since: the superabundance of paper money produced a great scarcity of coin. It became evident to the most obtuse, or to the most sanguine, that this prolific paper currency had not a sufficient representative for its redemption, and that before long it would be no more cared for than worthless rags. As soon as that discovery was made; as soon as it was ascertained that *public credit* was dead, and that the vast paper currency was nothing but a fit shroud for its corpse, every one hastened to convert the notes he had into gold or silver, and to realize the fortune he had acquired by stock jobbing or speculation. We see the same process now going on among us. The most keen sighted, or the most prudent, not only exchanged their notes for specie, but sent it out of France, as speculators lately did in the Confederate States, and it is calculated that in this way the kingdom was drained of five hundred millions of livres!

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To avert the danger, the Government, in less than eight months promulgated thirty-three edicts to tax the value of gold and silver, to preserve and to increase the metallic currency, and to limit the amount of gold and silver which might be converted into plate and jewelry. No payment in specie could be made except for small sums—that is to say: paper became a legal tender and discharged debts—exactly what our legislators have thought would be a remedy to the depreciation of our own paper. Nay, more—the standard of *coin* was purposely, by royal decrees, kept in the most bewildering state of fluctuation, while the value of the *notes* was decreed to be invariable. It was expected that, the value of gold and silver coin being thus made so uncertain, there would be a strong inducement to convert them into notes bearing interest and decreed invariable in their value. But this expectation was not realized. The next contrivance was to make rents, taxes and custom-house duties payable only in paper; but this failed again to answer the purpose. As a climax to these high-handed measures, individuals, as well as secular and religious communities, were prohibited under very severe penalties from having in their possession more than five hundred livres—in specie, or about $100. This royal ordinance established the most intolerable inquisition, and gave rise to the most vexatious researches on the part of the police. The house of no citizen was free from the visits of the agents of power; every man trembled to see denunciation lurking by his fireside, and to harbor treachery by the very altars of his household gods. But this also failed.

The depreciation of the paper currency continued to be so rapid, and the alarm of the public became such, that it was thought necessary at least to reduce considerably the disproportion between the coin supposed to be in the kingdom and what we shall call, for a better understanding of the case, the treasury notes of the Government. Thus, on the 21st of May, 1720, an edict was issued, which, in violation of the pledge of the State and the most solemn stipulations, and as a beginning of bankruptcy, cut down to one-half the whole paper currency—a measure which was advocated in the late Southern Confederacy, to *make good* the rest of their notes. The holders of the notes, it was said, would have no legitimate right to complain, since their one-half would be equal in value to the whole, and since they would purchase all they needed for half of the price which they were paying. Besides, it was better to lose one-half than the whole. Such compromises constantly took place in ordinary transactions between individuals; and after all, it had become a matter of *necessity*, to save the Government. Such was the self-deceiving logic of ignorance; such was the flimsy sophistry of dishonesty. What was the consequence? It was instantaneous and overwhelming. At once all confidence was lost in the notes, general consternation prevailed, and no one would have given twenty cents in hard coin for millions of the paper currency, which was suddenly reduced to zero by that very measure which was intended to save it.

Any one studying the financial part of the history of the regency

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of the Duke of Orleans, would cease to tax his brains in the vain hope to discover anything new to bolster up a decaying paper currency; he must content himself to imitate, in consequence of not being able to invent. But is it not reasonable to suppose that, as the original conceptions which he would borrow, backed as they were by despotic power, proved invariably abortive, his imitation, however ingenious, would not be more successful?

Hardly more than one-half of a century had elapsed since the memorable explosion of this financial experiment, when France returned to the same expedient with the same imprudent confidence as before, and in her hours of distress took again to her lips the same poisonous cup which had been once so fatal to her national honor and prosperity. It was at the beginning of the mighty revolution which was to bring to the scaffold her time-honored monarchy and convulse Europe, that the introduction of paper money was vehemently advocated on that most convenient and most unanswerable of all pleas—the plea of necessity. Reasons were given with all the charms of eloquence why the system of Law had been disastrous, and why the new one could not fail of success. The errors of the past would serve only as beacons to guide, and not to mislead; the age had become more enlightened, and an improved machinery could accomplish what it had not done in its original state of imperfection. What capitalist had, in his private business, ever refused to take a promissory note when guaranteed to his satisfaction? and had not France better guaranties to give than individuals! Who could object, for instance, to take the treasury notes of France, which should be exchangeable at will, and without delay, for fertile fields, productive forests, rich mines of all kinds, splendid palaces, multitudinous residences in cities, towns and villages, or in the country, all registered in a book open to inspection, and to be procured on a ratio of appraisement falling much below their real value! Were not, in addition, all the resources and the chivalrous faith of France *pledged* for the redemption of those notes? Such was the basis on which the famous *assignats* were issued. The subject was thoroughly discussed and exhausted by the highest intellects of France, by such men as Mirabeau, l'Abbé Maury, Talleyrand, and a host of other distinguished personages of great merit, although of less fame. Nothing can be added to their luminous expositions of the advantages, or disadvantages, of paper currency, and of the means to be employed to make it an engine of production, if possible, and not of destruction. Mirabeau, who had always been opposed to such financial operations, pretended to have changed his views, and advocated the assignats on the ground of the novel and undoubted security which they offered to the public, and, as a last resort, *invoked the plea of necessity*, as it usually happens when it is desired to justify the injustifiable. On the other side, Talleyrand and the celebrated Abbé Maury predicted that the remedy would turn out to be a noxious drug, by which the patient would be killed. Posterity now knows that they were right.

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But it was said to them, as it is said on all occasions when the emission of paper money is opposed: granting that your objections are correct, what substitute do you offer? I will quote l'Abbé Maury's answer, in substance, if not in the very words he used: "I have," he said, "demonstrated to you beyond refutation, that paper money is a hyena that will devour us all. This is a sufficient reason for not admitting the wild beast among you. Only declare by a recorded vote that you reject, now and forever, the idea of having recourse to paper money, and there will be no lack of men who will come out with financial plans that will be sufficient to the wants of France. I, for one, have on hand one of those plans. But what will be the use of offering to you hard-fisted measures which will task your honesty, your patriotism and your powers of endurance, when you are determined to yield to the blandishments of paper money, and to take the road to perdition, because, at its entrance, it is smooth and easy, whilst that to salvation is rugged and toilsome?" Such language and such vaticinations were not listened to, and the printing presses of the French Government soon became, in the manufacturing of paper money, as active and prolific as those of the two parties engaged in the tremendous war through which we have lately passed. We all know what was the fate of the assignats.

If there ever was a paper money which should have answered its purposes without depreciation, it is that which was introduced in Pennsylvania in 1720, with such precautions and guaranties as ought to have dissipated the alarms of the most timid. The commerce of Philadelphia was then suffering greatly from the want of specie, or of a proper medium of exchange, and paper money was resorted to within very limited bounds—the issue never exceeding sixty-seven thousand pounds. The Provincial Government became the lender of that money. Nobody could borrow of it more than one hundred pounds, nor could obtain it without a mortgage on real estate worth double the value of the sum borrowed, excluding from the estimate the value of the buildings. The borrower was to pay the interest under the penalty of eviction. The capital was to be reimbursed in seven equal installments; and on the return of the paper into the Provincial treasury it was to be burned. In addition to these securities resting on the private wealth of individuals, all the resources of the Province were pledged for the redemption of the paper. Could there be any better guaranties? At first the system worked very well; but in a short time the change between Philadelphia and London, which was at one hundred and thirty-three when the paper was emitted, rose gradually to one hundred and eighty. The paper itself went on depreciating to sixty per cent., until it was converted into Continental money in 1778. A glance at Bancroft's History of the United States, page 380. vol. iii., will show the fate of every other colonial paper. As to Continental money we shall say nothing, its history being but too well known.

Russia had also a paper currency about the same time, and in 1790 that paper was losing thirty-three per cent. in St. Petersburg,

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and much more in the provinces. In fact, as we have already said in the beginning of this article, there never was in any country, except with one trifling exception, a paper money which did not depreciate considerably. Bank notes, when they circulate at par, cannot be classed among paper currencies; they are the mere representatives of the gold and silver which can be had for them on presentation. But we know what becomes of them as soon as they cease to be the representatives of the precious metals, or as soon as there are any apprehensions on the subject. Even the notes of the Bank of England, the strongest institution of the kind in the world, and to which the very strength and life of the Government of Great Britain has been imparted, never failed to depreciate whenever it suspended specie payment, although done at the request of the Government, for national and patriotic purposes. In 1814, those notes were losing twenty-five per cent., and there is no telling what would have been their further depreciation, if a coalition of the whole of Europe against Napoleon had not restored to England the peace which she so much needed.

The only paper currency which did not depreciate, and to which we have already alluded, is that which was guarantied by deposits of tobacco in public warehouses in Virginia and Maryland. There is certainly something very suggestive in the fact that it was the only paper currency which did not suffer from depreciation. The reason is obvious. It was because tobacco was then tantamount to gold. Thus it is probable that if the present currency of the United States, or greenbacks, was guarantied by deposits of cotton equal to the whole circulation, it would not now be suffering a depreciation of forty-four per cent., which threatens every day to become greater, notwithstanding the efforts of the Government.

From the premises and the facts laid down in the preceding pages flows the inevitable deduction that the Confederate States and the United States adopted in their late struggle a fatal mode of relief. But it is too late to discuss whether something better might have been done. All that remains for us to do is to repair the mischief produced by our imprudence and passions; and in our efforts let us never lose sight of these axiomatic truths: that paper currency is always bad; that it is worse when it becomes superabundant; and that when it assumes such proportions as to reasonably preclude the possibility of its final redemption in specie, it cannot be prevented from becoming worthless by the devices of any legislative ingenuity. We can hope for safety only by returning, as soon as possible, to the broad and honest specie basis, which has always been advocated by the Democratic party, and upon which no scaffolding of fraud, corruption, demoralization and bankruptcy can be built.

The paper money of the United States is still in existence, and therefore its history remains to be written; but we may legitimately, however, make some observations on its origin. The Constitution says: "Congress shall have power to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin." According to all English dic-

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tionaries, *to coin money* means to mint or stamp metals for money, and *money* means metals coined for the purposes of commerce, and the value of which is ascertained by the stamp. By virtue of this article, the currency of the United States, since the formation of their Government, had been a metallic currency until recently. But lately the words: *to coin money*, have been interpreted by the dominant party in the United States, to mean the power to emit, instead of a silver dollar, a piece of paper with this phrase: "We, the United States of America, promise to pay to bearer one dollar," at a time remaining indefinite, and to declare that the one is the substitute of the other. If *coined money* signifies a greenback, then it follows that *foreign coin* signifies also a promissory note, and that Congress has the power to regulate the value of foreign paper currency, and determine at what rate we shall receive it. But it was not enough for the Government to decree that a piece of paper was a piece of coin, it was necessary to compel the people to accept it as such. Hence it was made a legal tender, and a wide door opened to fraud, corruption, violation of contracts, and general demoralization and ruin. It may have been a *matter of necessity*, but it can hardly be denied that it is urgent for us to return to the favorite currency of Democracy —gold and silver, and to a strict interpretation of the Constitution, after the doctrine of the school established by Jefferson.

It is reported of Cardinal Richelieu that he said, "Give me any two lines written by a man, and they will be sufficient to hang him." Had he lived in our days, he would probably have said, "Give me any two lines of the Constitution of the United States, and they will afford me sufficient authority to assume every dictatorial power which I need." The Black Republican party is composed of constructionists after the fashion of Richelieu. We hope that it is not disloyal or illegal to wish that we may soon get rid of them and of paper money.

ART. XIV.—OPENING OF NEW FIELDS TO IMMIGRATION.

THE question has been put to me "What is the best plan to draw the attention of the German Emigrants to the advantages which the South offers to settlers?" In answer I say, that the Southern States should, as soon as possible, publish a detailed and faithful account of their various resources, of the weather and its influence on the constitution of men coming from a northern latitude, of the lands and their present condition as to their fertility and titles, of the various products which can be raised thereon, of the best localities for vine culture, and for fruit in general, and an account of the existing railroads and canals, and also of commerce and the various branches of industry to be carried on; in short, of every thing which interests a settler.

These publications must be in the German language, and be gratuitously distributed abroad by agents, by our Consuls, and through the channel of Emigration Societies.

There exists no country in the world where there has been so much published on the United States as in Germany. Every educated emigrant has written something about this country, and the publication of letters from settlers is still continued, besides the private correspondence in which every settler describes minutely the country he lives in. These letters are read with interest in villages

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and towns; and do more, in fact, to encourage emigration than all the efforts of governments or societies combined. When you travel along the Rhine, the Main, the Neckar, etc., you scarcely meet a person who has not a relation or friend in America, and they are all familiar with the Eastern and Western States, but less with the South, for the reason that few Germans reside South, on account of that once existing barrier to free labor—slavery.

The barrier of slavery being now removed, I see no difficulty whatever why the current of emigration cannot be turned into the Southern channel. When once a certain nucleus of German emigrants has been established, they themselves will do their best to get their parents, relations and friends to join them.

It must not be overlooked that the Germans leave their country not merely to find work as day laborers; they all aim to become landowners, and that chance must be very *conspicuously pointed out to them*, or they continue the beaten track westward, where there are millions and millions of acres of fertile virgin land, which they can get gratuitously, if they become actual settlers, according to the Homestead Law. They prefer the West on account of the climate, which suits best the German constitution, and where they meet thousands and thousands of their countrymen, in compact settlements; where their language is spoken, and where they find, in fact, a second Germany. The German emigrant despises everything in the shape of aristocracy; he loves, like a regular Teuton of old, equality and freedom, and never changes his mode of living, thinking, or worshiping; he remains German, and thinks that liberty consists in not interfering with his habits and manners; otherwise, he is law-abiding, steady, industrious, economical, and understands his trade well. The Germans love the soil. They have learned to cultivate it properly and keep it in heart, and where they establish themselves fine farms spring up, and make States rich. We have abundant examples on hand; look at Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, etc. Those States are not only comparatively densely populated, but highly cultivated and prosperous. The Germans are not only farmers, they are also good mechanics; and have furnished this country a considerable quota of all branches for the advancement of the sciences and the arts. They have their peculiarities, which are not, however, obnoxious to the solution of the great problem for a country, viz., to prosper and progress.

All countries which need an increase of population appreciate fully the superior qualities of the Germans as settlers, and give them the preference over all other nations. Catherine, Empress of Russia, introduced a great number of Germans and gave them lands on the Volga, near St. Petersburg, and in the south of Russia, with many privileges. Austria tried its best to incorporate the Hungarian element with the Teutonic. France spent millions and millions of francs to build whole villages in Algeria, and furnish implements, live-stock, seeds, etc., in order to induce Germans to give value and life to its African possessions. Brazil had active agents in Europe to persuade the Germans to settle in that Empire. But all these efforts gave no important results; the great current of emigration goes westward to the United States, and is steadily on the increase; although it would be cheaper for them, and it would be accompanied with less difficulties, danger, and fatigue, to go to Russia, Hungary, and even Algeria, than to cross the Atlantic Ocean. The Germans understand fully the advantages the United States holds out to them, and having, generally speaking, means, they are willing to pay and undergo all the hardships of a long sea and land voyage, to pitch their tent on the prairies or in the forests of the great Mississippi valley, and become independent. The German emigrants are not paupers, destitute of every thing, like the Irish emigrants. They all have more or less personal property and money, with which they buy lands or undertake a trade.

How often did I hear ignorant men on the stump, speaking about the old worn-out countries of Europe, the dilapidated state of European society, and, as proof, point to the emigrants flocking by thousands to the shores of the land of the free.

Ignorance is bliss. What would be the United States if those very paupers, from whom those very stump orators sprung themselves, had not come to this

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country. A country without population is of no value whatever, and it matters very little whether the emigrant is rich or poor, as long as he is young, educated, and willing to work. Every emigrant stepping on the shores of any country enriches that country at least one thousand dollars, without taking into account his personal property or money.

Some political blunderers predicted that before long all Germans would be absorbed by the United States. The number of emigrants from Europe to this country varies from 150,000 to 250,000 a year. There are about 50 millions of people speaking the German language; now if Germany would furnish every year 250,000 emigrants it would be only one-half per cent on the whole German speaking population.

The emigration occurs only in the thickly-populated countries, where landed property has already been too much subdivided. A family may exist on three or four acres of land, but when that property is going to be again divided among two or more heirs, they find it more advantageous to sell out and leave for other countries, where land is more abundant. The Governments along the Rhine, the Main, the Neckar etc., are not in the least opposed to emigration, because those countries are too densely populated, and can furnish yearly a considerable number to fill up some new State in the far West. All that government require is, that their former subjects should not be imposed upon, not taken to countries where they have no prospect to better their condition, or where they cannot acquire, or where they find not labor, and where their health is in danger, etc.

This is a wise and paternal measure, and it will be well for the South to satisfy the German Government in that respect, so that they will allow their agents to enroll settlers.

The South must establish similar institutions to those that we find in the North for the protection and assistance of emigrants; they must protect them from runners and rapacious boarding-house keepers. The South must establish hospitals and alms houses for the sick and needy. It must establish cheap and regular rates on railroads and canals, for emigrants, and do everything to show that they are not only anxious to see the German come among them, but they must also satisfy their former Government, and show that the South is in earnest to fulfill the obligation which a call for settlers imposes upon any government or society.

The Southern States engage in an enterprise entirely new to them. It will require wise measures not to begin wrong. Should they displease the first settlers they may rest assured it will be long before they succeed again to get them off from the old Western track. I would recommend that every Southern State should appoint Committees of able men and send them North to study thoroughly the measures at New York, for instance, taken in the promotion of the welfare and security of emigrants, and establish similar laws and expediencies.

The South, with its enormous natural resources in fertile lands for the production of valuable staples, in forests, minerals, and water-power, may rest assured that this new enterprise will be richly remunerated, and they will soon see their property increased in value, and the South become the wealthiest portion of the United States.

STATISTICAL TABLE OF THE ARRIVALS OF GERMAN IMMIGRANTS AT THE PORT OF NEW YORK:

	1864.		1863.		1862.		1861.		1860.		1859.	
From	Ves'ls.	Germans.	Ves'ls.	Germ'ns.	Ves'ls.	Germ'ns.	Ves'ls.	Germ'ns.	Ves'ls.	Germ'ns.	Ves'ls.	Germ'ns.
Bremen,	67	20,488	80	16,969	64	9,036	72	12,128	71	13,897	71	11,886
Antwerp,	18	3,131	11	956	18	760	10	382	14	521	14	583
Hamburg,	54	16,933	65	13,063	58	10,033	45	7,970	49	11,461	46	7,553
Havre,	21	3,819	16	2,284	38	2,867	57	4,633	72	9,436	65	5,597
Liverp'l,	194	5,908	163	2,292	143	1,092	137	1,359	177	1,565	138	1,253
London,	36	3,155	41	519	36	352	35	633	38	1,027	40	716
Rotterdam	5	488	5	147	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	86
Oth'r ports,	–	—	13	2,033	4	32	4	32	3	19	22	234
Total,	398	53,929	399	38,263	361	24,172	362	27,218	425	37,946	401	27,853

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In the year	1858	arrived in	New York	31,874	Germans
"	1857	"	"	86,859	"
"	1856	"	"	56,117	"
"	1855	"	"	54,038	"
"	1854	"	"	179,648	"
"	1853	"	"	119,498	"
"	1852	"	"	118,674	"
"	1851	"	"	70,540	"
"	1850	"	"	45,768	"
"	1849	"	"	55,620	"
"	1848	"	"	52,620	"
"	1847	"	"	70,735	"
"	1846	"	"	52,336	"
"	1845	"	"	30,312	"

Total Immigration into the Port of New York:

1864, 185,208; 1863, 155,223; 1862, 76,700; 1861, 67,248; 1860, 107,802; 1859. 79,858; 1858, 78,859; 1857, 182,753; 1856, 142,557; 1855, 136,233; 1854, 333,746.

The Immigration consisted in the year 1864, of Germans, 53,929; Irish, 82,105; English, 21,206; Scotch, 3,217; Welsh, 259; French, 1,626; Swiss, 1,643.

In the year 1863, notwithstanding the war, there came a larger amount of German Emigrants to the United States than in the preceding years In the East the merchants were in need of clerks, who in the beginning of the war enlisted largely in the Army, and in the West the farmers had to pay double the amount for labor. At the Agency of the German Society the demaud for tailors, shoemakers, servant girls, and for farm hands, was so enormous that it was impossible to supply them from the immigration. The immigrants were altogether of a different character. There never arrived so many Germans whose movements were so positively defined and regulated from their points of departure to their final destination than during the year 1863. This want of farm hands induced many a German settler to send money to Europe to get their relations and friends over here; also, the Homestead Bill attracted a great number to take a chance in the benefit of 160 acres of land gratuitously given to actual settlers. The great stream of immigrants went West—to Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa. The emigrants prefer steamers to sailing vessels. The passage in the former is quicker and the mortality among immigrants is less. In the year 1864, there arrived in New York, from the 1st of April to the 14th of December, 149 steamers, with 73,416 immigrants; of that number during the passage, 63 died, whereas among the 89,713 immigrants who arrived in sailing vessels, occurred 692 deaths.

The yearly reports of the Superintendent and General Emigrant Agent of Castle Garden, New York, exhibit many interesting and important details on the constantly-increasing proportion of steamers carrying emigrants.

"By comparison with former years it is shown that the number of steamers landing passengers at Castle Garden has increased from 22, bringing 5,111 passengers in 1856; to 109, bringing 34,247 passengers in 1860; to 95, bringing 21,110 passengers in 1861; to 100, bringing 25,843 passengers in 1862; to 170, bringing 63,931 passengers in 1863; and to 203 steamers, bringing 81,794 passengers in 1864. Although the emigration of the last year exhibits a falling off from that of earlier years, the arrivals show the same marked difference in favor of steamers over sailing vessels as in previous years; for instance: in 1859, the average number brought by steamers was 230, against 184 in sailing vessels; in 1860, it was 314, against 109; so in 1861, it was 222, against 132; in 1862, it was 258, against 150; and in 1863, it was 376, to 263; showing an average difference in favor of steamers of 112 passengers in 1864, 118 in 1863, of 108 in 1862, of 90 in 1861, of 115 in 1860, and of 49 in 1859."

The number of persons who landed at Castle Garden was, in the year 1864, 184,700, arriving in 577 vessels, from 18 different ports.

Register entries have been made of the intended or avowed destination of each passenger. Of these 92,409 reported their intended destination to be New York; 23,518 Pennsylvania and New Jersey; 21,014 to New England; 8,118

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to the Southern States; 34,662 to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin' Iowa, Minnesota and California; and 4,979 to Kansas, Nebraska, Canada, etc.

There is a very interesting statement in the said report in regard to making small advances to families to enable them to proceed on their journeys on a pledge of baggage, or other portable property, without interest, or any additional charge for storage.

It is stated that

"The experience of seven years has shown the value of this plan, and it has been continued regularly with the best effect. Thus assistance has been rendered to many who might otherwise have become the prey of fraud, or have fallen into destitution, whilst the character of the assistance was such as not to lessen the feeling of independent self-reliance necessary to self-support and success in all callings.

"There has been advanced for this object during 1864, the sum of $417.50 to 63 families, who have already paid the entire amount.

"Of the whole amount advanced since this plan was adopted in August 1856, viz.: $23,093.50 there remains $1,376.75 due by 111 families." . . . .

The greatest amount of immigrant arrivals from Germany and Ireland, and the proportion of Germans and Irish were, within the last 17 years as follows:

	From Germany.	From Ireland.
1848	52,620	98,061
1849	55,629	112,691
1850	45,738	117,038
1851	79,540	163,256
1852	118,674	118,611
1853	119,498	113,164
1854	179,648	82,302
1855	84,038	43,043
1856	56,117	43,996
1857	86,859	57,106
1858	31,879	25,097
1859	27,858	34,846
1860	37,945	47,372
1861	27,218	25,870
1862	26,155	28,927
1863	38,263	50,000
1864	53,923	82,105

In Quebec, there arrived during the year 1860, 10,163 immigrants, among them were 673 Germans. In the year 1859, there arrived from Bremen, at Baltimore, in 23 vessels, 3,581 German immigrants; in the year 1860, 6,552, all from Bremen. In Philadelphia arrived, in the same year, altogether 3,289 immigrants, of which there were 354 Germans, the rest were Irish; in the following year arrived there 3,146 immigrants, of whom there were 345 Germans.

From the Reports of the German Society of New York we learn that almost all immigrants had determined beforehand where to go to, and it was very seldom that one of them asked for advice in what portion of the United States he should settle.

Lately, efforts have been made to induce the German immigrants to go South, but they all have their destinations arranged in Europe, and they cannot be persuaded to make a change. They want information in advance.

C. L. F.

ART. XV.—WHITE EMIGRATION TO THE SOUTH.

LETTER FROM THE HON. E. C. CABELL, OF FLORIDA.

It is a painful truth, that for the last thirty years the people of the Northern and Southern States of the United States of America have been *educated* to *hate* each other. Studied and systematic vilification and abuse, crimination and re-

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crimination, had produced a feeling of sectional antipathy which seemed inconsistent with the continuance of the people of the two sections under the same Government, and which culminated in the bloody revolution which has devastated, ruined, and subjugated one section, at the cost of millions of money and hundreds of thousands of valuable lives to both.

It will profit little to inquire which section was more to blame for this unhappy national calamity. Hostilities have ceased, peace has been restored, and there should be prompt resumption of trade and commercial intercourse. The elastic spirit of the American people should be aroused to the work of repairing the ravages of the past, and building up new glories for the future. There should be a common effort on the part of good men, everywhere, to allay, and, if possible, obliterate the feeling of bitterness caused by former sectional political education, and of animosity consequent on the collision of arms—to cultivate mutual kindness and good fellowship, essential to the making of good citizens—to foster the interest of each section, for the common good of all, and by all means to promote the progress and prosperity of our common country, and make it what it is destined to become, if not weakened and distracted by continued sectional discord and internal strife, the *ruling Power of the World.*

Slavery, the prolific source of all our woes, is *dead.* The cause of that embittered feeling to which I have alluded is past: let the feeling of bitterness pass with it. If maintaining the institution of Slavery was an offense deserving punishment, God knows the punishment of the late slaveholders is equal to the offense, however great its enormity. Their pecuniary loss is almost beyond calculation. The loss of property is universal. All have suffered. Thousands have been reduced from affluence to poverty. The loss of life, who can estimate? There is scarcely a Southern home that is not clad in mourning for some cherished member of the household. Districts of country larger than the area of States have been rendered desolate by the hostile armies of invasion. The hope of Southern Independence, so fondly cherished by many, has been lost forever. Political power and influence have passed away, and the proud statesmen of the South cannot exercise the rights of citizenship. What more could the bitterest enemy ask or desire?

The first feeling of disappointment and mortification at the signal failure of their plans and hopes caused many to despair and to resolve to abandon their country, or to bury themselves in utter seclusion. But, with few exceptions, this feeling has passed away. They cannot forget that *this* is *their country still* —that it is the grave of their ancestors, and must be the home of their children. The liberal policy of the Administration in the reëstablishment of State Governments, and the character of Executive appointments, and the exercise of the pardoning power, have given them hope and encouragement. Accepting the situation as it is, there is a general resolution to make the best of it. There is now little evidence of despondency, even among men reduced to poverty. Looking with confidence to the future, they go forth with a manly heart to the discharge of their duties to their families, and with determination, by economy, industry and energy, to rebuild their fortunes and to revive the lost prosperity of their States.

Whatever may have been individual opinion of the advantages of two distinct Governments; whatever dreams there may have been of the wealth and grandeur of a Southern Confederacy, all sensible men now see the folly of cherishing such thoughts. All see that Slavery has ceased to exist, and that, throughout the length and breadth of the United States, there can be but *one Government.* To say that there remains any respectable number of people, in any one State, who believe that the institution of Slavery can be revived, or who meditate the possibility of a future attempt at Secession, is merely absurd. These questions are *settled*; and settled *forever.* We all, North, South, East and West, have *one country, one destiny, one duty.* And is it not the duty of every good citizen to seek to promote the prosperity of every portion of this their common country, and to hasten and insure the consummation of the grand future which awaits this magnificent Republic, grand beyond the imagination of man to conceive, if the Sons of the Republic everywhere shall be true to themselves and their allegiance?

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The present state of things appeals especially to Southern men to devote their time and talents, and every energy of mind and body, to regenerate, populate, and improve these beautiful States, so large a part of which has been desolated by the rude hand of war. Eight years' service in the Congress of the United States as Representative from the State of Florida, a long connection with public works of Internal Improvement, and six years' residence in the Mississippi Valley, have given me a general acquaintance throughout the country, and perhaps some influence, which may, and I trust will, be potent for good.

The experiment of the Free Labor system will, I believe, be fairly tried. I shall, and I know many who will, certainly give it a full and fair experiment. Many predict its failure. In my judgment, it will be far more successful than is generally believed. But the demoralization, to the extent to which it has gone and will go, the immense loss by death, within the last four years, and the withdrawal of so many black laborers to fill up the Federal armies, render a reliance on the labor of Freedmen utterly inadequate to the wants of the country. To insure not only the revival and prosperity of the Southern States, but the prosperity and greatness of the Republic, a large and intelligent *White population* must be introduced into the Southern country. This requires capital, which the impoverished people of the South have not, and the active sympathy, cordial coöperation and effective aid of enterprising capitalists and energetic philanthropists of New York, New England, the great North-West, and enlightened Europe.

The mass of the Southern people lost everything in the late revolution but their lands, the larger portion of which they now are unable to cultivate for want of labor. This large surplus they must sell. Hundreds of thousands of acres of good lands are thus offered for sale at the very lowest prices. Many fine plantations may be purchased for a sum much below the cost of the buildings erected upon them, and highly improved estates at less than half the price of wild lands in the same vicinity four years ago. There are, besides, millions of acres of unimproved lands to be purchased at prices proportionately low. Who can doubt that with the revival of trade and the return of prosperity, and the influx of population which must soon follow, these lands will, in a very few years, rule at least as high as they did in 1860? The lands in the Mississippi Valley, liable to inundation, are capable of producing cotton enough to clothe the civilized world, and corn enough to feed the population of America. The price of many of these lands is nominal. They will some day become of inestimable value. The reclamation of this immense domain, of Egyptian fertility, must arrest the attention of Congress, and is well worthy the attention and favorable action of the Legislature of the Nation. It is impossible to estimate the wealth of soil which will be reclaimed by the great national work of *leveeing the Mississippi* and its tributaries.

Never were there such inducements to immigrants desiring to secure cheap and comfortable homes, and rarely such opportunities to capitalists to make paying, safe investments. In climate, fertility, and variety of soil, the country of which I speak is unequaled. Many parts of it are as well adapted to the culture of the vine as the choicest spots in France. Grain of all sorts grows as luxuriantly and yields as abundantly as in any part of the world. The whole country is rich in every species of mineral as well as agricultural wealth. Coal, iron, and indications of petroleum abound in every State. To develop this patent and hidden wealth, the land cries out for LABOR. To rebuild our public works, and to build new ones, to meet the demands of the country, there is the same pressing demand for *Labor*.

It is a *great mistake* to suppose that there is now any general feeling of opposition to the acquisition of population from the Northern States, or from Europe. Except with a few impracticable, short-sighted men, the return of peace has restored fraternity of feeling for all peaceful, good citizens who may settle among us. We desire, earnestly desire, the immigration of honest, industrious *white* men. Especially do we invite, *cordially invite*, those having means to become *proprietors of the soil*, who will come with their families, to live on their own lands, and become citizens, interested like ourselves in the prosperity of the

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country. The amount necessary to purchase lands sufficient to secure independence is small. At the present price of cotton, one bale is worth $200. A bale to the acre is hardly an average yield on bottom lands, and a good hand may well cultivate 10 acres of cotton, with corn and vegetables enough for his family and his farm. We believe that all who come, or who invest their money among us, may better their condition, while our country will derive the greatest benefit from accession of capital and increase of population. With capital and an industrious laboring population from abroad, these Southern States, now a desolation and a waste, will come to blossom as the rose, and be recognized as the garden of the world.

I earnestly invite the attention of Emigrant Associations to this subject. The honest, industrious poor man who first comes, the enterprising capitalist who first invests his money and facilitates the emigrant, will reap the first and surest reward. The philanthropist who would better the condition of his fellowman can find no better field than this. And what nobler object can engage the attention of the enlightened statesman than the work of peopling and developing the great resources of this magnificently beautiful country? It is a subject worthy the attention of all good people, who desire the welfare of their country. To all such, I respectfully commend the careful consideration of these crude suggestions; and if I shall succeed in attracting the attention of those able and willing to further this great work I shall feel that I have indeed "done the State some service." I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. C. CABELL.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

FOR nearly twenty years we have regularly incorporated, from month to month the great results of American Commerce, foreign and domestic, for the nation at large and for each of its States and cities, and shall continue these labors in the future, omitting but little that is worthy of preservation.

In addition to this, we have not neglected, and shall not neglect, the questions of commerce in countries tributary to our own in every part of the world.

Hereafter, it will be our purpose to furnish a monthly statement of the Financial and Commercial movements from day to day and week to week, in the great cities of the Union.

1—COTTON TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

	1862.		1863.		1864.	
Import, stock, etc.	United States.	Total.	United States.	Total.	United States.	Total.
Stock, Jan. 1, bales . .	434,000	883,000	88,000	507,000	52,000	364,000

CONSUMPTION OF COTTON IN EUROPE.

	1864.	1863.	1862.	1861.
United States.....lbs.	104,000,000	85,000,000	193,000,000	1,197,000,000
Brazil.....	41,000,000	32,000,000	24,000,000	16,000,000
West Indies.....	18,000.000	6,000,000	8,000,000	8,000,000
East Indies and China..	575,000,000	562,000,000	427,000,000	300,000,000
Mediterranean.....	242,000,000	200,000,000	106,000,000	88,000,000
Total pounds.....	980,000,000	885,000,000	758,000,000	1,609,000,000

RECEIPTS OF COTTON IN GREAT BRITAIN.

	From Bombay.	From Madras.	From Egypt.	From Brazil.
1860 .....bales	508,000	55,000	109,000	103,000
1861.....	906,000	80,000	97,000	100,000
1862.....	915,000	124,000	132,000	134,000
1863.....	899,000	177,000	204,000	148,000
1864.....	1,043,000	173,000	257,000	212,000

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2.—COMMERCE OF CINCINNATI.

	Imports.	Exports.
1860-61	$90,198,136	$67,023,136
1861-62	105,232,893	76,449,862
1862-63	144,189,213	102,397,171
1863-64	389,790,537	239,979,825
1864-65	307,552,397	293,730,317

IMPORTS IN DETAIL.

	Pork and bacon, hhds.	Pork. tcs.	Pork bbls.	Pork, lbs.	Lard, bbls.	Lard, kegs.
1860 to 31 Aug	4,662	2,882	25,456	23,250,222	47,499	14,319
1861	5,136	6,459	37,447	21,912,769	50,362	12,245
1862	10,082	3,879	46,903	28,708,694	99,085	33,582
1863	8,443	10,361	47,457	33,215,723	93,707	11,800
1864	5,353	7,178	41,412	20,169,052	58,828	5,327
1865	4,918	6,810	38,642	10,868,538	55,556	6,430

EXPORTS IN DETAIL.

1860	52,532	39,833	104,347	345,932	60,658	55,701
1861	47,861	32,251	121,635	706,571	100,806	46,643
1862	39,458	40,965	86,363	2,038,393	139,596	61,352
1863	27,746	53,735	123,900	700,881	144,147	33,699
1864	34,759	31,549	136,126	1,810,875	82,836	13,028
1865	27,727	37,440	86,061	1,124,756	64,011	17,674

3.—COMMERCE OF BALTIMORE.

IMPORTS.

		1864.	1863.
Sugar	lb.	34,919,266	40,808,242
Coffee		15,721,657	14,060,034
Salt	bush.	28,844,570	341,500
Molasses	galls.	1,044,903	842,103
Guano	tons.	1,916	940

EXPORTS.

		1864.	1863.
Corn	bush.	105,544	271,542
Wheat		60,022	95,194
Flour	bbls.	331,423	316,596
Coal	tons.	7,303	8,705
Oils (petroleum and coal)	galls.	821,808	318,870
Tobacco	value.	$5,250,044	$4,576,221
Tobacco, mid	lb.	63,727	102,301
Tallow		458,459	1,241,735
Lumber	value.	$224,692	$179,929
Lard	lb.	2,564,400	3,661,118
Pork	bbls.	5,803	7,998

4.—SPERM OIL—THE SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

In view of the unprecedented fall short in the import of Crude Sperm Oil this year, and of its probable still further reduction for the year 1866, we give a few statistics touching the supply and demand for a period of ten years past, which cannot fail to interest both consumers and producers:

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	Stock on hand. bbls.	No. of vessels.	Imports bbls.	Exports bbls.
Jan. 1, 1856	14,000	635	80,941	20,052
" 1857	30,000	655	78,540	37,231
" 1858	38,000	654	81,941	33,666
" 1859	17,176	625	91,408	52,207
" 1860	13,429	509	73,708	32,792
" 1861	15,888	564	68,932	37,547
" 1862	16,132	433	55,641	27,976
" 1863	16,038	362	65,055	18,366
" 1864	31,200	304	64,372	43,362
" 1865	20,382	276	*33,000	†7,000
Oct. 18, 1865	13,000	259	—	—

Average import for 9 years, ending 1864	bbls. 73,382
Smallest " " "	55,641
Average export " "	33,652
Smallest " " "	18,366
Average consumption for the same period, including export	72,695
Smallest	49,893
Stock on hand Oct. 18, 1865	13,000
Estimated arrivals for balance of year	4,000
	17,000
Estimated imports for 1866	20,000
	37,000

This amount, 37,000 bbls., is the estimated supply for 14¼ months, ending Dec. 31, 1866, for both this country and Great Britain.

The figures for the latter country, where nearly as much Sperm Oil is consumed as here, are as follows:

	Cleared in London for consumption.	Total receipts in the United Kingdom.
1860	bbls. 41,600	
1861	33,700	
1862	27,100	42,720
1863	26,500	36,050
1864	33,300	57,400

The average consumption in Great Britain for 1862, '63, and '64, was about 39,000 bbls.

The facts thus disclosed are very significant. The import of Sperm Oil this year will not exceed 33,000 bbls., against 64,372 bbls. last year; while it is safe, judging from the imports of the last 9 years, to estimate that the imports of 1866, the entire catch on board whalers now being only about 17,000 bbls., will not vary much from 20,000 bbls. It is to be borne in mind, that not only has our fleet been reduced, but many sperm whalers have been sent north. The consumption for the next 14¼ months, taking the average for 9 years past, will be about 85,000 bbls.; to supply this demand, we shall have but 37,000 bbls., while England herself will require, at least, 39,000 bbls. The increased activity in cotton manufactures, and the immense cotton sales in England (one week 30,000 bales daily, valued at £12,000,000), indicate that the demand for Sperm Oil must increase. England, after receiving nearly 50,000 bbls. from our catch last year, has commenced supplying her wants from this market; though as yet she has received but 7,000 bbls. The shipments heretofore made from our whalers at English ports must almost entirely cease, as must the imports from English colonies. England must look here for her supplies.

It must be a matter of surprise, upon considering the above facts and figures

* Estimated. † Exports from Jan. 1 to Oct. 18, 1865.

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that the price of Sperm Oil rules so low. In 1855 the average price in gold was $1.77 1-5; equal, as exchange now is, to $2.60. Now, with not only a brisk demand, but with a frightfully diminished supply, it is selling at about $1.61 in gold.—*New Bedford Mercury.*

5.—COMMERCE OF NEW YORK.

FOREIGN IMPORTS AT NEW YORK FOR NINE MONTHS, FROM JANUARY 1.

	1863.	1864.	1865.
Entered for consumption	$81,666,355	$93,411,384	$80,953,556
Do. for warehousing	45,327,610	85,395,103	58,146,535
Free goods	9,325,831	8,839,129	7,542,144
Specie and bullion	1,228,121	1,859,144	1,681,759
Total entered at port	$137,547,817	$189,504,760	$148,323,994

EXPORTS FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN PORTS FOR THE NINE MONTHS FROM JANUARY 1.

	1863.	1864.	1865.
Domestic produce	$125,475,981	$153,861,993	$107,934,357
Foreign merchandise free	779,798	1,582,348	772,180
Do. dutiable	4,231,442	13,961,235	2,741,641
Specie and bullion	32,846,494	34,936,661	22,689,116
Total exports	$163,333,715	$204,332,237	$134,137,294
Do. exclusive of specie	130,487,221	169,395,576	111,448,178

6.—STATISTICS OF COTTON.

The New York *World*, in an elaborate paper upon the Cotton Trade, is our authority for the following. We shall have something to say upon the subject ourselves in the next number of the REVIEW:

COTTON MANUFACTURE ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.

The status of the cotton manufacture in the other countries of Europe, in 1860, will be seen by reference to the following table. To render the same more complete we have included in it a recapitulation of some of the figures given in the above account of the trade in our own country and in Great Britain:

COTTON MANUFACTURES OF THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE IN 1860.

	No. of factories.	Hands employed.	Spindles.	Lbs. of cotton used.
United States	915	118,920	5,035,798	364,036,123
Great Britain	2,250	500,000	30,000,000	1,140,570,112
France	2,000	274,830	5,500,000	140,000,000
Switzerland	132	51,908	1,112,303	30,000,000
Zollverein	208	110,190	2,018,536	65,000,000
Austria	90	32,010	665,000	25,000,000
Belgium	28	28,000	510,000	31,000,000
Lombardy	33	29,000	140,000	10,000,000
Sardinia	17	14,000	210,000	17,000,000
Russia	55	60,000	1,100,000	65,281,000
Total	5,728	1,218,858	46,281,637	1,887,827,235

When we consider the large number of hands, and especially of women and children, who find employment in this great branch of trade, and the amount of capital invested in it, and then reflect that its growth, both in this country and abroad, has taken place within the last sixty years, we may class it as one of the marvels of the nineteenth century.

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Mr. George McHenry, in a work on "The Cotton Trade," recently published in England, estimates the following as the consumption of cotton throughout the world during the year 1860:

In machine goods.	Population.	Pounds.
France, 4 lbs. per head	37,000,000	148,000,000
Great Britain and Ireland, 9 lbs. per head	29,000,000	261,000,000
Rest of Europe, average 1 lb. per head	210,000,000	210,000,000
Asia, Australia, Polynesia and Egypt, 1 lb. per head	770,000,000	770,000,000
United States, 12 lbs. per head	31,000,000	372,000,000
Rest of America, 1 lb. per head	39,000,000	39,000,000
	1,116,000,000	1,800,000,000
Hand-made.		
Add that manufactured by hand, and stocks held over in various places in the world, exclusive of the interior of Africa		600,000,000
Total		2,400,000,000

The average consumption in Europe is given. In Turkey and Germany, three pounds per head are used, but in many places there is none whatever. Mr. McHenry estimates that only six hundred millions of people wear cotton; Mr. Conklin's table gives more than double that number.

Though we have given Mr. McHenry's figures, we must say that in some instances they convey gross misconceptions. His book is written in the interest of the cotton States, and his object has been to prove that those States supplied the greater part of the cotton consumed in the world. If, however, he merely means the cotton that entered into the channels of commerce and passed through the factories of Europe and America, he is not far wrong. But the statements we hereafter make in reference to the production, etc., of cotton in India and China, will prove how wide he is of the truth when he places the consumption in *hand-manufactured* goods at only six hundred millions of pounds.

THE COTTON CROP ACCORDING TO THE LAST CENSUS.

The census taken in June, 1860, gives the amount of ginned cotton raised in the United States during the previous year as 5,387,652 bales of 400 pounds each, or 2,154,820,800 pounds. This was considerably more than double the amount raised ten years before, when the previous census was taken.

The following table shows the number of bales raised in the separate States and Territories:

States, etc.	Bales.	*States, etc.*	Bales.
Mississippi	1,202,507	Florida	65,153
Alabama	989,955	Missouri	41,188
Louisiana	777,738	Virginia	12,727
Georgia	701,840	Illinois	1,482
Texas	431,463	Utah	136
Arkansas	367,393	Kansas	61
South Carolina	353,412	New Mexico	19
North Carolina	145,514	Tennessee	296,464
Total			5,387,052

From this table it appears that the four States which stand at the head of the list produced more than two-thirds the supply, or 3,672,040 bales, against 1,715,012 bales produced in the other States, etc.

The relative positions of the States were considerably changed during the decade. In the previous enumeration Alabama stood at the head of the list, while Mississippi came second; then came in order Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Louisiana; Texas and Arkansas, which followed, produced at

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that time only 58,072 and 65,344 bales respectively. This significant fact proves how the great proportion of the cotton trade had migrated within the ten years from the Atlantic States to those on the Gulf and the lower Mississippi.

THE PRODUCERS OF COTTON.

From the same source we extract the following tabular statement of the production of cotton throughout the world during each of the years named. The figures doubtless approximate to correctness with the exception of those giving the growth in India and the rest of Asia. During the years 1840, 1850 and 1860, about half the amount stated to have been produced in these years in India was exported thence to England, while it sent an equal amount of raw cotton to China, and a large supply of home-manufactured goods to various parts of Asia, and some even to Europe:

GROWTH OF COTTON IN THE WORLD IN MILLIONS OF POUNDS.

	1791.	1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.	1840.	1850.	1860.
Brazil	22	26	35	32	38	30	40	36
West Indies	12	10	12	10	9	8	8	6
Egypt	..	..	1	6	18	25	30	34
Rest of Africa	45	46	44	40	36	34	34	35
India	130	160	170	175	180	185	210	450
Rest of Asia	190	160	146	135	115	110	120	132
Mexico and South America except Brazil	68	56	57	44	35	35	40	57
Elsewhere	...	15	11	8	4	13	15	100
United States	2	48	80	180	385	654	990	1,650
Total	469	531	556	630	820	1,094	1,482	2,500

It will be noticed that between the years 1831 and 1840 this country began to supply half, and in 1860 two-thirds the product of the staple as given in the above estimate.

THE COTTON SUPPLY DURING THE WAR.

The result of the rebellion has been to place the United States in the fifth rank of the nations supplying cotton to the manufactories of the world, and to remove them for a time from the prominent position they previously held over all other cotton-exporting countries. Such being the case, it is material to know from whence the cotton has been obtained that has in some measure helped to fill the void caused by the stoppage of the Southern supply As England has been the country most affected by this stoppage we will confine our remarks to her commerce in the staple, especially as it is to her we must hope to send the greatest part of our cotton exports in the future, as we did in the past.

AMOUNT OF COTTON OBTAINED BY ENGLAND.

The following table gives the receipts of cotton in Great Britain for two periods of four years, one being that immediately preceding the war, and the other that of the war:

Before the War.	Pounds.	During the War.	Pounds.
1857	974,287,900	1861	1,260,325,900
1858	1,018,130,000	1862	535,001,500
1859	1,191,055,300	1863	682,810,000
1860	1,417,374,800	1864	901,850,000

The large amount obtained in 1861 is accounted for from the fact of there being no blockade of the Southern ports for the first four months of that year, and it was then for a long time so inefficient that blockade-runners carried on a prosperous and profitable trade. In fact the South managed to dispose of nearly all the previous year's crop.

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SOURCES OF SUPPLY.

Below is given a list of the countries from which England drew her supply, and the amount received from each, during the year 1864, and appended to it is an estimate of the receipts for the current year which appears to have met with general acceptance in the best informed commercial circles:

From	Actual Import in 1864.	Estimated Import in 1865.
India	1,399,514 bales	1,500,000 bales.
China	390,074 "	600,000 "
Egypt	257,102 "	357,000 "
Brazil	212,192 "	250,000 "
America	197,776 "	200,000 "
West Indies, &c.	59,645 "	100,000 "
Smyrna and Mediterranean ports...	62,053 "	93,000 "
Total	2.587,356 bales.	3,100,000 bales.

It must be remarked that the estimate for 1865 was made early in the year, and with the anticipation that the war would continue throughout the year. The close of the struggle having now thrown the cotton stored at the South into the market, a considerable increase in the figures put down for America may be the result, while depreciation in price may decrease the exports from other countries.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

THE REVIEW is open for discussions upon any and all subjects relating to the progress of National Agriculture, and it will devote especial attention to the development of Southern crops in connection with the new state of industry in that quarter.

We invite the attention of agriculturists to this matter, and shall be glad at all times to receive and embody their views.

In its past history the REVIEW has devoted much attention to the agricultural staples of the South, their mode of cultivation and value, and many of the most valuable papers were afterwards condensed by the Editor into his book, entitled, "Progress and Resources of the South," etc. The volumes would be consulted to advantage now.

1.—VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PROPERTY IN THE UNITED STATES.

States.	Acres Improved.	Unimproved.	Cash Value.
Alabama	6,385,724	12,718,821	$175,824,622
Arkansas	1,983,313	7,590,393	91,649,773
California	2,468,094	6,262,000	48,726,804
Connecticut	1,830,807	673,457	90,830,005
Delaware	637,065	367,230	31,426,357
Florida	654,213	2,206,015	16,435,727
Georgia	8,062,758	18,587,732	157,072,803
Illinois	13,096,374	7,815,615	408,944,033
Indiana	8,242,183	8,146,109	356,712,175
Iowa	3,792,792	6,277,115	119,899,547
Kansas	405,468	1,372,932	12,258,239
Kentucky	7,644,208	11,519,053	291,496,955
Louisiana	2,707,108	6,591,468	204,789,662
Maine	2,704,133	3,023,538	78,688,525
Maryland	3,002,267	1,833,304	145,973,677
Massachusetts	2,155,512	1,183,212	123,255,948
Michigan	3,476,296	3,554,533	160,836,495

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States.	Acres Improved.	Unimproved.	Cash value.
Minnesota	556,250	2,155,716	27,505,922
Mississippi	5,065,755	10,773,939	190,760,367
Missouri	6,246,871	13,787,989	230,682,126
New Hampshire	2,367,084	1,377,591	69,689,761
New Jersey	1,944,441	1,039,084	180,250,338
New York	14,358,403	6,616,555	803,343,593
North Carolina	6,517,284	17,245,685	143,301,065
Ohio	12,625,394	7,846,747	678,132,991
Oregon	896,414	1,164,125	15,200,593
Pennsylvania	10,463,296	6,548,844	662,050,707
Rhode Island	335,128	186,096	19,550,552
South Carolina	4,572,060	11,623,859	139,652,508
Tennessee	6,795,337	13,873,828	271,358,985
Texas	2,650,781	22,693,247	88,101,820
Vermont	2,823,157	1,451,257	94,289,045
Virginia	11,437,821	19,679,215	371,761,661
Wisconsin	3,746,167	4,147,420	131,117,164
Total States	162,649,848	241,943,671	$6,631,520,046
Total Territories	460,872	2,158,147	$13,524,961
Aggregate	163,110,720	244,101,818	$6,645,045,008

2.—COST OF PRODUCING COTTON AT THE SOUTH.

Twelve or fifteen years ago some calculations were made, going to show the lowest price at which cotton could be produced and sold on the Southern plantations, and a great variety of information upon the subject was condensed by us into the Industrial Resources of the South and West. (See vol. II., p. 16.)

The subject is one of the greatest interest and importance now that inducements are being held out to immigrants, and large quantities of Southern land are put into the market. In our opinion no greater field for capital or enterprise was ever offered to the world than the production of cotton at prices which may range at even one half or one third the present limits.

Among the calculations made at the time were those by Solon Robinson, now agricultural editor of the New York *Tribune*. He took the case first of Colonel Williams' plantation, near Society Hill, S. C. giving the investment and the crop:

CAPITAL INVESTED.		CROP.	
4,200 acres of land (2,700 in cultivation) at $15	$63,000.00	331,000 lbs. cotton, at	
254 slaves, at $350 each, average old and young	89,900.00	13,500 lbs of bacon, taken for home place and factory	675.00
60 mules and mares, and one jack, and one stud, average $60	3,720.00	Beef and butter for do. and sales	500.00
200 head of cattle, at $10	2,000.00	1,100 bushels of corn and meal for do. and sales	550.00
500 head of hogs, at $2	1,000.00	80 cords of tan bark for his tan yard	480.00
23 carts and 6 wagons	520.00	Charges to others for blacksmith work	100.00
60 bull-tongue plows, 60 shaving do., 25 turning do., 15 drill do., 15 harrows, at an average of $1.50 each	262.00	Mutton and wool for home use and sales	125.00
All other plantation tools estimated, worth	1,000.00		
	$161,402.00		$2,430.00

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The expenses on this plantation are given in detail from the proprietor's books:

Interest on first five items, $158,620 at 7 per cent	$11,103.00
Freight and commissions on cotton at market ½ per cent	2,069.60
Bagging and rope	727.84
Taxes, medical attendance, overseers, clothing, and extras for negroes, replacing machinery	3,994.04
	$17,894.48
Deduct other products than cotton	2,430.00
	$15,464.00
Cost per pound for cotton produced	4.7 mills.

A writer in the *South Carolinian* submitted Mr. Robinson's conclusions to severe criticism, and deduced from these items the following for Mr. Williams' estate, above referred to:

CAPITAL INVESTED, $150,152.

Income of the Farm.

331,136 lbs. cotton, at six cents	$19,868.16
Bacon and other provisions	2,430.00
Increase of negroes, say five per cent., set down as capital $89,000	4,495.00
	$26,793.16
The annual expenses of the farm, as itemized by Mr. Robinson, a full estimate, including freight and commission	6,791.48
Net profits of capital invested	$20,001.68

These profits amount to over *thirteen per cent. per annum* over all expenses—the *Charleston* price of cotton being only put down at six cents. *Suppose the crop averaged eight cents in Charleston, as it would do at the present time,* (1858), *the profits would be* $26,614.40, *or nearly eighteen per cent ! !*

Another estate, that of Robert Montague, in Marengo county, Alabama, is taken, and furnishes the following statistics:

CAPITAL INVESTED.		EXPENSES.	
1,100 acres of land, at $25	$27,500.00	Interest on capital at seven per cent.	$5,756.80
120 slaves, at $400	48,000.00	Cash expenses, taxes, average.	100,00
4 wagons	400.00	Blankets, hats and shoes, (other clothing all home-made)	250.00
5 yoke of oxen at $30	150.00	Medical bill, average not exceeding	40.00
30 mules and horses, at $75.	2,250.00	500 lbs. iron, $30; hoes and spades, $30	60.00
4,000 bushels corn on hand for plantation use, at 35 cents	1,400.00	Average outlay for mules over what are raised	100.00
Fodder and oats, do. do.	200.00	Average expense yearly for machinery repairs	20.00
40 head of cattle, at $5, do.	200.00	Bagging and rope	350.00
70 do. of sheep, at $2. do.	140.00		
250 do. of hogs, do.	600.00		
20,000 lbs. bacon and pork, do	1,000.00		
Plows and all other tools, do.	500.00		
	$82,240.00		$6,676.00

The crop was 128,000 pounds cotton which would be a cost of about six cents per pound.

In all sections of the South, adapted to white labor, it may be safely assumed that, under judicious administration, results in the future quite as favorable may be counted upon.

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DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

Our statement of American railroads cannot be made complete for this issue of the Review in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining Southern statistics. We hope to obtain from the companies in that quarter, at an early date, an exact report of their condition, resources, debts; and the amount of machinery existing and required. The necessities of the Southern roads, and their important connections with those of the North should stimulate capitalists everywhere to aid in their re-construction.

RAILROADS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Years.	Length at the end of each year. Miles.	Capital paid up. (Shares, Loans, &c.)	Passengers Conveyed. No.	Traffic Receipts.	Working Expenses.	Net Receipts.
1848	5,127	£200,178,059	57,965,070	£9,933,551		
1849	6,031	229,747,778	63,841,539	11,806,498		
1850	6,621	240,270,745	72,854,422	13,204,668	Cannot be given previous to 1854.	
1851	6,890	248,240,896	85,391,095	14,997,459		
1852	7,336	264,165,672	89,135,729	15,710,554		
1853	7,686	273,324,514	102,286,660	18,035,879		
1854	8,054	286,068,794	111,206,707	20,215,724	£9,206,205	£11,009,519
1855	8,280	297,584,709	118,595,135	21,507,599	10,299,709	11,207,890
1856	8,707	307,595,086	129,347,592	23,165,491	10,837,456	12,328,035
1857	9,094	315,157,258	139,008,888	24,174,610	11,240,239	12,934,371
1858	9,542	325,375,507	139,193,699	23,956,749	11,668,225	12,288,524
1859	10,002	334,362,928	149,807,148	25,743,502	(Not ascertained.)	
1860	10,433	348,130,127	163,483,572	27,766,622	13,187,368	14,579,254
1861	10,869	362,327,338	173,773,218	28,565,355	13,843,337	14,722,018
1862	11,551	385,218,438	180,420,065	29,089,100	14,268,409	14,810,691

MISCELLANEOUS STATISTICS.

THE FAR WEST.

We have before us a little work, entitled, "The Great West," by Edward H. Hall, which abounds in the most valuable information of the latest date in regard to the States and Territories of the far West, which have sprung up in the last few years, and which are exhibiting the most extraordinary development. We commend the work to all persons desiring information upon this important section of the Union.

It affords us pleasure to make some references to the contents of the volume:

Minnesota.—The population in 1860 was 172,000, against 5,330 in 1850. The country is undulating, like Iowa and Wisconsin. Its soil fertile. Its climate is remarkably dry and salubrious. Its settlements are principally in the South-eastern part of the State and along the courses of the large rivers. Even in these localities many choice locations are still unoccupied. Copper and iron ore are abundant in parts of the State, and some coal has been discovered. There is no lack of timber generally, and there is an abundance of water power for manufacturing purposes. Four railroads are in progress in the State:

PRINCIPAL CITIES AND TOWNS.

"Saint Paul, the capital and chief commercial city of the State, has a romantic situation on the bluffs, at the head of navigation on the Mississippi. Population, at the last census (1860), was 10 401. It now contains nearly double that

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number. It contains the capitol, a handsome brick edifice, various handsome churches, several first-class hotels, and many splendid private residences.

"Saint Anthony, on the east side of the river, nine miles above Saint Paul, commands a fine view of the falls, from which the city derives its name. It is the seat of the University of Minnesota, and contains numerous fine buildings. Population 4,000. Principal business, manufacture of lumber and flour.

"Minneapolis, on the west side of the Mississippi, divides with Saint Anthony the immense power created by the falls at that place. A canal is in process of construction, which will render this power available for an unlimited amount of machinery. This town is pleasantly situated on a high rolling prairie. It contains several fine public and private buildings, and has a population of several thousand.

"Stillwater, on the St. Croix River, is a flourishing town, and the centre of a large lumber trade.

MINERAL RESOURCES.

"The northwestern section of Minnesota is crossed by ranges of granite, overlaid with deposits of clay and drift. These ranges are a continuation of the great development of primary rock which extends from Labrador and James Bay along the western shore of Lake Superior, thence westward, and disappears under the drift deposit of the Red River valley. The elevation of this primary rock, covered with a deep stratum of drift, constitutes the heights of land from whence descend the three great rivers. The rocky, sterile, northwestern corner of the State comprises a mineral field, which, if we may trust the deductions of geologists, will be inferior only to agriculture as a source of wealth.

Copper.—Copper abounds in the mineral belt stretching along the northern shore of Lake Superior; and large masses of the pure metal have been taken from Knife and Stuart Rivers.

Iron ore is found in considerable quantity around Portage and Pigeon Rivers. The metal wrought from this ore has been put to the severest test, and found fully equal in tenacity and malleability to the best Swedish and Russian iron. The shipments of iron ore from the Superior District amounted, for 1855, to 1,447 tons; and for 1858, to 31,035 tons.

Discoveries of coal have also been made in Brown county, on the Cottonwood River, in the vicinity of New Ulm, but little or nothing is yet known of their extent or value.

Building stone, slate, and clay are also found in different sections of the State."

We shall continue this subject hereafter, and more fully in regard to the States and Territories which follow:

Montana	Population	30,000.	Capital	Virginia City.
Nevada	"	45,000.	"	Carson City.
Colorado	"	52,000.	"	Denver.
Arizona	"	15,000.	"	Prescott.
Utah	"	93,000.	"	Salt Lake City.
Washington	"	15,000.	"	Olympia.
Oregon	"	52,765.	"	Salem.
New Mexico	"	28,000.	"	Santa Fe.
California	"	500,000.	"	Sacramento.
Dacotah	"	9,000.	"	Yankton.
Western Missouri				
Nebraska	"	28,892.	"	Omaha City.
Kansas	"	167,206.	"	Topeka.
Idaho	"	25,000.	"	Idaho.

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EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANIES.

We are indebted to the *Hon. Secretary of the Treasury* for the Reports of National Commerce and Navigation for the years 1860, '61, '62, and '63, that of 1864 having not yet been issued. These reports embrace a vast amount of detailed information in regard to our foreign and domestic commercial relations, and are a great improvement upon the reports which were formerly issued from the office. They will furnish much aid in our future labors. Mr. McCulloch has established his character—a statesman of large and liberal views—upon the great questions and necessities of the day.

From the *Department of Agriculture*, through Isaac Newton, Esq., its head, we have been courteously presented with the volumes which have emanated from the office since 1860, and with the monthly Bulletin of agricultural facts which it issues. There is no subject of interest to American agriculturists which is not ably and elaborately treated in these volumes, and they are a credit to the Government and people.

The *Census Office* presents us with the volumes which have so far appeared, embodying the Statistics of Population and Agriculture for 1860, and a general compendium of the whole work. These volumes were issued under the superintendence of Mr. Kennedy. Others are promised, which will be edited, we believe, by Mr. Wilson, the chief clerk. The vast fund of material which is furnished will enable us hereafter to prepare some articles on national statistics which will have a general value, and we will at the same time, perhaps, take occasion to refer to the census of 1850, and furnish some perhaps necessary data, showing our connection with that work, and refuting the idle and unjust complaints which were made against us from certain sources, and which we have allowed to sleep for nearly ten years, not regarding the subject as of any public interest. Meanwhile, we accord to Mr. Kennedy the credit to which he is entitled for the excellent manner in which the facts are presented in the present works.

The *State Department* has extended to us equal courtesies in presenting the admirable volumes for 1860, '61, '62, '63, and 1864, upon our *Commercial Relations* with foreign powers. They embrace the reports of all Consular Agents in every part of the world, and embody valuable statistics in relation to each country, the tariff regulations in force, etc., etc. With such information before him, a statesman must be inexcusable who blunders in forming his opinions of the commercial requisitions of this country. From the same Department we receive the *Reports of Immigration*, covering the years above referred to, and find the tables very complete and well-digested but somewhat deficient in aggregate results, which we understand will be supplied hereafter.

The *Book Table* of the Review is rather meager for the present month. Shut off as we were within the South during the four years of the war from communication with the outside world, it is refreshing to look over the catalogues of the time and examine upon their bookshelves the rich accumulations. Though the number of new works is much smaller than we had

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supposed, a very striking improvement is to be noted in the character of the material and the style of publication. We acknowledge our obligations to Harper & Brothers for several of these works:

1. *The Ordeal of Free Labor in the British West Indies*, by Wm. G. Sewall. This is a volume which will be especially valuable in the present times, and the author had rare opportunities of informing himself in every particular. He went to the Islands unfavorably impressed with regard to the results of emancipation, and after a full examination his views underwent a radical change. An article in review of the volume has been commenced by us, but it must be delayed to the next issue of the REVIEW, when, perhaps, some data in relation to the recent outbreak in Jamaica may be appended.

2. *History of the United States Cavalry*, by Major Albert G. Brackett. This is a very handsome volume, with engravings, and furnishes a complete history of that branch of the military service of the United States, from the formation of the Government until the present time. Appended to the work is a list of all the regiments (with the names of their commanders) which have been in service during the recent war. It is through channels like this, personal memoirs and official documents, that we must expect a fair and just history of the American troubles; and therefore the student should begin his collection now, and include in his catalogue the productions of either side. The truths of contemporary history can only be slowly sifted out.

3. *Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of America*, by John W. Draper, M. D., LL.D., author of the History of Intellectual Development in Europe. In treating this subject, the author discusses the influences of climate upon national character, the effects of emigration, etc.; and he arrives at the conclusion that there is a tendency everywhere to the concentration of power, which he regards so far from being in antagonism to democratic institutions, as to be their legitimate and unavoidable results.

4. *The Observing Faculties* are treated of in a neat little volume by Warren Burton, whose object is to indicate to parents and teachers the readiest means of attracting the youthful mind, and of imparting information, and of seizing upon its peculiarities. The work is very interesting in all of these particulars.

5. Professor March, of Lafayette College, Eastern Pennsylvania, furnishes a brief manual for the *Philological Study of the English Language*, of which he is a professor. The subject is ingeniously treated, and the work is well adapted to the purposes of our high schools, academies, etc.

6. *The Oil Regions of Pennsylvania*. This is a duodecimo of about 300 pages, and professes to be a guide to the location where petroleum is found—how it is to be obtained, and at what cost. The author, William Wright, has had a large practical acquaintance with the subject, and has traveled extensively in its elucidation. The wonderful results of petroleum are entirely unknown to our Southern readers, and we were almost surprised to hear when the war was over, that a new thing under the sun had sprung up at the North which had produced almost the miraculous results of California gold mines. Who knows but that in the future the South and West shall furnish their rich contributions in this field?

7 and 8. *Harper's Monthly Magazine* and *Harper's Weekly*. These works have been regularly issued in

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handsome style, as the public are well aware, for a number of years, and the distinctive features of each have been preserved. They require no comment, but speak for themselves.

We shall not do injustice to the labors of Horace Greeley as the historian of the late war, by the expression of an opinion on the merits of the volume he was polite enough to send us, until time has been allowed for its careful examination. The work will be in two volumes, and is issued in superb style, with innumerable maps of battles and steel engravings of public men and generals in the Federal and Confederate ranks. It is entitled the *American Conflict*.

Our thanks are due to Dr. J. H. Van Errie, of the *New York Day Book*, for his little volume upon the physical characteristics of the negro race, in which he shows with much learning and ingenuity the great errors which have been committed by our politicians and philanthropists. He discusses the subject under the heads of Popular Delusions, Laws of Organization, Historical Outline, Hybridism, Normal Condition of the Negro, the Future of the Negro, etc.

To the publishers, John W. Orr and Co., New York, we are also indebted for Vol. III. of the *American Oddfellow*. This is a serial work, published monthly and is so interesting that we imagine it will find a place in the family of every member of the fraternity.

Mr. Alex. Delmar, who edits the *Social Science Review*, which has now reached its third quarterly number, favors us with a copy of each No. The work is handsomely issued and is devoted to political economy, statistics, etc., examining very critically theories of finance and taxation, and exhibiting great research on all the subjects treated. The editors are uncompromising free-trade men. Terms, $4 per annum.

Hunt's Merchants' Magazine and the *Bankers' Magazine* also grace our table. They are works of interest and value, and each pursues its specialty with enterprise and energy. We enjoyed the acquaintance of the founders of these national works, Freeman Hunt, Esq., and J. Smith Homans, Esq., and are glad to perceive that their labors are still appreciated by the public. They were our contemporaries in stern times.

The Rebellion Record, a record of American events, is the title of a work which is being published in serial numbers by D. Van Nostrand, 192 Broadway, New York, under the editorial charge of Frank Moore, Esq. Eight large octavo volumes have appeared, which contain much of the documentary history of the war, and other volumes will follow. Price 60 cents per single No., 112 pages. The eight volumes contain:

I. A full and concise Diary of Events, from the Meeting of the South Carolina Convention in December, 1860, to the present time.
II. Over three thousand Official Reports and Narratives of all the Battles and Skirmishes that have occurred during the war.
III. Over twelve hundred Songs and Ballads, both Loyal and Rebel.
IV. One hundred and twenty-two Portraits, engraved on steel, of the most celebrated men of the time, and numerous Maps and Plans of Battles.
V. Over eight thousand Incidents and Anecdotes of Personal Daring and Bravery.

A monthly periodical in the German language, published by John Williams, 80 Beekman-street, New York, and edited by Prof. A. J. Schem, furnishes a medium for the Southern people to

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communicate with the German population of the North and of Europe, where large editions are circulated. We find the editor to be a man of rare learning and thoroughly acquainted with the subject.

Agreeing heartily with some of the leaders of the South, such as Lee, Johnston, Hampton, and others, that it is the duty of her sons to *remain in the country*, and abide by its fortunes for weal or for woe, we have discouraged all schemes of emigration to Brazil or to Mexico, especially since the promulgation of the liberal policy of President Johnson. Though the necessities of our own position will require us to be absent a good deal, we expect to spend most of our time upon the soil of the South, and keep up our association and connection with her people.

Dr. John H. Blue, writing from Brazil, thus speaks of the colony located there:

"Judge John Guillet, an old and highly-esteemed citizen of Carroll county, with several families, and a Mr. Reavis, of Cooper county, Missouri, with his interesting family, are now here (August), making about forty North Americans in all, the nucleus of a good settlement around Colonel M. L. Swain, of Louisiana, who has located and paid for a body of land on the Assunguy, a branch of the Serra Negro river, which empties into this bay from the northwest, and which is the only practicable route to the mines, and to the rich open country beyond. We have already houses and a little store, and will soon have a blacksmith shop and a school house, the Government giving us five hundred milreis a year to support a school. We have small crops of corn, beans, and potatoes, growing finely, and expect to keep ahead of the wants of new-comers, in the way of food. All of this dates from about the time I came into the bay, a period of less than three months."

What the South now needs is capital, and if the immense accumulations of the North could be only diverted in that channel, something like the old days of prosperity would be revived, and the difficulty of grappling with the great question of the national debt would be materially lessened. Will not these rich capitalists pause and consider? Never before was so inviting a field opened. Untold wealth lies sleeping, and needs but the appliances which they can offer. Well says the Hon. Kenneth Rayner, of North Carolina, a man known to the entire country:

"Capital is what the South now needs—capital to develop its manufacturing, mining, and agricultural resources; to give employment to labor; to set everybody to work. The difficulty is, that there is no demand for labor. Our young men are ready to go to work, anxious to get employment; but really there is nothing for them to do. It is all owing to the fact that there is no money here, and very little prospect of its coming hereafter. There may be some six or eight hundred thousand bales of cotton scattered throughout the South. This is the remnant of the crop of 1860, not disposed of when the war broke out, and the small amounts raised in the last four years. Just at this time there is a little activity discoverable in getting this cotton to the sea-coast. Speculators and agents are tramping the South in every direction, gleaning the last bale. So with tobacco. There are a few thousand hogsheads scattered over the Southern States, but it is fast leaving the barns and shelters where it has been stored for years. Almost every family that has anything, is selling the last remnant of cotton, tobacco, &c., in order to obtain their domestic supplies, of which they had become very bare during the four years of war. This is throwing a little money into circulation, but this money is going directly into the hands of the sutlers in the towns, who will soon take it all out of the country."

Attention is called to the advertisements of several *Land and Immigration Companies*, in our pages, and we are happy to say that efforts are being made

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which are likely to be successful to introduce immense amounts of capital for the restoration of the South. To all of these movements we give hearty support, but there is one thing the people of the North must understand, and that is that the questions of labor, of wages, of employment, &c., can no more be regulated by law in Louisiana than in Massachusetts, and that if productive industry is again to be conducted, there must be non-interference in all these matters. There is no greater propriety for a FREEDMEN'S BUREAU, now that the war is over, than there should be for a poor man's bureau or a rich man's bureau, or any other such institution. Private enterprises must be left to regulate these things, and the competition of labor and capital, unless we intend to turn Fourierists. Now that the negro is free, he has received enough at the hands of the nation without expense to himself. No one disputes his freedom. He has no more right to a support than has the free laborer of Maine or Iowa, nor the right to dictate the terms of his employment. Therefore let the Freedman's Bureau be abolished as soon as the State Governments are formed, and industry will become as it ought to be—*free*.

What Major Macbeth of Charleston said to General Saxton will be the voice of every man acquainted with the subject. The status of a freeman gives the negro all the necessary protection of law. Mr. Macbeth says:

"He considered it utterly impracticable for the Freedmen's Bureau at Washington to manage the whole social relations of the people from the Potomac to the Rio Grande with any satisfaction or success whatever. In some instances officers of one set of political views were very severe on the negroes, tying them up by the thumbs, and practising other cruelties upon them; while in other cases, with officers of different political opinions, the negroes were demoralized, particularly on the plantations, by being told they were quite equal to their white employers, and should not obey their orders. The major thought if officers were appointed who came to fight for the Union alone, affairs would be much more satisfactory than at present, when one-half of the officers sent here were those who entered the war for emancipation purposes only, and inflamed the negroes with their violent harangues and denunciation of the whites for having kept them in slavery."

The enormous expenses of this machinery should also be considered.

Mr. John Rhum, of Nashville, Tenn., has prepared an address to the Legislature of that State upon the subject of promoting *Immigration* within its limits, and sends us a copy. He argues the subject comprehensively and ably, and we will endeavor to find room for his views hereafter.

Another party addresses the members of the same legislature (Rev. Herman Bokum), a number of inquiries in regard to the characteristics of the different sections of the State, and as the questions will be suggestive for other States, we incorporate them:

1. What are general features of the county of .....; level, undulating or hilly?

2. What rivers or streams run through the county; and are there many good sites for water power?

THE PRODUCTIONS.

3. What grasses flourish well or best, and state their market value in the county?

4. What description of corn or grain is produced? Name the kinds, and their market value in the county.

5. What plants flourish best, and what roots are grown, and their market value?

6. Can you give the average produce per acre of each of the above, in different parts of the county?

7. What description of fruit is produced?

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8. Is it well adapted for raising stock —as cattle, horses, mules, or sheep? Can you state with what success this is attended, and the market value of such stock in the county?

9. Are any minerals known to exist in the county? If so, name them.

10. Are these minerals worked to any extent, and by whom?

11. Are any salt springs or sulphur found in the county?

SPECIAL.

12. Who is able to give information respecting the extent of minerals, and what is being done with them?

13. Is there much wood in the county? If so, in what quarter—North, East, South, or central?

14. What description of timber is found in the county? Name the kinds.

15. What is about the extent of land in the county—

1. Under cultivation;
2. Covered with timber;
3. Adapted for pastures and feeding stock;
4. Unoccupied or waste;

16. At what prices can land be obtained by immigrants in the county?

17. Is there much land for sale in the county?

18. What wages are being paid, or offered, for agricultural or other laborers?

19. What number of laborers could find employment in the county?

20. What schools are established in the county?

21. How many places of public worship are there, and what denominations are represented?

22. What papers are published, and their average circulation?

23. What is about the population of the county?

23. What inducements would the property-holders give to immigrants or settlers?

Major E. Tochman, a native of Poland, now resident at Richmond, Va., is also actively employed in promoting this *immigration scheme*, and from his antecedents we believe that he must exercise an efficient influence. Mr. Tochman is well known in our country, and in England, and we regret our inability at present to do more than make a brief quotation from the letter with which we have been favored by him:

"Another benefit, not less important, which a speedy increase of white population, by encouraging the European emigrants to settle among us, would produce, seems to me to be this: that the competition of white labor would drive the lazy negroes to the coasts, extending from Virginia through all the Southern States to the Gulf. Their labor on these coasts, where white people cannot live, but they grow strong and robust, would be the most remunerative and profitable to them, and it would benefit the United States at large, by reclaiming the most productive millions of acres of land, which the white labor will never achieve. But to attain all these advantages in the full extent, measures ought to be adopted that would identify the coming emigrants with our Southern people, and make them inaccessible to the Northern fanatics, wire-pullers, and politicians. This can only be achieved by establishing in Europe our own emigrant agencies, with branches of agencies in our own ports to receive the emigrants here, and direct them to their new homes."

The progress of *Reconstruction* is advancing favorably with the Churches. The Episcopalians, at Philadelphia, acted in a spirit of fraternity on the reception given to their Southern brethren; and the Methodist Bishops have issued a very comprehensive address. Speaking of the changed condition of the negroes the bishops express, we believe, the voice of the South:

"In the change from slaves to freedmen, which has providentially befallen the negroes of the Southern States, our obligations to promote their spiritual welfare have not ceased. We are still debtor to them free, as before to them bond. Under the Divine blessing our church has done a great work for this people. Their moral training, and generally diffused knowledge of the cardinal truths of Christianity, and their ecclesiastical discipline, has justly

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won the admiration of many who have lately come in contact and acquaintance with them. *It has accomplished more, it has materially contributed to their subordination and inoffensive behaviour through the late defenceless and excited times, when prophecies were confident and opportunities frequent for domestic insurrection.* And their safe though sudden passage from a state of bondage to liberty, a transition accompanied by no violence or tumult on their part, is largely due to the cause. Though often reviled while prosecuting the evangelization of the colored people by those who claimed to be their better friends, Southern Methodists have persevered in it, not without blessed results. We might have done more; but we should be thankful to the grace of God that we have not done less. Our labor has not been in vain in the Lord. Multitudes have been saved, who will be our crown of glory in "that day." And that the good effects of our religious teachings bestowed upon them in bondage will follow the race into their new condition, and help to prepare them for it, is matter of pleasing reflection to us. Our numerous membership among them, of over two hundred and forty thousand, exclusive of the congregations and catechumens who received instructions from our pastors and missionaries, has been much reduced by recent changes and casualties. If it should be still further reduced we need not be surprised. Defections, doubtless, will take place from their ranks to churches offering greater social inducements for their adhesion. If they elect to leave us, let them go with the assurance that, as heretofore, we have been, so we will continue to be their friends, and in every suitable way aid their moral development and religious welfare. We must still keep a place and a service for those who remain with us, and for others who, after a brief experiment elsewhere, may wish to return. While no factious opposition, on the one hand, should be offered to the exercise of their fullest liberty in choosing their ecclesiastical associations; on the other hand, no desire of being rid of a responsibility should incline you to treat their action, in so grave a matter, with indifference, or let them take their way in ignorance of all the issues involved. Give them exact information and patient explanation. Act faithfully and kindly in all things towards them, and as becomes those who truly care for their souls."

In reference to the matters referred to in the above extract, we have the utterances of another Southerner, who has acquired high reputation in his native State—the Hon. Thos. S. Gholson of Va.:

"These people are now free, and among us. In many localities they greatly preponderate in numbers. It is useless to inquire whether it was wise to turn them loose without preparation; without any adequate provision for their mental or physical comfort or improvement. It is done, and we must meet the obligations which now rest upon us. We cannot get rid of them. Where will you take them? Where are the means with which you could do so? They are among us, and must so remain for long years, at least. The question arises, how are they to be managed and treated? Will they labor and make a useful population? We should treat them with kindness, and encourage them to acquire habits of industry and economy. We should recollect that they are not to blame that we lose the value of their labor—that has resulted from war. They have (in the main) conducted themselves since their freedom, in a docile, kind, and respectful manner. If many of them left kind owners, it was because of evil influences; hundreds have returned of their own accord, and asked to remain at their old homes. They are now thrown upon the world, without resources, and without friends—unless we remain their friends. Let us, therefore, counsel and advise them; give them employment, and at fair wages. Let every good man visit with indignation those who would oppress or defraud them. There will be selfish, unprincipled men in all communities. We must protect these people against such men. They have the right to make contracts; but what chance do they stand with the sharper? No more than your infant children would. We must, by public sentiment, and by law, protect them against improvident and unconscionable contracts.

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"It is not only right that we should pursue this course towards these freedmen, but it is our interest. For, just so far as we can make them intelligent, industrious, and self-supporting, will we lift from the community the burden of supplying the means necessary to support them. They must be fed and clothed, and our duty and our interest combine to dictate a kind and humane policy towards them. And such, I am happy to believe, is the general disposition of our people."

As an evidence of the return of peace and of the machinery of peace among us, we notice the circular issued by the New Orleans School of Medicine. This Institution is again opened, and a course of lectures began on the 13th of November.

The Faculty is an able one, and comprises such names as Fenner, Brickell, Choppin, Beard, Cracow, Smith, etc. all well known to the country.

The following property is offered for Sale on favorable terms, and application may be made to the Office of the REVIEW, where other data will be furnished.

ST. PAUL, *Minnesota*—60 lots in De Bow, Risque, and Williams addition. These lots are in the suburbs, and are convenient to city and other railroads; were valued in 1848 at from $100 to $500 each; situated in Blocks 1 to 10.

LEAVENWORTH CITY, *Kansas*—Lot 5, Block D. Lot 6, Block 57. One of these lots is on the public square.

CHICAGO—20 lots advantageously located. Nos. 2, 9, 10, 18, 19, 32, 33, 41, 42, 49, 59, 60, 68, 69, 73, 74, 82, 83, 91, 92. Canal Trustees subdivision, Cochran subdivision, Block 20.

IOWA, *Mills Co.*—480 acres in Sections 2 and 11, in Town 71, Range 42 west 5 meridian. *Monona Co.*—480 acres in Secs. 11 and 14, Town 84, R. 45 West. *Black Hawk Co.*—120 acres in Sec. 32, Town 87, R. 14 West. The land in Mills Co. is rolling prairie, good for stock, near the road from Sidney to Council Bluff; 6 miles S. E. of the county seat, and 2 miles West of Silver Creek. The Monona land is alluvial 2½ miles from Ashton, the county seat.

MINNESOTA, *Washington Co.*—600 acres in Secs. 5, 8, and 25, Town 32, R. 20 and 21; located 12 miles above Stillwater, and 2½ miles from St. Croix River.

MISSOURI, *Atchison Co.*—240 acres in Sec. 24, Town 63, R. 40.

KANSAS, *Franklin Co.*—160 acres in Sec. 22, Town 17, R. 21, at Kaskaskia, *Brown Co.*—160 acres in Sec. 6, Town 2, R. 18, Iowa Town, *Doniphan Co.*—120 acres in Sec. 12, Town 2, R. 20, Iowa Town. The Franklin Co. lands have good timber, and lie near Stanton, Lykins Co., and near the county line; 10 acres cultivated. The tract in Brown is distant 2½ miles from Iowa point, on the Missouri River.

MISSISSIPPI, *Wilkinson Co.*—Plantation in good order and improvements, 700 acres, 14 miles from Woodville. Farm 1½ miles from *Columbus*, 104 acres. House and Lot in *Columbus*.

LOUISIANA, *Carroll, Paris*—640 acres in Sec. 31, Town 22, N. of R., 10 East, near Delhi; uncultivated, but woods deadened several years ago. Land represented to be good, and capable of producing bale cotton to the acre; unimproved.

TEXAS—About 1,500 acres in the Bexar District, Surveys 371 and 377, Sec. 7; South Fork, South Bank of Llano, 55 miles N. West of Fredericksburg.

☞ Notices similar to the above will be inserted of lands and plantations offered for sale at the South on the receipt of $5 for every six lines, which will be inserted at the close of the editorial columns.

As the REVIEW will have a large Northern and Western circulation, this method of advertising will present great advantages.

☞ Attention is called to the advertisement of B. De Bow, who, in addition to his duties of publisher of the REVIEW, will act as Agent for the Sale of Southern estates on reasonable terms, or for the purchase of any article which may be required by the Southern people, including such as are advertised in the pages of the REVIEW. He will also execute contracts for printing on reasonable terms, and in every variety of style.

The subject of fertilisers is one of much interest to Southern planters at the present juncture, and we would therefore call attention to the card of J. S. Reese & Co., of Baltimore, on the first page of our cover.

The Editor of the REVIEW, on the appearance of this Number, expects to be absent on a *Southern tour*, in which he will visit Louisville, Nashville, parts of Mississippi and Alabama, and New Orleans. He expects to spend the greater part of January and February in Washington City. Letters addressed to him will, however, be immediately forwarded from the Office, 42 Broadway, New York, to which point all communications will be addressed.

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Hottentots seen gathering Buchu Leaves at the Cape of Good Hope, for

H. T. HELMBOLD,

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No. 594 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

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AGRICULTURAL COMMERCIAL INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS & RESOURCES.

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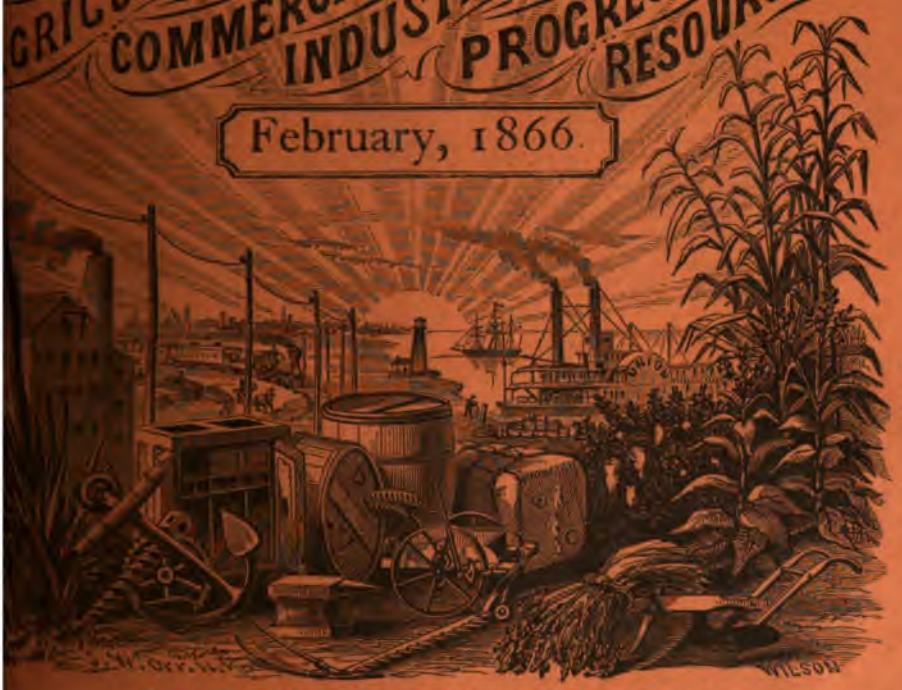

J. D. B. DE BOW, Editor and Proprietor.

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[See 4th page of Cover for Term

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The price of this guano is but little more than one-half the price of Peruvian, while its *actual value is absolutely greater*, for the reasons above named. This guano manifests all the remarkable activity of Peruvian; but as it furnishes more actual nourishment, it sustains and matures the crop better, whether of *cotton*, tobacco, or wheat. Every cargo of this guano is subjected to careful analysis, by Dr. A. Snowden Piggott, of this city, which affords us a guarantee of its value, before sale. The *soluble Pacific Guano* will be furnished to the planters of the South through agencies established in all Southern markets. Every bag is branded with the name of the undersigned, to whom communications must be addressed.

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ART. I.—AMERICAN COMMERCE—ITS PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENTS.

In treating the great subject which is before us, and which will be continued through several issues of the Review, we shall have occasion to draw freely upon the previous labors of ourself, as well as those of other statisticians, in the United States and Europe, analyzing, comparing, combining and presenting in a compact form, *and to the latest dates*, all the information which can be brought to bear upon or illustrate it.

The progress of America is the miracle of modern times, and nothing in the marvelous events of antiquity can form a counterpart to it. In their maturity, as in their infancy, the characteristics of her people are unchanged. The indomitable will, the stern endurance, the inflexible, hardy spirit of independence; the high daring, the lofty patriotism, the adventurous, unlimited enterprise; the genius,—resolute, active, intrepid; inexhaustible in resources, elastic in vigor and in freshness; buoyant ever, and hoping on and executing amid every trying scene, every danger and difficulty and disaster—triumphing everywhere and in all things!

The subject will be treated under the following great divisions, each of which shall constitute an article for the Review:

I. The Origin, Progress and Influences of Commerce.
II. American Commerce in the Seventeenth Century.
III. From the Opening of the Eighteenth Century to the Revolution.
IV. Under the Articles of Confederation.
V. Under the Constitution and until the War of 1812.
VI. From the War of 1812 until the Civil War.
VII. During the Civil War.
VIII. Since the Close of the War—Grand Resumé.

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The history of trade carries us back to the primeval history of man himself. Neither science nor art, nor any of the institutions of society have anything like the antiquity which of right pertains to this. The first want which was ever felt, the first appetite ever appeased, were but stimulants offered to new wants and appetites, whose gratification was denied to the unaided labors of the individual. We arrive at barter when we reach a point where the individual want calls into requisition efforts beyond what the individual can exert. When one man has not the thing which he desires, but has what its proprietor would equally value, there is at once laid a foundation for that system of *exchanges* which is among the first developments in the progress of trade.

Locke, it is, perhaps, who tells us that the hunter of the hills, whom the day's chase has crowned with no other than venison, would be loth to appropriate the whole of it to himself if he knew that his neighbor, whose fire flickered over the way, had a fine stock of grouse and pheasant preparing for the feast, and would be glad enough to smoke upon the embers with it a buck's quarter. If men were the same in those extreme ages as they are now, we are sure that these progenitors of Nimrod partook of each other's good cheer without knowing a word of any of the "laws which regulate exchanges." A shoulder of venison was good for at least a pair of canvas-back ducks. Plain Cudjo, on one of our Southern plantations, proved his connection with the genus homo, by taking half his weekly allowance of rice and bartering it away for a mess of Indian meal.

Anderson, in his History of Commerce, tells of a singular custom which prevailed with several nations of remote antiquity. Happening to have an overplus of any particular commodity or class of commodities, either of these nations would bear the excess to its border limits, and heap it up there. This surplus the neighbor nation drew upon as need be, substituting for the removed deposit so much of its own redundant produce of a different character, as it considered a fair equivalent. Such a system betrays great simplicity of manners and integrity of heart. We would not bespeak for it much favor in an age like ours, when greedy avarice, wily policy, and dollar-and-cent philosophy, take strong hold upon men's propensities. Anderson does not mention, if any frauds resulted from this pristine liberality.

The origin of commerce is a subject which by no means admits of much philosophizing, and we are rather amused than instructed by the wire-drawn theories with which the reader is almost sure to be treated by every writer who sets

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himself up as instructor in this branch of history; as if traffic of some description were not just as natural, and just as necessary, in the progress of mankind, as the use of language or the powers of locomotion. To explain the origin of the former appears to us as profitless at least as that of the latter.

Nearly six thousand years have passed away since man began to earn his subsistence by the sweat of his brow, and for half of this period we have no other record than that to be found in the Hebrew Bible. Profane history carries us to its extent when we reach the age of Homer, one thousand years before that of Jesus Christ. In Homer's time, navigation had become a system, and the Scian muse sings through his pages of the noble fleet which followed the fortunes of Agamemnon against the strong-walled Troy—

> "What crowded armies, from what climes they bring,
> Their names, their numbers, and their chiefs I sing."
>
> ILIAD, II.

We must go farther back than this to find when trade became first a system.

We take up the Bible and turn to the lamentations and sorrows of Job. Whoever Job might have been, or whoever was the author of the book which chronicles his fortunes, it is certain that it is one of antiquity, equal, if not superior, to any other record in the world. Some have even given it an antediluvian origin. We have depicted in it at least the manners and customs of the patriarchal era. But the gold of Ophir and the Ethiopian topaz, as articles of commerce, would appear to have been familiar enough at that period to Arabian luxury.

Abraham counted out to Ephron for the burial-place of Macpelah (Gen. xxiii. 16), *silver, current with the merchant*, three thousand five hundred years ago. This evidences, then, a currency and commercial community. The children whom God has raised up to Abraham—the Hebrews, of all ages and countries, from that time to this—have proved themselves, beyond all compare, the most extraordinary nation of traders and traffickers that the annals of mankind have yet recorded. Blackstone fixes upon them the earliest use of that important instrument of commerce, the bill of exchange;* and English historians chronicle how these wealthy Hebrews, ere yet toleration became a virtue, were fleeced of their wares and moneys to satisfy the exorbitant and tyrannical demands of the sover-

* This method is said to have been brought into general use by the Jews and Lombards, when banished for their usury and other vices, in order to draw their effects more easily out of France and England into those countries into which they had chosen to reside.—2 *Black. Comm.*, 269.

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eign purse. Old Isaac, of York, or some other "wealthy Tubal" of his tribe, it was, whose teeth were extracted, one a day, by England's king, till he had brought to light from his hidden treasures gold enough to buy him ransom from his hard usage. We are not told whether Isaac came from under the operation toothless, or how many molars and incisors he conceived his treasury to be worth. A modern traveler in Syria pays the same tribute to these descendants of Jacob. "From morning until night," says he, "and from night until morning, in the streets, in the houses, in the public places and promenades, everywhere and for ever, nothing is to be heard in Syria but merchandise and money, money and merchandise."

Abraham went down into Egypt. The Egyptians were a people *sui generis*. They abhorred foreigners on a deep-rooted principle; and these men of yore, of mummies, pyramids, and obelisks, were little qualified for any of the enterprises of trade. They did, however, under one or two sovereigns, exhibit a different characteristic, but the thing was forced. Their traders navigated for a short season the waters of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. Long after this, when ancient Egypt belonged to history, and when Alexander the Great had subdued his countrymen and half the world beside, the conqueror fixed upon the site and built the city of Alexandria, midway between the Mediterranean and Indian seas, and commanding the commerce of either. Scarcely a city reached to so great a point of eminence for many centuries as Alexandria, in all the great departments of trade; and it had been to this day as it was in its early existence, but for the skill of Portuguese navigators doubling the "Cape of Storms," and opening a new and better avenue from Europe to the East Indies. From that day to this Alexandria is named "no more."

But we are not done with the Jews. We are to speak of that empire which, in all pomp and splendor and Eastern gorgeousness, David and Solomon raised up and maintained on the shores of ancient Judea. There was a compact, a commercial compact, between David and Hiram of Tyre, for the supply of timber and artisans necessary in embellishing the seat of Jewish empire. Solomon carried out the stipulations of his father, and extended the operations of the great co-partnership he had formed. The untold wealth and magnificence of Israel's sapient king stand out boldly in the annals of the nation. Tyrians and Hebrews together toiled on the shores of the Red Sea, at Eziongeber, in fitting out a fleet of ships for their sovereigns. It is certain that this fleet had commercial ends, and that it made a successful adventure somewhere, but where, no one exactly understands. Speculations have multi-

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plied upon the subject. Beawes, in his "Lex Mercatoria," devotes many a page to the inquiry, and labors hard to show that the allied fleet visited the islands of the East Indies, and found, somewhere there, the Ophir and Tarshish, from which the Bible seems to tell us that such abundant gold and treasure were obtained. The periodical winds in these seas explain the success of navigation in the absence of compass or chronometer. Other places, too, these shipping doubtless visited on the coast of Asia and Ethiopia; but as most of this is conjecture, the reader can conjecture as well as ourselves.

Phœnicia, in all antiquity, is without example or parallel. More than twenty-two hundred years before Christ, the Phœnicians had founded the great commercial mart of Sidon. In Sidon were to be found the most splendid developments of arts, manufactures and commerce, before the Christian era. The Sidonians were an extraordinary people, who marked themselves strongly upon antiquity. Their merchant fleets opened the gates of the Mediterranean, and sailed away beyond the Pillars of Hercules, the *ne plus ultra* of the ancient world. They brought back to the vicinities of the Levant the ore which they obtained in Britain from the miners of Cornwall. With cargoes purchased in Arabia, Ethiopia and India, these fathers of navigation made their way to Elath, on the Arabian Sea; an overland transportation from Elath to Rhinocolura, and a re-shipment from that port, found their commodities at last safely landed at the quays of Tyre.

Let the rapt visions of Ezekiel describe for us Tyre, in all the gorgeousness of Eastern metaphor:

"O thou that art situate at the entry of the sea, which art a merchant of the people for many isles; thy borders are in the midst of the sea, thy builders have perfected thy beauty. Fine linen with broidered work from Egypt was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail; blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was that which covered thee. The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners; thy wise men that were within thee, were thy pilots. The ancients of Gebal, and the wise men thereof were in thee, thy caulkers; all the ships of the sea, with their mariners, were in thee, to occupy thy merchandise. Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs. Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, were thy merchants; they traded *the persons of men* and vessels of brass in thy market. Syria was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of the wares of thy making: they occupied in thy fairs with emeralds, purple and broidered work, and fine linen, coral, and agate. Judah and the land of Israel, they were thy merchants. Damascus was thy merchant. Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, in thee, were thy merchants. The ships of Tarshish did sing of thee in thy markets, and thou wast replenished and made very glorious in the midst of the seas. What city is like Tyrus? By thy great wisdom and by thy traffic hast thou increased thy riches, and thy heart is lifted up because of thy riches!"

The fate of this great city we are all familiar with. Sacked

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and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, it was only rebuilt to suffer the same dismal fate at the hands of Alexander. Tyre, the ancient mariner and merchant, has left behind but few traces of his opulence, and the nation of whom Tibullus wrote—"Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros," and of whom God decreed, "thou shalt be a terror, and shalt never be any more," fulfilled at last its destiny.

Carthage was a colony of the Phœnicians planted in Africa. The infant settlement, by the extension of its trade and the energy and enterprise of its inhabitants, soon grew up to a stature so great and powerful, that the salvation of the Roman empire admitted but of one voice at its capital—*Carthago delenda esse:* Carthage must be destroyed. This commercial people, through two of the bloodiest and most protracted wars of which history has any mention, met, braved and defied the "Eagle" and the mailed legions of Rome, and only yielded at last with a struggle worthy of Homer's deities.

Before the Greek states began to send out colonies to the numerous islands of the Ægean, the Greeks knew little of foreign trade. So soon, however, as these little bands migrated off from the mother country, the influences of their position, free institutions and unrestricted customs began to be felt among themselves, and to re-act upon the parent states. Nearly all of Grecian commerce, prior to the time of Alexander, was confined to this trade with the colonies.

The Romans never were a trading people. Their sympathies were for agriculture, war and conquest. Trade was held in contempt, and nothing but the sword and the plow were counted honorable. To every person of rank, birth, or fortune, (says Kent,) the Romans prohibited commerce; and no senator was allowed to own a vessel larger than a boat sufficient to carry his own corn and fruits. They were content to receive through Egypt those supplies of Eastern commodities which ministered to their luxury and taste. When the empire was removed to Byzantium, in the Fourth Century, the commerce of Rome, such as it was, fell almost entirely into decay.

All Scandinavia and the northern hive poured down in the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Centuries, upon Rome, their myriads of barbarians. Huns, Goths, Vandals, Attilas, and Alarics—these terrific men swept away all traces of civilization for a gloomy period, and with fire and sword desolated the whole of Southern Europe. Commerce received a death-blow in the struggles of this era.

The Byzantian or Greek empire, meanwhile continued its intercourse with Alexandria, and received thence its oriental supplies, until the Arabians, seizing upon Egypt, put a stop at

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last to this lucrative branch of commerce. We next hear of the Byzantians sailing up the Indus to its highest navigable points, transporting their commerce thence overland to Oxus, and down to the Caspian Sea. Having reached the sea, they made sail into the Volga; transported their commodities across the country to the Tanais, thence to the Euxine, to be shipped there ultimately for Byzantium itself.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon that period of darkness and gloom which settled down upon the seats of ancient letters, civilization and commerce, when the lights of Rome and Greece had been put out, and bloodshed, anarchy, and fierce discord attained their despotic empire. It seemed as if God had cursed and withered the fair work of his own hand.

There rose at last in Italy, upon these ruins, a community which has been celebrated in every subsequent age. "Pisa was the first republic that rose into power after the dismemberment of the Roman empire," says Mr. Lester in his "My Consulship," "and to her, modern times are more indebted for their civilization than to any other people who have flourished since the ancient Romans."

If Italy witnessed the flickering and expiring rays of that light which, in its full blaze had illumined the ancient world, it was on the soil of Italy that it was re-lit again in the progress of centuries, and it was from thence that darkened Europe caught the first faint beams of morning which broke upon the world. The night of arts, sciences, and commerce, was dissipated by the lights which shone from the Adriatic and the free Italian republics.

We are to speak of Venice and Genoa, who were to modern ages what Tyre and Carthage were to those which had been numbered before the Christian era. Inspired with the recollections of the past, and full of the holy associations of the moment, Byron standing on the "Bridge of Sighs," and viewing the ruins of Italian glory—

> "Where Venice sat in state throned on her hundred isles,"

with full heart and impassioned eloquence, lamented over the mistress of the Adriatic, her "dead doges," her perished commerce, her "crumbling palaces" and exhausted treasures—

> "In youth she was all glory—a new Tyre;
> Her very by-word sprung from victory—
> The 'Planter of the Lion,' which through fire
> And blood she bore o'er subject earth and sea;
> Though making many slaves, herself still free,
> And Europe's bulwark 'gainst the Ottomite."

Venice, Genoa, and Pisa excelled in genius, spirit and enter-

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prise, all the nations of Europe. Driven from barbarous invasion to their retreats, these republics, territorially contracted, and little favored in soil, reached to a pitch of opulence and empire which excites our highest admiration. Their rich argosies went out upon the Mediterranean, and their mariners braved the storms of every ocean. Liberty spoke in their halls, and law resumed again its sway. One of the best commercial codes which the world has ever known, we are told, originated in the councils of Pisa.

In the Tenth Century, Venice had established commercial intercourse with the Saracens of Egypt and Syria, for their staples of sugar and rice, for dates, senna, cassia, flax, linen, balm, perfumes, galls, wrought silks, soaps, etc. She traded, too, for the rich spices and precious stones of India, and with merchandise so rare and rich entered the markets of western Europe, and commanded the whole of its valuable trade.

The Italian republics, when the crusades were firing the brains of knights, kings and beggars appeared to be inspired too with some portion of the religious frenzy. But the Italians were too good merchants to enter upon enterprises as wild as these without first stipulating for privileges of commerce and trade from the monarchs whom they might serve. They were not such zealots as to give up their ships without prospect of advantage, when their employment in carrying helmets, breastplates, and tall soldiery, was as good as carrying bales of stuffs and merchandise.

We cannot refrain here from introducing a passage from Lester's letter on the "Consular System," which is eloquently descriptive of the progress of one of these republics, and which emanates from a man who was inspired by a residence on its very soil.

"Genoa contributed more powerfully than any other Italian state to the early crusades. The Ligurian* Republic had been able to resist the rush of barbarians from the North, and had, even in the Ninth Century, nearly destroyed the Saracen empire in the islands of the Mediterranean and on the African coast. More deeply fired with the spirit of maritime adventure than almost any other state in the world, she led the way in the commerce of the East, and closed her magnificent career by the discovery of the New World. Even before the time of Peter the Hermit, she had opened a flourishing commerce with Asia, and she was present at the conquest of Antioch and of Jerusalem. The chivalric leaders of those bold enterprises well knew how much they owed to her valor and commercial activity: and the red cross in the white field, the ensign of the Ligurian republic, was planted on the towers of Antioch and the battlements of Jerusalem. Godfrey and Baldwin ordered the following inscription to be placed over the Holy Sepulchre: '*Stronghold of the Genoese.*' She formed treaties with the Moorish and African princes, and gained, by diplomacy

* This name, derived from the Romans, was generally used by the Genoese till the downfall of their republic.

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or conquest, a strong foothold in the Black Sea, where she founded a powerful colony that augmented her commercial wealth incredibly."

When Pisa, in those fearful contests which shook the shores of Italy, had yielded to the arms of Genoa, this state eclipsed then even Venice herself.

Whatever may be thought of the crusades in this period of the world's enlightenment, all history attests that they introduced, into Europe, Eastern tastes and customs, and led the way to an extension of commerce, and ultimately to a new era of light, truth and liberty.

In the northern parts of Europe, on the Baltic, and in the island of Gothland, grew up, between the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, the city of Wisburg. The marine ordinances of this now decayed town are celebrated in the annals of commercial nations. Cleirac gives a glowing account of the wealth and prosperity of the city. He speaks of it then as the most celebrated and flourishing emporium in Europe, where merchants from all parts come to traffic, and had their shops and warehouses, and enjoyed the same privileges as the native inhabitants themselves. Chancellor Kent, in commenting upon the passage from Cleirac, and contrasting with it the Wisburg of the Baltic as we find it now, finds the occasion fitting to indulge the "melancholy admonition of the poet," that "trade's proud empire hastes to swift decay."

Between the years 1164 and 1254, was formed in Europe what is known in history (and famed as known) as the Hanseatic League. The object of this league was protection to the trade of the free cities which formed it, from the robber clans and "roving barbarians" of the North, and the pirates which swarmed in every sea. Lubeck was at the head of the league of Hanse towns, and her first allies in the federacy were Brunswick, Bremen, Hamburg, Dantzic and Cologne. The league extended its influence to embrace most of the trading cities of Northern Europe, and attained to so great power as to form treaties with sovereigns themselves. Its duration was terminated at last by the jealousy of these sovereigns, who withdrew their cities from the alliance.

In coming down to modern times, we tread upon ground so familiar, that any lengthy exhibition of the extension of commerce will be unnecessary. We all know, familiarly enough, that at the present moment, cotton, woolens, silks and French wines have larger influence in making Americans, Englishmen and Frenchmen shake hands over their quarrels, and avow that they have loved each other right well, than all the natural affection they might ever be supposed to entertain for each other put together, and all their universal philanthropy in the

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bargain. We have said before, and repeat it, that the mercantile interests rule the world, and right grateful are we that Providence has imposed so firm a ligament to join together his fractious, headstrong and over-erring children. We sometimes meet with fine treatises on benevolence, disinterested philanthropy, and other things of the same stamp; and once upon a time were fond ourselves of talking about the "dignity of human nature," etc.; but after all, human nature is not without its frailties, and the "stern Saxon," without being anything of a coward either, will never attempt to dictate peace at the cannon's mouth with his neighbor on this side of the water, while he has broadcloths to sell, and two millions and a half bags of cotton to buy. And we do not slander the neighbor on this side of the water much by a similar remark.

But Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Wisburg and the Hanse towns, such as they were, have passed away, and the commerce of the world is in other hands. The hardy Portuguese mariners, in discovering the new passage to the East, round the Cape of Good Hope, struck a blow at the Italian republics from which they never recovered. Spain and Portugal, on the discovery of America, divided the world between themselves, and struggled to establish a magnificent commercial monopoly. The famous treaty of Tordesillas, 1494, entered into between these nations, opened the eyes of England to the schemes which were to exclude her from a participation in the best fruits of either India.

"The progress of commerce," says Robertson, in his admirable chapter introductory to the History of Charles V., "the progress of commerce had considerable influence in polishing the manners of the European nations, and in establishing among them order, equal laws, and humanity. It tends to wear off those prejudices which maintain distinction and animosity between nations. It softens and polishes the manners of men. It unites them by one of the strongest of all ties, the desire of supplying their mutual wants. It disposes them to peace by establishing in every state an order of citizens bound by their interests to be the guardians of public tranquillity. In proportion as commerce made its way into the different countries of Europe, they successively turned their attention to those objects and adopted those manners which occupy and distinguish polished nations."

In the Fourteenth Century, we are told by Hallam—History Middle Ages, p. 475—that Flanders had become a market for all the world; and that merchants from seventeen kingdoms had their settled domiciles at Bruges, besides strangers from almost unknown countries.

Edward III. was the father of English commerce. Before his reign no advances of any character had been made in that country to extend its foreign intercourse, but Edward set himself in earnest to build up and establish the kingdom. He

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invited over from Flanders artisans and workmen, who may almost be said to have originated the manufacturing system of England. It is not a little curious to consider the motives which were held out to this enterprising body of men, as they are furnished for us in a venerable record. They were told that in England "they should feed on fat beef and mutton, till nothing but their fullness should stint their stomachs; that their beds should be good and their bed-fellows better, seeing the richest yeomen in England would not disdain to marry their daughters unto them." The products of the labors of these craftsmen, feeding upon "fat beef and mutton" to respectable corpulency, became soon known and famous in the markets of all Europe.

There was little mercantile spirit in England before the time of Queen Elizabeth. True it is, that King John's barons forced the monarch into an acknowledgment of the rights of foreign merchants visiting the empire; but it was long after King John and his barons, ere the English people began to appreciate the advantages of foreign trade. Henry the Eighth was cruel and tyrannical, and taxed illegally the interests he ought to have fostered. Elizabeth had greatness of mind sufficient for the purposes of empire, and had she been as well acquainted with the true principles which regulate trade, as she was desirous of stimulating it in every way, she had been higher praised in history. Her numerous monopolies granted, whether of sweet wines, licenses, or whatever else, were blunders which could only be accounted for by favoritism, were it not notorious that at that period these were considered in themselves to be evidences of sound policy.

In a lecture, delivered by T. W. Tucker, of New York, on the merchants of the time of Queen Elizabeth, published many years ago in Hunt's Magazine, there is an enumeration of the various monopolies which were granted by that sovereign. We are happy to lay our hands on the address at this moment, as it will save us from farther reference on the point.

The Dutch traders of London, resident at a part of it called the Stilyard, were famous at that epoch, and obtained privileges and immunities from the monarch sufficient to set up the most grinding monopolies.

On the fall of the Dutch traders, the company of English merchant adventurers was formed. This company, too, rose to great wealth and importance, exporting annually English woolen clothes to the amount of £1,000,000 sterling, and maintaining abroad the highest possible credit. The Russia company, about the same time, and the Turkey company existed. The latter traded with India and reached the heart of the Mogul

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empire. Hard upon these followed the Morocco company, the company of Eastland merchants, the Hamburg company, the Guinea and the East India companies. Sir Francis Drake, in some of his little short of piratical cruisings, first suggested to England the importance of the Indian trade. This trade enriched the sovereign then, and has enriched the nation ever since.

We pass over that stormy season which occupied the larger portions of the reigns of James I. and Charles I. In the disasters of anarchy and civil war which befell the nation at this time, it would have been impossible for commercial enterprise to exhibit itself in any of its higher developments.

Hume, indeed, has informed us that in the reign of James I. the Dutch traded to England with six hundred ships, but England in turn could furnish on her own account but sixty ships in the same traffic. Nine-tenths of the English commerce at this period consisted of woolen manufactured goods.

The administration of Cromwell was crowned with many results favorable to trade. The liberal principles of the Protector could not endure those severe restrictions and monopolies in which the prosperity of the nation had been bound up, and he abolished them all.

When Charles II. was restored to the throne of his father, a new impulse appeared to be given to everything in England, so much so, that Russell affirms in his Modern Europe, "that at no former or subsequent period did England ever make such rapid progress in commerce and riches as during that inglorious one which followed the Restoration, and terminated in the expulsion of the Stuarts."

The present enormous commercial stature of Great Britain is attributed by McCulloch, not to the heaps upon heaps of parliamentary acts for the encouragement of navigation and trade, but to the extraordinary improvements and consequent extension of her manufactures since 1770. Happily seated upon an island girt around by the sea, she finds that the extraordinary influence which she is exerting upon the world, is dependent more upon the immensity of her naval armaments and commercial marine than upon the extent of her territories, or the numerical proportion of her inhabitants. Like Athens of old, she finds strength and safety in her "wooden walls."

The cotton manufacturing system of England has been the offspring, great as it is, of the last ninety years. At the commencement of this period it was nothing; at its termination half the entire exports of British produce consists of cotton stuffs and yarn. England looks upon her Hargraves, Arkwrights, Cromptons and Watts, as America does upon her Ful-

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tons and Whitneys; but England looks upon her own liberty and enterprise as above them all. In fact, says one of her writers, when these are impaired, the colossal fabric of her prosperity will crumble into dust; and the commerce of Liverpool, London and Glasgow, like that of Tyre, Carthage and Palmyra, will, at no distant period, be famous only in history.

We come at last to consider the subject before us, in connection with the past and present history of America. There is reason enough to dwell upon the ample enterprise, and stubborn, unyielding spirit of the people who fled across the ocean from the tyrannies of the Old World, and established, among the deep forests of the New, the germs of a nation which has already become great. What could subdue the spirit of a people like this? Rugged as their own wild homes, the infant colonists braved the seas and the storms. They dug the graves of tyrants with the same implements that brought them bread out of the soil. Struggling with the desperate savage at one moment, they braved at the next the fierce storms and monsters of the deep. There is no adolescence in such a people. They spring into manhood's vigor from the infant's imbecility.

There went up into the high court of Parliament, as early as the year 1670, a grave charge against the colonies which England "protected" across the ocean. Said the ministers, they violate our ordinances of trade with impunity, and our navigation laws, which with infinite pains we have devised, they trample under foot with disdain. Their traders sally out upon the deep, and we find them seeking entrance into all the ports of Europe. "They even encourage"—these are the words of the remonstrance—"they even encourage foreigners to trade with them."

One hundred years after this, Edmund Burke stood up, in the halls of the same Parliament of England, an advocate of freedom and humanity, and a deadly, implacable foeman to their assailants.

This noble Roman found in the wrongs of his countrymen across the ocean a theme worthy of his highest eloquence, and in their daring enterprise that which was too much even for his unmatched powers to portray. Who does not remember his inimitable speech in which the orator found all his country at his heart? We cannot refrain an extract, and we seem to see all the glory of our country shadowed forth in what was but a graphic sketch of the hardy enterprise of the sons of New England.

"While we followed them," said the orator, "among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis' Straits; while we are looking for them beneath the Arctic

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Circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold; that they are at the antipodes and engaged under the frozen serpent of the South. Falkland Islands, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for national ambition to grasp, is but a stage and resting-place in the progress of their vigorous industry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both the poles. We know that while some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coasts of Africa, others run the longitude and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries—no climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people; a people who are still, as it were, in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood."*

As early as 1647, as we are informed by Holmes in his American Annals, a flourishing trade was opened by the New England colonies with Barbadoes and the other islands of the West Indies.

In 1685, a collector of revenues at the port of Charleston, in South Carolina, was appointed by the home government. This was but a few years subsequent to the foundation of the city. Charleston progressed rapidly in commercial importance, and before the Revolution, as an importing and exporting city, maintained an equality with Boston, New York and Philadelphia.

In 1690 began the hardy enterprise of the whale fishermen of Nantucket. This little island, situated far out from the main land, black, sterile, and scarcely inhabitable, with not a tree of its own native growth and scarcely an inviting prospect to cheer its inhabitants, or minister to their ease and gratification, has yet been enabled to reach to an enviable distinction in commercial wealth. We know not where to affix the limits of the hardihood and daring of these enterprising men. They have planted a garden upon a rock, and they have become rich by hard toil where Nature has been most stinting in her favors.

The trade of Massachusetts alone, in the year 1717, brought into constant activity and employment four hundred and ninety-two ships, and nearly four thousand sailors.

In 1730, we are informed that there arrived in England from America 154 tons of oil, and 9,200 tons of whalebone; and that in the first fifteen days of July in the same year 10,000 hogsheads of sugar reached the same port from the British American sugar colonies. In the ensuing year, Massachusetts employed six hundred ships and sloops, and five thousand fishermen.

The commerce of New England, as early as 1742, required

* Griffith's Notes on American Colonies.

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for its support upwards of one thousand sail of vessels, while at the South, Charleston alone loaded, in 1744, two hundred and thirty.

The trade of Britain with her American colonies employed, in 1769, 1,078 ships, and 28,910 seamen. The value of her imports from them for that year amounted to £3,370,900 and of their imports from her to £3,924,606.

The following table, taken from Holmes' Annals, exhibits the progress of this trade for the years named:

		Imports from colonies	Exports to colonies
Annual average,	1700 to 1710	£265,000	£267,000
"	1710 to 1720	392,000	365,000
"	1720 to 1730	578,000	471,000
"	1730 to 1740	670,000	660,000
"	1740 to 1750	708,000	812,000
"	1750 to 1760	802,000	1,577,000
"	1760 to 1770	1,044,000	1,762,000
"	1770 to 1780	743,000	1,331,000

Mr. Burke stated in Parliament in the year 1775, that the trade with America alone, at that time, was within less than £500,000 of being equal to what the great commercial nation of England carried on at the beginning of that century with all the world.

The first year which witnessed peace between England and her colonies, now raised to the dignity of free and independent states, witnessed the opening on their part of a new and lucrative branch of trade with China, which at the present moment, in exports and imports together, is worth annually little short of eight or nine millions of dollars.

Toward the close of the Eighteenth Century, 1795, we are informed that a vessel sailed from Charleston to the East Indies, the very first enterprise of the kind which was undertaken by that city.

The confederating "articles" which carried the American states through one of the most glorious revolutions on record, were found in every respect inadequate to keep together these states on terms of equal rights and prosperity at the restoration of peace. The conflicting institutions of so many sovereignties, without any head of acknowledged power and influence, tended to paralyze commercial movements, and entirely to arrest those advances which had been already made. One of the most powerful inducements which operated upon the minds of these states to enter upon a new and better compact, was found in the absolute requisitions of commerce, and the immortal constitution under which we now live finds its origin here.

Scarcely more than three quarters of a century has elapsed since

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the Federal Constitution was adopted, and in that period American advance has already rivalled the dreams of eastern fiction. Every sea and navigable water under the face of heaven witnesses the white wings of her shipping, and hears the bold voices of her mariners. Her flag is upon the deep, and it floats alike at either pole and at the equator, on the uppermost limits of the globe. Great as has been her progress in the past, there is a prophetic voice which tells us that she has but begun to enter upon that bright and glorious "empire of the seas" which is yet to be hers. We have laid the foundations of cities which occupy rank with the Tyres and Carthages of antiquity, and must soon rival the Londons of the present day. To what is New York indebted for that extraordinary position which she has taken in the Republic, but to the centralization of nearly all of its foreign trade in her midst; and New Orleans, at the other extremity of latitude, is she not marching onward in the same pathway to commercial greatness?

So much is there of poetry and romance in the extension, through all ages, of commercial enterprise, that we can easily be excused some enthusiasm and a fond lingering o'er the theme. At the fountain head we recognized commerce in its simplest stage among nature's recent, rude and unpolished children. We marked its gradual progress. Following the astute Israelite in his bargains for the gold which enriched the temple of Solomon and the streets of Jerusalem, we saw the hardy Phœnician launching out his bark upon the deep, guided only on his perilous voyages by the stars of heaven. We heard the busy voices of Greeks upon the Ægean; we saw the stern Roman curling his lip on his trading neighbor with disdain; and while yet Venice in all its splendor sat mistress of the now "spouseless" and deserted Adriatic, we met with the merchants that congregated at the Rialto from every quarter of the inhabitable globe. We turned our eyes to the Baltic, and contemplated the wonderful "league" which it witnessed, and closing the volume of antiquity and of the middle ages, there remained alone the great maritime and commercial powers of Britain and America. With these the picture closed. What, then, remains of the sketch we designed, but hurriedly to trace some of those effects, most marked, which the empire of commerce over the world naturally and necessarily exerts. These will occupy us but a moment.

When political economy first began to attract the attention of men, and give birth to the erroneous theories with which it so long exerted control, commerce, as a source of national wealth, was derided. It was asked, where was the creative power which it had ever exerted, or could ever exert? Had

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it ever developed two blades of grass where but one existed before? Could it ever substantially add a jot or tittle to the *intrinsic* value of a single commodity? With agriculture, said these men, it is directly the reverse. Agriculture is legitimate wealth. It is the creator, the producer of value—it affords something out of nothing. Commerce is mere transportation of agricultural wealth; the laborer hired to carry produce from its maker to its consumer. Can such transportation add anything to the *intrinsic* value of the article transported? If it can, we have only to continue its motion, adding transportation to transportation, without reference to place, and we make accretion after accretion to its value, until, in process of time, it becomes precious beyond all price or compare. Must we be led into such absurdity?

In progress of time it came to be considered, that however plausible the reasonings of these philosophers, there was much of sophistry involved in them, and that the wealthy agriculturists, proud, lordly; and reliant upon their ample acres, were disposed naturally enough to keep up a prejudice so favorable to their interests. The various laws passed in Great Britain, in particular at the period of which we treat, for the benefit of the landholders, and the great jealousy which was exercised toward trading corporations, as, for instance, toward London, all strikingly evince the truth of this.

When commerce began to come more into favor, a distinction was soon set up. It was yielded that foreign commerce might really be of benefit to a nation, and add to its available wealth; but in regard to domestic commerce—merchandising—the home trade—these were regarded as little more beneficial to a community, on the score of new wealth, than ballad singing, or mountebank exhibitions. The last thing which men could be induced to credit was, that the trade intermediate between the importer and consumer, was in any sense productive of wealth. This proposition has, however, become settled in the almost demonstrative reasoning of modern political science; and we may hope that doubts and speculations so inimical to the interests of prominent and useful classes in the community will never be raised again. Freed from these unworthy prejudices, commerce, whether foreign or domestic, comes at once to be admitted as a legitimate source of national aggrandizement.

We have sometimes heard it gravely alleged that the commercial spirit is unfavorable to the existence of true patriotic sentiment and exertion. We have been told that it severs the ties which bind the individual to his native soil, and disposes him to yield much, too much, to the policy of contemporary nations; that the commercial spirit merges the citizen in the

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cosmopolite, and awakens a keener sensitiveness to national interests than to national honor. Even Burke endorsed the doctrine with the high authority of his name, when he characterized the merchant's desk as his altar, his ledger as his bible, and his money as his god. But is there anything of truth or justice in the charge? Has it appeared in the development of the world's history, that there has been any natural hostility between the merchant and the patriot? Has it been found that commercial communities have been disposed to submit to aggression with easy compliance, and put on the yoke of conquest without a struggle? Was it so with Tyre when the Greek conqueror was thundering at her gates? Did puissant Rome, on her seven hills, ever contend with an enemy bolder, fiercer, and more desperate than the descendants of the Phœnician traders at Carthage? Were the Italian States easy victories to the aggressions of foreign foes, or were they at all less glorious in arms than in enterprise? Have the late civil wars in America despite of the commercial spirit of its people North or South, exhibited any decline in the martial ardor and spirit which marked the olden time of the Republic? We shall not pause to answer such questions.

We have no idea that there are in commerce any tendencies like those we have been combating. It disposes nations to be just and liberal in their intercourse with others, but it changes not their own individuality—their own pride of character—in any point that it ought not to be changed. Merchants there have been in all ages and countries who have added to the glory and honor of their states, by the highest and noblest exertions of patriotism. Men enjoying the confidence of their sovereigns, and exhausting their coffers in defense of the realm, have been found in this class, and we shall, upon another occasion, enumerate the most distinguished examples which history furnishes us. The merchants of London were, even in the earliest times, the bankers of the crown; and Elizabeth in particular knew what it was, on many an occasion, in her own exigencies, and in the exigencies of the kingdom, to have her purse replenished from their liberal coffers. In our own country we may be permitted to say that there has on no occasion been displayed a truer love of country, and a loftier tone of patriotism than by our merchant citizens. They have fallen behind none in the assertion of the rights and liberties of the Republic.

Commerce is a natural guardian of the arts and sciences. Under its influence the highest results have been stimulated. To what, for instance, can the astonishing progress and perfection to which astronomy has been carried be attributed, more

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than to the ever-arising wants of navigation? The solution of the problem of the latitudes and longitudes has been promised, at different periods, the highest premiums of government. It has set astronomers at toil which only terminated in brilliant discovery. The various problems of navigation even now demand the highest labors of these men in every country, and the mere tables of a nautical almanac—the calculation of eclipses, occultations, and parallaxes—calls into action a degree of scientific skill which can scarcely be appreciated by the uninitiated. The mariner's compass, quadrant, or chronometer, are miracles of art as well as of science. From every nation in the world commerce has brought together her trophies, and laid them at the feet of science. Without leaving his closet, the student of nature may arrive at profound results in the investigation of animals, plants, shells and minerals, scattered over the whole globe—above the earth, and under the earth, and down to the depths of the sea. Every art and science acknowledges its large indebtedness to the hand of commerce for the influence it is enabled to wield over nature in extending the empire and dominion of man.

Commerce is the parent of civilization. We are acquainted with but one agency which excels it in perpetuating peace and good will among men, and elevating national character, and that agency is Christianity. But even the heralds of the cross, with all their noble and inspiring theme, have not penetrated farther into the depths of savage wildernesses, or among the fiercest islands of the ocean, have not crossed mountains and deserts more desolate and terrific, have not plunged more fearlessly in the midst of horrid idolatry, cannibalism, and semi-demonism, than have these men of bales and merchandise in their search after trade. They have gone hand in hand with the missionary, where they have not acted as his pioneer. It was thus in the early history of America. Marquette and Allouez, fathers in the Roman Church, were even distanced in energy by the adventurous La Salle in the first visits which were made by civilized men to the howling wilderness westward of the lakes. It is thus with the hunters and trappers of Oregon and California, who, as far upward as the Russian limit, and south to Mexico, prosecute trade with the savage, as yet ignorant of his soul and of his Maker. It is most strikingly thus in the case of the Sandwich Islands. Commerce, acting as the adjunct or handmaiden of Christianity among the savages there, has transformed them into men and into citizens. We see a trophy won to civilization—a people added to the Christian nations of the earth.

Let us take the extremest limit of the ocean, the stormiest

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islet of the sea, struggling against a thousand billows, and what do we find? The sailor and the trader have been there, and the return of the "white wings" is hailed by anxious multitudes, who bring out their treasures to be bartered for the veriest trifles of civilization. From the intercourse which arises, new wants are stimulated in their bosoms. They begin to think with the new objects which occasion thought. Their views and ideas are naturally expanded to a wider compass, and they are insensibly moulded in the type of those who have excited their highest admiration and wonder. Mysterious, beneficent and wise are the ways of Providence; when even the interests of men are called into requisition to work out the great problem of their existence.

Commerce, in fine, is what it has been beautifully entitled, "the golden girdle of the globe." It binds together all the great families of men. It teaches that they are creatures of like wants, errors and necessities. It determines them to be component parts of a great and magnificent system which God has devised, and which requires the concurring movements of every part to be preserved in its perfection and duration. It forbids them to treat, like the ancient Roman, the foreigner cast upon their shores, as a barbarian deserving of death, or to confiscate his shipwrecked effects, but urges rather the doctrines of humanity and justice. Even the laws which regulate it are based upon the immutable principles of right, and bind the consciences of men from their very nature. As Mansfield, the most celebrated commercial lawyer of his age, said of them, quoting the splendid language of Cicero: "*Nec erit alia lex Romæ, alia Athenis; alia nunc, alia posthac; sed et omnes gentes, et omni tempore una lex et sempiterna, et immortalis continebat.*"—they are not one law at Rome and another at Athens; they do not fluctuate from extreme to extreme; but among all men, and in all times, the laws of commerce are one and immutable.

ART. II.—THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

NOTHING can be more interesting to thoughtful minds, than the present of our own country. We read, it is true, with great care, the histories of other times and other countries. We rejoice when the antiquary, groping in the twilight of the past, stumbles upon some historical stone, or, more fortunate still, lays bare the foundation of a buried Herculaneum; but no time is so

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profoundly interesting to us as the present, no country so important as our own. A review of the present condition of our affairs must at least give food for thought. All are familiar with the wise and magnanimous policy of the President, in winning back the erring sisters of the South to their old place around the family altar. The general success of that policy has furnished matter of surprise and congratulation to the friends of peace everywhere. Under the influence of this policy order has sprung out of chaos; the sword, red with fraternal blood, has fallen from firm hands which now grasp the plough, and heroic steps march to the workshop which erewhile resounded on the battle-field. With a facility for accommodating themselves to circumstances, peculiar to the American character, the people have turned from the shock of battle to operate the machinery of civil government. Conventions, and legislatures, and governors, not provisional, but regular, stamped with the legitimate sanction of popular election, and judges with all the paraphernalia of justice have been evoked from somnolent abeyance, and move across the stage in solemn and grand procession of peaceful errand "where armies whole have sunk." Commerce, the regent of this lower world, has resumed his regal sway. The roads of iron so often torn up, while Mars was in the ascendant, now do their peaceful errands. The press has been most busy dispensing light. The telegraph wires no longer flash heroically with the fire of battle, but plodding continuously transmit incessant messages of commonplace business. The mails again fly over the land, diffusing thought. In short "War hath smoothed his wrinkled front," and Peace with her selectest influences has settled upon the land.

In the recent elections in the loyal States, the great question was, who was the best friend to the President. Each party claimed preëminently to support the President. The President must doubtless have contemplated with a certain degree of surprise the accordance of those, who harmonizing in nothing else, yet professed the most ardent devotion to him. It is true, here and there, from the crowd of politicians a discordant note was heard. Mr. Wendel Phillips, who has such a large degree of the genius of expression, did most unmistakably berate the Executive. Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, too, did hold forth on an extreme line, and did by no means appear reconciled to the policy of pacification with rebels, and was for grinding them up a little harder, and especially proposed to carry on hostilities through confiscation laws, until much of the national debt should be paid. But these were exceptions to the general cry; the current of opinion seemed to flow favorable to the President.

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As the session of Congress approached, the eyes of the thoughtful were turned to its deliberations. Some who were familiar with the worth of party pledges and professions, looked with more curiosity than faith to the Congress. It required no prophet to tell that there must be two opinions in Congress, one which said, Go on, the other which said, Stop. One which said, Nothing is done for the negro, until everything is done. The other which said, We have done the work of a century since the first gun was fired, we can afford to rest.

As soon as Congress convened, it became evident that there was a difference between before the election and after. The loud professions of devotion to the President, uttered so freely before the elections, did not seem to promise very early fruit; for the first thing the President's party friends did on reaching Washington, was, under the leadership of Mr. Stevens, to put the President's Reconstruction policy on trial, by referring the whole subject to a Joint Committee of both Houses. In the meantime the doors of Congress were closed upon the members elect from the Southern States, who were left outside to exercise their patience in the best way they could. It is very evident the Joint Committee will not prosecute this inquiry with anything like indecent haste, and Congress are not therefore likely to be hurried to premature action on the subject. We can very readily understand that the leaders of the Republican party do not go about restoring the Southern States to their political rights with very great ardor. Of all things a political organization is most unwilling to commit suicide. The Republican chiefs feel that they cannot, in reason, expect the aid of the restored States. They count upon this strength being so much clear gain to the hated opposition. As matters now stand, they are very good for the party in power—all the power, all the patronage, all the patriotism, all the profit of politics belong to it. Those who control this party, do not see how they can improve things by a change. The Southern States excluded, they have all the advantages of possessing the Government. They can carry out their policy in legislation. Now is the time for them, they think, to take "bonds of fate," so that the sceptre of the future may not be wrenched from them by "unlinial hands." The restoration of the Southern States to political power appears to these men a serious, though perhaps, an unavoidable evil. They feel that at some time or other they must admit the South, but they are not disposed to hasten this day in the slightest degree. Another idea with these leaders of Republicanism in Congress is, that before the gulf between the South is bridged over, the status of the freedmen in the South must be secured as firmly as possible. Those who feel

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the influence of this idea, would bend everything else to obtaining this security. They would make negro equality perfect in every shape, even to the right of suffrage, and this as a condition precedent to the admission of the States. Those under the influence of this idea would be the most uncompromising in their course of any, for theirs is a fanaticism, and fanaticism never compounds, but pursues its purpose without regard to time or circumstances, or obstacles. The idea of political policy fortifies this spirit of fanaticism, for these radical leaders feel that if the right of suffrage was extended to the slaves South, they would have the material at the South of a great political party. This party they think would be entirely subservient to them, and receive its impulse and direction entirely from them. Hence, negro suffrage at the South is not merely a fanatical cry, but a political policy. Coupled with this idea of the elevation of the negro at the South as elector, is the depression of those who have hitherto done the thinking of the South, the political leaders of the South. Hence, a supposed necessity of maintaining rigorously the test oath, so as to exclude all who have taken any prominent part in the civil or military councils of the South from the halls of Congress. Another idea, which has great effect with the majority in Congress, is the inviolability of the national debt. They imagine they see the phantom of repudiation entering Congress, with the members from the South. This idea represents the great power of the public creditors, a proverbially timid class, who scent danger afar off, and wish to oppose every obstacle to its approach. Then, we regret to say, we think some portion of this majority do not cultivate the most amiable feelings for the South. To their gangrened eyes the South is still a camp of traitors trying to destroy, *per fas et nefas*, the Federal Government. They cannot believe in the evidences of Southern loyalty, which they see before them. For them, Lee is still defending Richmond with tripple lines of circumvallation, and Davis is conscripting new armies to eternize the struggle. They can almost hear in their fancy the roar of rebel artillery, and the clash of disloyal swords. But, if you insist that they are mistaken, that there are no more hostile armies in the field, and that the national flag floats unchallenged over all the land, they ominously shake their head in reply, and say, "So much the worse for the country, disloyalty is in the heart, and does not show itself with drawn sword, but more dangerously plots in secret, seeks to come to an understanding with Democracy, and to abduct their own President." These men are not infected with the virtue of magnanimity. They do not know how to spare the vanquished. For them, in vain have armies of dying

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heroes strewed the earth with their bleeding bodies. For them, in vain has our country been made a vast charnel house, and the blood of the brave crimsoned a thousand fields of battle. Ah, if they could but realize the agony of the South, "if that their breasts be made of penetrable stuff," they would be touched. Tears would run down the cheeks of the most iron-hearted. Look at that most unhappy South, beaten in battle, devastated by terrible armies, whose march was lit up by the flames of burning dwellings, the personal property of the South almost annihilated, the servile class raised suddenly to freedom and equality, the labor of the country paralyzed, the source of income dried up, wealth extinguished, poverty universal, the frame-work of society disjointed, the youth of the country destroyed in battle, widows and orphans, tears and lamentations everywhere. And all incurred for failure. Everything precious in national life, everything dear in domestic life, sacrificed to the avenging Nemesis. Surely, to every true and noble heart, to all of heroic mould, the condition of the South appeals irresistibly for sympathy. But there are coarse natures which do not harbor these generous emotions, and this is one of the present difficulties of the South. In this sublunary world we have to deal with men of the earth. The South must make her account of all this, and learn to endure, as the unfortunate must always do.

In considering, as we have done, the adverse influences which bar the doors of the capitol to the approach of the South, without undertaking to predict the final result of Congressional action, we may at least venture to express an apprehension that the decision will be delayed some time. Delay, in cases where one is called upon to do the disagreeable, is half a victory. The Republicans will certainly have this victory.

In following the course of events in Congress, we are struck with two leading ideas, the fruits of Republicanism. One is negro equality, culminating in negro suffrage; the other is the introduction of a new principle in American Taxation, viz: Export Duties.

This negro question opens a vast field of thought for the statesman or the philosopher. It is one of those momentous questions, that should be considered in all its relations with entire freedom from prejudice or passion, with a simple desire to arrive at the truth, and to find the best possible solution for the difficulties that environ us. That the enfranchised blacks of the South should be treated with the greatest possible kindness, that every reasonable effort should be made to alleviate their condition, to elevate them in the scale of civilization, to educate them for their new situation, to throw around them

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all the safeguards of the law; to do, in short, all that can wisely be done for them both by the State and Federal Governments, and especially to cultivate a kind and humane spirit on the part of the white race for them, is what all good people must readily agree to. But when it is proposed to go beyond all this, and to confer upon them "at one fell swoop" the right of suffrage, we cannot, however amiably disposed we may be, yield our assent, but feel compelled to enter our earnest protest.

The right of suffrage is not a natural, but an acquired right. It is a question of expediency, with every representative government, how far it shall extend the electoral franchise. In Great Britain it is limited exclusively to those who have some share in the property of the country. A vast number of the people of Great Britain, having no property qualification, do not vote. The Chartists propose to give a great extension to the right of suffrage, but this movement is opposed by all the great leaders of thought. Great Britain has, undoubtedly, preserved prosperity and freedom for a longer period than any of the European powers, or even the Government of the United States. Indeed, it may be said, we think, with but little fear of contradiction that the Government of Great Britain has been administered with more wisdom for a longer period than any free government. There has, since the failure of the Pretender, been a remarkable exemption from internal revolution. The machinery of government works with more harmony in Great Britain, than in any other country where the people are admitted to a share in public affairs. In analyzing the English government we find that the seat of power is in the House of Commons. This house is the fruit of limited suffrage. If it sprung from universal suffrage, would it function as wisely as it does now? The sentiment in England is that it would not. The statesmen of England act on the assumption that it would not. And we are satisfied that if the English Radicals carry the day, and the House of Commons is filled by universal suffrage, the sun of England's glory will soon go down in dim eclipse, and tumultuous anarchy. In our own country there is very little doubt but that our affairs would go on more prosperously, if the elective franchise were limited by a property qualification. Of course, we do not propose or expect any such reactionary movement as this, but we do not hesitate to express our opinion upon the subject.

In the United States political power springs entirely from the people. In the States, the Executive and Legislative departments are the direct result of popular election. In the Federal Government the Senate is chosen by the electors of

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the people, the State Legislatures chosen by popular suffrage, the President is practically elected by the people, and the members of the House of Representatives are directly chosen by general suffrage.

In order to have the great interests of the country wisely conducted, and a successful administration of public affairs, the most capable men should be selected for these various positions of power. The conduct of great affairs requires the highest ability, elevated by patriotic feeling. To obtain this ability and patriotism, it is essential that the elective franchise should produce good fruit. In order for this to be done, the elective franchise must be exercised by the intelligence and virtue of the country. It is only in this way that the best characters are likely to be selected for great stations. But if, on the other hand, the constituency are sunk in ignorance and vice, it would be the height of folly to expect judicious selections for public office. In the long run, the Representative is certain to be the representative man. You can only keep up the standard of the Representative by the elevation of the constituency.

Measured by these principles, how objectionable does it not appear to admit the freedmen of the South to universal suffrage. Their most insane admirers cannot pretend that, as a class, they have the intelligence to fit them for properly fulfilling the great mission of electors. It would be difficult to discover, in any population of like numbers, a greater deficiency in all that kind of information requisite to their duties as electors. Men are not born electors; it requires education to suit them for it. It is not indeed every race of white people who are competent as electors to carry on a representative Government. Neither in France nor Germany, nor on the continent of Europe generally, has the experiment been in any degree encouraging. In Great Britain it has succeeded. Some may say, that it has succeeded in the United States; but it may be said with much force that the experience of the United States is too short to authorize an affirmative judgment. When, like Great Britain, the United States shall have existed for more than a century free from great internal convulsion, and enjoying great national prosperity, then the experiment here may be pronounced a success. So far as we can form an opinion from the facts of history, it may be asserted with great force that the only race capable of properly exercising the elective franchise are the Anglo-Saxon. There are qualities in the German and Latin races which seem to unfit them for self-government. It is a singular coincidence, to say the least of it, go where you will, either in Europe or America, where the German and Latin

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races exist, free government does not. In France and Germany and Italy and Spain and Mexico and South America self-government seems to be impossible. But of all people the most unsuitable that could be selected for the duties of electors, must be the enfranchised slaves of the South, for no people can be more ignorant, than they are, of all that should be known to fit them for such a mission.

Nor can we expect to find in this multitude of enfranchised slaves that elevation of moral feeling, that soul culture, that theory and practice of virtue necessary in the electoral class, if the right functioning of government is to be attained. But without dwelling on this point, we pass on. It is a received maxim in civil polity that property should receive protection in the organization of society. Hence, in Great Britain the property qualification of voters is the corner-stone of civil policy. Hence, then, we can anticipate with what horror Lord John Russell, or Lord Derby, or Mr. Gladstone would receive a proposition to suddenly deliver the control of the electoral colleges to the non-property holders. The very earth would seem to be heaving under their feet at such an idea. And yet that is the very thing now demanded of the South by the Radical leaders. These gentlemen insist upon universal negro suffrage at the South. These negroes own no property. In some of the Southern States they are nearly equal in numbers to the whites; in one State at least, South Carolina, they are more numerous than the whites, and in a great many electoral districts their supremacy in numbers is overwhelming. What evils would grow out of this condition, if the elective franchise were open to them, especially when we remember how exposed they would be to bad counsels from without and evil machinations from within? So portentous of all manner of horrors does the negro suffrage question appear to us, that if it became the law we should consider that the death-warrant of the South was written. While this investing the negroes of the South with the elective franchise would operate so disastrously on the South, it would entail special misfortunes on the negroes. And those who are moved in this matter by a peculiar desire to benefit the negro, should give themselves pause.

The first great desideratum for the prosperity of the negro at the South is, that there should be the greatest degree of harmony between the two races. It is the interest of the white race to be in harmony with the black; it is the interest of the black race to be in harmony with the white. This is the indispensable pre-requisite of prosperity at the South to either race. They must harmonize, or their existence will be

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an incessant war, obstructing while it lasts the happiness of both races, and susceptible, if once thoroughly inaugurated, of but one solution—the extermination of the weaker race. The first great paramount good and chief essential blessing to be desired and labored for by every friend to both races at the South is, that there should be concord, accord, harmony, and fraternity between the two races South. We cannot too much insist upon this point. We believe it is the corner-stone upon which must be founded every scheme for the advancement of the blacks and the prosperity of the whites at the South. It is principally on this ground that we deplore the agitation of the question of negro suffrage. It agitates both races; it interposes a gulf between them, and it casts portentous shadows over the future. For the present, let us content ourselves with the development of the material prosperity of the black race; let us aid them to get employment, and to make that employment profitable; let us try to make them prosperous and comfortable and happy; let us, in imitation of the wish of Henry IV. of France, try to put a chicken into every pot that appertains to our colored friends. Having done all we can for their material and moral and intellectual progress, then it will be time enough for us to consider the question of putting in their "gripe the barren sceptre" of universal suffrage. Let us see that our colored friends have a plenty of good food and clothes and fuel to sustain life, before we summon them to the electoral colleges to settle grave affairs of State and determine the destiny of nations.

We might pause here, but we desire to consider the question of the enfranchised blacks in a more extended view. Truly, this is a great question. Let us pause a moment and remember that if the blacks of the South continue to increase as they have done in slavery, in twenty-five years there will be eight millions in the Southern States; in fifty years there will be sixteen millions; in seventy-five years thirty-two millions. It is not necessary to go beyond this last period, which is, however, not a great lapse of time in the life of a nation. That the increase in a state of freedom will be at least equal to what it was in slavery, cannot be gainsayed by those who have demanded emancipation as of great benefit to the blacks. If the increase is any thing like the estimate above, then the momentous question arises, What is to become of this vast black tide, which is destined to mingle with the current of our national existence? Sixteen, or even eight millions of Africans, will be an important element in our history. What is the wisest policy to be pursued in regard to them, is a question worthy of our highest statesmanship. We will

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announce our own views on this subject. We hope the intellect of the country will consider it above and apart from the ephemeral party politics of the day.

If it were an entirely new question, whether all the population of the Southern States should be white, or four millions should be African, we apprehend there would be but one opinion on the subject, for certainly the white race is the superior race. If history proves anything at all, it surely establishes the fact of this superiority. It was the white race that emerged from barbaric night and kindled the fires of civilization, and built altars to the unknown God, and established States, and subdued the stubborn earth, and laid off cities, and raised temples, and crossed the great sea, and manacled nature, and made machinery do the work of myriads of men, and passed the earth's central line, and pierced the frozen loins of both poles, and discovered gunpowder, by which the tides of barbaric power were forever made innocuous, and put the steam monster to work on the sea and the land, and traversed space with the velocity of the wind, and subdued the subtle electricity of the earth to do their errands, and made the sun a most cunning artist, and discovered the printing-press, making thought visible, transmissible, and eternal, and swept the heavens with their instruments, and became familiar with the movements of the planets, and sanctified the charities of domestic life, and created a spiritual existence, and ascended to the stars on the wings of poetry, and pursued thought into its most abstract recesses, and gave the world saints and martyrs and heroes and statesmen and poets and orators and philosophers. Indeed, the history of civilization is the history of the white race. But when we turn to the African race, what a melancholy blank is their existence! For ever dwelling in Cimmerian darkness, no flashes of Promethean fire, of the earth earthy, the car of their progress never for an instant drawn by the fiery-footed steeds of the sun, their being has been opaque and material, without the life of the soul, never advancing, but always, from century to century, most perversely stationary. But it is treason to our race to compare it with the African. There is no comparison; it is mind and matter, light and darkness, Hyperion to a Satyr.

Let us briefly examine the history of that portion of this race which has had the advantage of coming in contact with white civilization. In Hayti, their national existence ever since they rose upon the French and ran riot in fiendish murder, has been sad in the extreme, a prolonged despotism, and the lingering death of industrial, social and institutional life. In Mexico and the Central and South American States where

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the slaves were emancipated, their constant tendency has been downward. And what is the lesson taught by Jamaica? Of all examples of emancipation this is the most instructive. The slaves in Jamaica had the advantage of contact with English civilization, their emancipation was preceded by a period of apprenticeship pupilage, it was carried out in profound peace by those who favored the policy, the planters received compensation, by which means the planters were furnished with capital to give employment to the labor of the country; the island itself was but little less than an earthly paradise, with a soil of the most astonishing fertility, with a climate running from the season of perpetual roses, tempered by constant ocean breezes to the eternal spring of the mountains. A very fairy land of perpetual beauty. The place, the time, the circumstances were all as favorable as possible to the success of the experiment, and what has been the result? Failure the most lamentable, disappointment the most extreme. But as we consider the experience of Jamaica to be the most instructive event in history as to the capability of the emancipated slaves, we will not let the matter rest on our own assertion, but will cite some evidence on the subject. We cite from the *Encyclopædia Brittanica*, which, from the place of its publication, could not be supposed to have any sympathy with slavery or prejudice against the free blacks.

Since 1850 the decline (in value of lands) has been rapid—there can be little doubt that the difference in value, since the prosperous days of Jamaica, amounts to at least 80 per cent. For many once valuable estates no purchasers could now be found on any terms. It is on record that 231 sugar estates have been abandoned, besides 243 coffee plantations, and 132 grass pens. It is notorious that the paper circulation, which amounted to £258,816 in 1844, has dwindled to £70,000 in 1855. When it is considered that the value of articles exported does not reach one million, it is evident that the estates in the aggregate yield no rental at all.

Hitherto its history, [Jamaica,] since emancipation, has been discouraging to the friends of liberty. The negro, on whom the cultivation of the island depends, has gradually retired from labor, and retrograded in the social scale.

"We can scarcely blame the negro for following the bent of his inclination; but it is evident that under these circumstances, unless there is a large and immediate supply of immigrants, all society will come to a speedy end, and the island become a second Hayti.

Ridges, overgrown with guava bushes, mark the site of the corn fields; rank vegetation fills the court yard, and even bursts through the once hospitable roof. A curse seems to have fallen on the land, as if this generation were atoning for the sins of the past. Wealth and intelligence are leaving the country;

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even now, (1856), it is impossible to fill up the number of the Legislative Council. The white and mulatto races are inimical to each other. The blacks incline first to one side and then to the other. The careless treatment of children by the negroes, and their almost invariable repugnance to pay doctors' fees, prevent the natural rate of increase.

The criminal returns of this population are remarkably favorable.

VALUE OF EXPORTS.

1809	£3,033,234.
1854	932,316.

Largest sugar crop was in 1805, which exceeded 150,000 hhds; that of 1856 had fallen to 20,000 hhds—*Encyclopædia Brittanica, 8th Edition, article "Jamaica."*

The failure of the African race, even after it has had the benefit of contact with civilization, we think is too clear for argument.

We think, therefore, we may safely assume, that if it were a new question whether four millions of Africans should be brought into the South, instead of that number of the white race, the answer would almost universally be in the negative. But an abstract consideration of which is the more desirable race does not meet the case before us fully. It is not merely a question as to which is the most desirable element of population, but another question comes in of the first importance, the objection arising from the antagonism of two widely different races living intermingled on the same soil. History is full of the illustrations of the evils arising from the antagonism of diverse races. In Spain, the antagonism between the Latin race and the Moorish was so ardent, that it only ended with the expulsion of the Moors. In Hungary the Magyars and the Sclavonic races are widely separated from each other. In Europe, for ages, the Jews have been the objects of persecution by the other races. In Poland a gulf separates the natives from the Russians. In Ireland the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon races have for centuries remained apart from each other. The oppressions, so long practiced on Ireland, grew out of this difference of races. For a long period of their histories, the French and English people, were objects of special aversion to each other. It was only at a comparatively recent period that the Highlanders of Scotland could assimilate themselves, in any degree, to the rest of the British Empire. A tendency to a wild life in their blood kept them long a distinct people, and enabled the son and grandson of James II. to disturb the tranquillity of the British Empire. Those who are familiar with the early history of England will remember what a gulf remained a long time between the Normans and the Anglo-Saxons. In our own history this antagonism of races has been most strikingly manifested in the history of the decadence of the Aborigines

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of this country. Driven before the advancing Anglo-Saxons, it was the decree of fate for them to assimilate themselves to their conquerors or perish. They could not do the first, the alternative of natural death is all that has been left them. Soon, of a continent occupied by their ancestors, they will possess nothing but graves. But of all the antagonisms of races, none is so intense as between the Anglo-Saxon and the African. The Anglo-Saxon is proud of his birthright, and he will not mingle his social existence or his blood with the African. This antagonism of races at the South is, beyond everything else, the obstacle in the path of the South. It always has existed, and no legislation can change it. Its evil effects only come fully into play when the law pronounces an equality, which the instincts of the superior race refuse to acknowledge. We submit then, that this antagonism of races at the South furnishes a powerful argument for their separation. In acting upon this matter, we are not acting for to-day, but for all the future. What we should desire, is to give to the South its highest material, moral and intellectual development. To attain this great object, we should have the South occupied by the superior race, that is the white race. We should endeavor to avert the infinite evils through all coming time, of the occupation of the South by two discordant races. Evils which in time will render it difficult to preserve order—difficult to preserve republican institutions, and which may be cause of great weakness in a foreign war.

We should remember that the time will come when the white race of the United States will be sufficiently numerous to occupy all the territory of the United States. When that time comes suppose the beautiful South, "the land of the olive and vine," the Italy of this continent, with the fatal gift of beauty, is occupied by twenty or thirty millions of blacks, are the millions of white people, who will be needing homes, to be thrown forth into the barren and icy deserts of the continent. We should think this a dangerous course. Oh, what beautiful homes, fairy bowers of bliss, could be obtained at the South now for the merest song; but few wish to go there with the black cloud of Africanism impending over it.

In the interest of the African race, we should desire their removal where they may escape the antagonism of a superior race.

In every point of view, then, in which we can look at this subject, if we consider the interest of the white race at the South, the interest and security of the whole country, the increasing millions at the North who will need homes, the interest of the blacks whose future could be relieved from the antagon-

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ism of another race in juxta-position, we are justified in the opinion that the true policy is the removal of the blacks. We do not propose to have this undertaken immediately—the present condition of the country justifies delay. It may be objected that this scheme of colonizing the blacks is impracticable. We admit the difficulty of removing four millions of blacks at once. The plan we suggest is to remove them gradually. Let all of both sexes be removed as they arrive at the age of puberty. This would be very little over one hundred thousand for the first year, and in a few years this number would be much lessened. The number arriving at puberty would, after a few years, rapidly diminish, and be constantly decreasing. By pursuing this plan, in fifty years the African race would pass off the stage, without the trouble of removing the old people. It may be said this colonization would cost something. Undoubtedly it would, but the advantages of it would be incalculable. We are satisfied the increased productiveness of the South, as the ingress of the whites took the place of the colonized blacks, would more than pay the expenses of removal. As regards the place to which the blacks should be taken, we would prefer some place outside of the United States, so they could be entirely to themselves. All things considered, Cuba seems to us the best place for them. Slavery must soon die out in Cuba, and being no longer profitable, Spain will be willing to sell. The island of Cuba would suit the blacks admirably. It is immensely productive and salubrious. Its proximity to the United States is another great advantage. If Cuba could not be obtained, then any good country not too remote. Any place rather than Africa, which is too remote and pestilential. This colony should be under the protection of the United States, and every kindness and generosity should be extended to them. If they worked out their mission successfully, all humanity would rejoice. If they failed, it would be but another link to the chain of preceding facts, proving that the black race cannot maintain itself when left alone.

A few words on the effects of Export Duties, and we will draw to a close our observations, already too extended. The fathers of the Republic expressly denied to Congress the power of laying export duties. The chief reason of this was, they were afraid such duties might be used oppressively to particular sections. There was great wisdom in their distrust on this point. Suppose an export duty were laid on ice. Ice being essentially a northern product, the South would of course be exempt. Let us see the effect of an export duty on cotton. It is proposed by some to levy 10 cents per lb. on cotton. Suppose cotton is selling at 30 cents per lb., unless cotton rises

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to 40 cents per lb., the producer of cotton is the loser. Will cotton rise to 40 cents? It is not to be supposed it will. If we suppose the price 30 cents without any export duty, this price of 30 cents may be assumed to be its fair value in the markets of the world, the result of the amount of cotton produced everywhere, including the United States, and the demand for it. This tax of 10 cents per pound would fall only on the portion of the cotton supply raised in the United States. All the cotton that is raised elsewhere than in the United States, can, as the market price proves, be raised profitably at 30 cents per lb. An export tax of 10 cents per lb. cannot permanently raise the price of foreign cotton 10 cents per lb. over and above the point of a fair and remunerative profit. Two causes will prevent such a great rise as this. The first is the increased amount of foreign cotton which will be produced, and the inevitable tendency of the manufacturers to supply the place of cotton with some other and cheaper fabric. As an export tax on cotton cannot raise the price to the extent of the tax, it must fall on the producer. None can be less able to pay an undue share of taxes than the cultivator of cotton at the South. They are poor indeed, with scarcely any capital but their land. It is surprising, too, that those who favor the tax should be the special friends of the free blacks, whose only immediate hope of profitable employment is in the high price of cotton. If that is struck down, a most serious blow is struck at the prosperity of the blacks.

Another objection to export duties on cotton is the stimulus it will be to the foreign production of cotton. The increase of the cotton culture in India has been a favorite policy of the English government. We would be playing into their hands most generously.

We should regard the imposition of export duties as one of the most disastrous measures that could be adopted, and we sincerely hope the Constitution may not be tampered with in this particular, but remain as it always has been, forbidding such duties.

ART. III.—MR. McCULLOCH'S REPORT.

It is with unfeigned sorrow that amid the peans which on all sides arise from the public press in praise of the Secretary of the Treasury's Report, we are compelled almost alone to dissent from most of the conclusions sought to be established in this document; but a sense of justice to the community will not permit us to do otherwise. Again and again have we lowered the standard by which we have sought to measure the calibre

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of the reports which had issued from this department since the war began, hoping by that means to permit ourselves, at some time or other, to look upon them as ably drawn and valuable State papers. In this we have been disappointed. To say nothing of Mr. Fessenden's feeble and disordered report of 1864, the reports of the Treasury Department, including the present one, are all characterized by an evident tone of insincerity, and by faulty and inconclusive reasoning on topics vitally important to the immediate interests of a vast community. As for Mr. Fessenden's Report, it was from beginning to end little else than a mortifying exposure of its author's official unsuitableness and incapacity.

The impression we derive from Mr. McCulloch's Report is, that while its author perfectly well understands the true position of the government and the people, as regards the pending questions connected with the public finances—the currency, the revenue, and the National Banking System, he has preferred rather to smooth over by superficial argument certain of these questions which are in their very nature irreconcilable, than to boldly settle them by negativing some, and affirming others. Thus, while he affirms that "it is the crowning glory of the Constitution that this great war has been waged and closed without the powers of the Government being enlarged, or its relations to the States being changed," he denies that Congress has any Constitutional right to issue legal tender notes, because its authority to do so, to use his own words, "can only be found in the unwritten law which sanctions whatever the representatives of the people, whose duty it is to maintain the Government against its enemies, may consider in a great emergency necessary to be done." The two sentences quoted are not only in direct antagonism to each other, but the latter one contains a political heresy too fatal to the freedom of a republican community to be suffered to pass uncontradicted. There is no such thing as "unwritten law" from which the representatives of this people can find authority to legislate for them. Article X of the Amendments distinctly asserts that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, *or to the people.* And even the people, unless in the manner provided by the Constitution itself, have no power to change this organic agreement. The purpose of this was to prevent usurpation of power, for Constitutional amendments, secure publicity to proposed changes, and enable the whole people to pass upon them.

This temporizing method pursued by the Secretary, has led him throughout his entire Report into the affirmation of politico-

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economical errors of such importance, and with so much apparent sincerity, that if continued any longer will lay him open to the suspicion of being somewhat more ingenuous concerning them, than would be consistent with his reputation as a minister of finance. For instance, he speaks in one place of the "standard of value" introduced by Congress; meaning thereby the present paper currency. Now it is a familiar fact to all students of political economy that no standard of value exists, that none has ever been made, and that none can ever *be* made. Rather than be led into a digression on this point, let us admit instead of being "the relation between two efforts exchanged," as Bastiat defines it, that Value is the relation between the *results* of two efforts exchanged. To measure this relation mankind have unanimously agreed to employ the precious metals; but it is notorious that the measure itself is constantly changing its size, and is absolutely no standard at all. Gold is much more plentiful now than it was twenty years ago, and will consequently measure less of almost any other product than it did then. Neither is wheat a standard; for wheat can be much more cheaply produced by the improved processes of to-day, than it could be twenty years ago. Neither is labor a standard; for labor becomes more productive as mankind increases in intelligence and skill. If, therefore, neither labor, nor wheat, nor gold, are "standards" of value, with what degree of propriety can a Secretary of the Treasury speak of an "irredeemable paper currency," as he himself calls it in the very same sentence, as a standard of value?

Again, throughout the entire Report, occur passages which tacitly assent to that ridiculous and long since exploded error, called the "balance of trade theory." On the very first page of the document the country is felicitated on its having raised means to meet the expenses of a protracted and very costly war "without foreign loans." On p. 6, a studied regret is expressed that the United States "now buy of other nations *too generally*." On p. 9, the Secretary believes that "there are no indications of real and permanent prosperity in our large importation of foreign fabrics," and in a further tone of regret he reluctantly admits that "a foreign debt is being created." On p. 13, a diminished importation of foreign articles is deemed "an advantage." On p. 16, it is considered desirable that the debt should be "kept at home." On p. 26, it is not deemed desirable that our securities should be held out of the United States; and finally, on the same page, every tax-payer is believed to be "personally interested in having the public debt placed at home."

Without questioning either the truth or the good taste of the

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assertion, that means have been raised to carry on the war without foreign loans, it would be a great matter of gratification to know from what treatise on Political Economy the Secretary has derived these extraordinary notions concerning the disadvantages of large importations, and the misfortune of being able to borrow money abroad. The excess of its imports over its exports is now well understood to be a measure of a nation's profits on its foreign commerce, and to possess good credit in the money markets of the world, should scarcely, at least in these enlightened days, be regarded as a misfortune. If, during ten years of foreign trade our imports have been 3,000 millions, and our exports but 2,000 millions, it is very evident that we have profited 1,000 millions by the operation. If, during the same period, we imported but 2,000 millions worth of goods and bullion, and gave 3,000 millions worth of goods and bullion in return for them, it is equally evident that we have lost 1,000 millions by the affair. Again, if Europe holds 500 millions of our bonds, which are worth in our own markets but 66 cents gold on the dollar, and has given us 333 millions in gold for them, it is very evident that we have gained by the operation. 1st, because if we did not gain we should not have effected it. 2d, because while the European bondholder can only reap the benefit of the yearly six per cent., which, in the shape of interest, accrues upon the bonds, we, on the contrary, may, and do, reap the advantage of employing the *entire capital* so lent, and employing it, too, in industries which yield a far higher annual return than six per cent.; 3d, because we are willing to repeat the operation on the same terms as often as we have the chance, an evidence of which is, that the Treasury Department has more than once within the past few years employed agents to go to Europe for the purpose of extending the market for United States bonds; and no longer ago than last summer, one of them, Mr. Lanier of this city, was so empowered by Mr. McCulloch himself. The expense of sending these agents abroad are included in the expenditures of 1865, under the head of Miscellaneous. Furthermore, the new Loan Bill lately introduced into the House of Representatives by Mr. Morrill, and evidently with the concurrence of the Secretary, provides that the bonds which it authorizes "may be sold, and the principal and interest may be made payable either in the United States *or in Europe*," and that "the principal and interest of the bonds which may be made payable in Europe *shall be payable in the coin or currency of the country in Europe in which they may be made payable.*"

Official enunciation of such financial sophisms as we have noticed on the part of an American Secretary of the Treasury,

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is much to be regretted; and it is to be hoped that the attention we have drawn to them, will have the effect of inducing greater care in this respect in the preparation of the future reports of the Department.

These sops to Cerberus, these panderings to what are supposed to be popular prejudices concerning foreign capital and foreign fabrics, are coupled, side by side, in the Secretary's Report, with bait of another kind,—bait made of the best material, and glittering with hopes and anticipations impossible to be fulfilled, and advice impossible to be followed. For instance, "an irredeemable paper currency may be a necessity," (*why* so is not explained, nor do we suppose it ever will be, either by Mr. McCulloch or anybody else,) "but it can scarcely fail, if long continued, to be *a calamity* to any people." Again, "if the measure of value is a convertible currency, and trade and exchanges are left to the *natural laws* that govern them, settlements take place promptly and without embarrassment to business." Again, "the evil is not at present beyond the control of legislation, but it is daily increasing, and, if not speedily checked, will, at no distant day, culminate in wide-spread disaster. The remedy, and the only remedy within the control of Congress, is, in the opinion of the Secretary, to be found in the reduction of the currency." Again, "it is better that the banks should be embarrassed now, than bankrupted hereafter." Speaking of the public debt he says, "its influences are anti-republican. It adds to the power of the Executive by increasing federal patronage." Finally, he remarks that "various plans have been suggested for the payment of the debt; but the Secretary sees no way of accomplishing it but by *an increase of the national income beyond the national expenditures.* In a matter of so great importance as this, *experiments are out of place.*"

Bait for larger fish than would submit to be entangled in the net of sophisms previously noticed—baits garnished with such anticipations as these:

It has been estimated by one who has made this subject a study, that the products of agriculture, manufactures, mining, mechanic arts, commerce, fisheries and forests, in the year 1850 were at 28.9 per cent. of the value of the real and personal property of the United States. A similar calculation makes the products of 1860 26.8 per cent. of the wealth of the country in that year, as fixed by the census returns. In the calculation submitted, the annual products of capital and industry are taken, for convenience, at 25 per cent. of the capital wealth of the country, and the capital of each decennial year of the thirty that our national debt may run before its extinguishment by the application of two hundred millions per annum to the payment of its principal and interest, is here estimated upon the basis of its amount and increase as given by the census of 1860. In the year 1860 the real and personal property of the Union was valued (slaves excluded) at fourteen thousand one hundred and eighty-three

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millions of dollars. Of this amount the States lately in insurrection held three thousand four hundred and sixty-seven millions, being an increase upon the like property in 1850 of 139.7 per cent. The property of the loyal States was valued at ten thousand seven hundred and sixteen millions, an increase of 129.6 per cent. over 1850; together, averaging a decennial increase of 129.7 per cent.

Now, taking the increase of wealth in the loyal States in the ten years from 1860 to 1870 at 125 per cent., we have, as their capital in 1870, twenty-four thousand one hundred and eleven millions; and if we put the wealth of the other States at the same figure as in 1860, without allowing anything for increase, we have a capital for 1870 of twenty-seven thousand five hundred and seventy-eight millions. This sum gives us the product of the year at six thousand eight hundred and ninety four and a half millions, upon which a payment on the debt of two hundred millions is 2.9 per cent. If we add but 25 per cent. to the wealth of 1860 for the States lately in insurrection, as their probable valuation in 1870, the charge of two hundred millions upon the products of that year will be 2.81 per cent. But, allowing all that can be claimed in this respect, and taking the lowest estimate for 1870 as the basis for calculating the wealth and products of the year 1880, 125 per cent. increase in this period gives a capital of sixty-two thousand and fifty millions, and a product of fifteen thousand five hundred and twelve millions, upon which sum a charge of two hundred millions falls to 1.29 per cent. In 1890, the wealth, estimated at an increase of only 100 per cent. upon that of 1880, gives the year's products at thirty-one thousand and twenty-five millions, upon which two hundred millions amounts to only 0.644 per cent., or less than two-thirds of one per cent., and in the year 1900 the tax upon the products of the year would fall to 0.322 per cent., or less than one third of one per cent.

To this charge upon the resources of the country if there be added one hundred and forty millions of 1870 for all other expenditures, one hundred and fifty millions in 1880, one hundred and sixty millions in 1890, and one hundred and seventy millions in 1900, the estimated total expenditure will be 4.93 per cent. of the products of capital and industry in 1870, 2.26 per cent in 1880, 1.17 per cent. in 1890, and barely seven-tenths of one per cent. in 1900. Or, in general statement, the total estimated charges of the national government for the payment of the debt in thirty years, and all other ordinary expenses, begin at less than 5 per cent. of the resources of the country, and end in seven-tenths of one per cent.

The fallaciousness of these calculations is already familiar to the reading public; but will be once more demonstrated as we proceed.

As a commentary upon the Secretary's expressed repugnance to a further increase of Federal patronage, and to the conviction that financial experiments are out of place, and that the only way to liquidate, is by way of overplus—we make the following extracts from his report:

The Secretary has already recommended that he be authorized to sell bonds of the United States, bearing interest at a rate not exceeding six per cent., for the purpose of retiring treasury notes and United States notes. He further recommends that he be authorized to sell, in his discretion, bonds of a similar character to meet any deficiency for the present fiscal year, to reduce the temporary loan by such an amount as he may deem advisable, to pay the certificates of indebtedness as they mature, and also to take up any portion of the debt maturing prior to 1869 that can be advantageously retired. It is not probable that it will be advisable, even if it could be done without pressing them upon the market, to sell a much larger amount of bonds within the present or the next fiscal year than will be necessary to meet any deficiency of the treasury,

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to pay the past-due and maturing obligations of the government, and a part of the temporary loan, and to retire an amount of the compound interest notes and United States notes sufficient to bring back the business of the country to a healthier condition. But no harm can result from investing the Secretary with authority to dispose of bonds, if the condition of the market will justify it, in order to anticipate the payment of those obligations that must soon be provided for.

Authority is here asked which will virtually make the Treasury Department the sole dispenser of wealth and poverty to every living being within the country. But as if this obvious and flagrant increase of Federal patronage were not "sufficient for the day," he makes, in connection with the gold and silver mines of the far West, a further recommendation of like nature:

In this connection it may be advisable for Congress to consider whether the prosperity of the treasure-producing districts would not be increased, and the convenience of miners greatly promoted, by the establishment of an assay office in every mining district from which an annual production of gold and silver amounting to ten millions of dollars is actually obtained.

It is the old story; and we must be prepared to expect that public officers will not readily lose that lust for more and more power and patronage, until the holding of that power and the dispensing of that patronage is either wholly refused by the people, or rendered dangerous and unprofitable to the holders and dispensers of it.

Briefly reviewing that portion of the Secretary's Report which attempts to handle the politico-economical questions that now agitate the public mind, we unwillingly confess to a feeling of deep disappointment at its disingenuous and narrow tone. Nothing is concluded, nothing resolved; and its most salient points are recommendations for more power and an increased patronage for the department over which he has been called to preside.

Turning now to the figures and estimates of the public debt and the revenue, we reach that portion of the Secretary's Report in which, and in which only, he is fully at home and equal to the duties which devolve upon him by law. We have no hesitation in saying, in this respect, that Mr. McCulloch has fully maintained his reputation as a financier; and had he confined himself to this specialty and left political economy alone, his report would have not only been the more valuable in consequence, but would have been open to no objections from the most fastidious critic. For, like a grand cathedral organ, whose deafening crashes stun and terrify the impotent performer, but which to the accomplished player yields only sweet and congruous sounds, Political Economy, when touched upon by the

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expert, furnishes harmonious laws for the guide and government of mankind; while if it is dabbled in by the neophyte, it gives forth nought but contradiction and discord. The organ that the Secretary has essayed to play upon, has evidently too many stops and pedals, which he has not yet discovered, to yield to his present skill. And two of its most important ones, called by foreigners, *laissez faire* and *laissez passer*, require a longer study to be reached, than, judging from his present humor, the Secretary will ever devote to the instrument.

EXPENDITURES.—On the 1st of July, 1864, the public debt was $1,740,690,489; on the 1st of July, 1865, it was $2,682,593,026; on the 1st of July, 1866, it is estimated to be $2,920,744,384; and on the 1st of July, 1867, it is estimated to be $2,809,061,566. This makes the deficit for the fiscal year 1865, $941,902,537; and for the fiscal year 1866, $112,194,947; and looks for a surplus for the fiscal year 1867, amounting to $111,682,818. We place the actual expenditures of the Government for the fiscal year 1865, side by side with the estimate made in December, 1864, by Secretary Fessenden:

EXPENDITURES OF 1865.	Mr. Fessenden's estimate.	Actual.
Civil service,	No particulars were given in Mr. Fessenden's report.	$ 44,765,558
Pensions and Indians,		14,258,575
War Department,		1,031,323,361
Navy Department,		122,567,776
Interest on public debt,		77,397,712
Total, exclusive of redemption of public debt,	$895,729,135	$1,290,312,982

The difference between Mr. Fessenden's estimate and the actual expenditures, was nearly four hundred millions of dollars! This alone should satisfy the public that Mr. Fessenden, as Secretary of the Treasury, was not "the right man in the right place," and was sufficient to justify the popular gratification which followed his resignation of the office.

The actual expenditure for the first quarter of the fiscal year 1866, and the estimated expenditures for the three remaining quarters of the year, are given by Mr. McCulloch as follows:

	First quarter of 1866 actual.	Three remaining quarters of 1866 estimated.	Total for 1866 estimated.
Civil service,	$10,571,460	$32,994,052	$43,565,512
Pensions and Indians,	6,024,241	12,256,790	18,281,031
War Department,	165,369,237	307,788,750	473,157,987
Navy Department,	16,520,669	35,000,000	51,520,669
Interest on public debt,	36,173,481	96,813,868	132,987,349
Total, exclusive of redemption of public debt,	$234,659,088	$484,853,460	$719,512,548

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For a peace footing, these estimates are very heavy. The estimated expenditures for the fiscal year 1867, are as follows:

Civil service	$42,165,599
Pensions and Indians	17,609,640
War Department	39,017,416
Navy Department	43,982,457
Interest on the public debt	141,542,069
Total, exclusive of redemption of public debt	$284,317,181

Arranging these estimates in tabular form, and comparing them with the expenditures of previous years, they appear as follows:

Fiscal year.	Civil.	Pen. & Ind.	War.	Navy.	Interest.	Total.
1862	$21,408,491	$3,102,985	$394,868,407	$42,674,569	$13,190,824	$474,744,778
1863	23,253,922	4,216,520	599,298,600	63,211,105	24,729,846	714,709,995
1864	27,505,599	7,517,931	690,791,843	85,733,293	53,685,422	865,234,087
1865	44,765,558	14,258,575	1,031,823,361	122,567,776	77,397,712	1,290,812,982
1866	43,565,512	18,281,031	473,157,987	51,520,669	132,987,349	719,512,548
1867	42,165,599	17,609,640	39,017,416	43,982,457	141,542,069	284,317,181

This comparison is very significant, and the most significant of its many significant features, is the expenditures for the civil service. Previous to the war, the Civil Service cost as follows:

Fiscal year.	Civil list.	Foreign intercourse.	Miscellaneous.	Total civil service.
1859	$5,913,281	$ 981,946	$16,873,771	$23,768,998
1860	6,077,008	1,146,143	20,708,183	27,931,334
1861	6,074,141	1,147,786	16,026,574	23,248,501
Ag'te for 3 yrs. before the war	$18,064,430	$3,275,875	$53,608,528	$74,948,833

During the war the Civil Service cost as follows:

Fiscal Year.	Civil List.	Foreign Intercourse.	Miscellaneous.	Total Civil Service.
1862	$5,939,009	$1,339,710	$14,129,771	$21,408,490
1863	6,350,618	1,231,413	15,671,890	23,253,921
1864	8,059,177	1,290,691	18,155,730	27,505,598
1865	10,833,945	1,260,818	32,670,795	44,765,558
Aggregate 4 y'rs dur'g war.	$31,182,749	$5,122,632	$80,628,186	$116,933,567

Now that the war is over, and the expenditures necessary for the Civil Service suffered to be materially reduced, it is estimated that they will be $43,565,512 for the fiscal year 1866, and $42,165,599 for 1867.

Turning to the details of these expenditures, we find that $23,465,155, or *more than one half* of the $44,765,558 expended in 1865, was for the following purposes:

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For expenses incident to carrying into effect National Loans (commissions to brokers and agents, &c.),	$6,588,641
For expenses incident to the issue and disposal of $200,000,000 United States Bonds, (commission to European agents, &c.),	68,825
For expenses incident to an Act to provide a National Currency,	59,882
For expenses of engraving, printing, preparing and issuing United States Treasury Notes, Fractional Notes, and Bonds,	14,522
For detection and bringing to trial persons engaged in counterfeiting, &c.,	46,595
For plates paper, and special dies, and the printing of circulating notes, and expenses necessarily incurred in procuring said notes, including miscellaneous items,	441,250
For purchase of gold coin (Act of March 17, 1862, 1st Section),	5,072,900
Total yearly expenses incurred from the continuance of a paper money system	$12,292,615
For constructing fire proof vaults, mainly for New York Custom House	8,750
For do. for Philadelphia Custom House,	50,000
For allowance on drawback, etc.,	679,428
For expenses of collecting the Revenue from Customs,	5,437,490
For re-payment to importers of excess of deposits from unascertained duties,	2,283,313
For debentures, &c.,	968,815
For refunding duties,	2,425
For debentures and other charges,	21,638
For salaries of special examiners of drugs,	5,748
For additional compensation to collectors, &c.,	246,134
For building Custom Houses, repairs, &c.,	1,069,362
For annual repairs of Marine Hospitals and Custom Houses, $17,831, say half,	8,915
For unclaimed merchandise,	1,933
For proceeds of sales of goods, wares, etc.,	402
For purchase of steam or sailing Revenue Cutters,	393,187
Total yearly expenses incurred from the continuance of a Custom House system,	$11,172,540
Yearly cost of Paper Money system,	$12,292,615
Yearly cost of Custom House system,	$11,172,540
Aggregate yearly cost of both,	$23,465,155

Twenty-three and a half millions per annum is a sum of considerable magnitude, even for a people so overflowing with prosperity as we are, and its details are well worth examining.

The yearly cost of the present paper money system is set down at twelve millions! Can this be possible? Less than sixty years ago the *entire* expenditures of the Government did not exceed *eleven* millions per annum; but now we find a million more per annum than this, expended in engraving, printing, and selling paper-money alone! This is an advance in the art of spending money of the most decided character, and did our general progress keep pace with it, there would be no

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room for cavil; but we fear that this is very far from being the case.

Regarding the eleven millions which the custom-house system cost the people this year, it is perhaps hardly worth while to make any remark in this place. We simply append a comparison of the nominal and actual amounts received from the custom duties in 1865.

Nominal amount	$84,928,260
Less expenditures, as above	11,172,540
Real yield of custom duties for 1865	$73,755,720

This latter sum might be lessened by further items of expense, such as the yearly interest on the custom-house buildings and revenue cutters now employed by the department in the collecting of this tax, as well as the wear and tear, insurance, and other expenses connected with maintaining these necessary adjuncts of the system in servicable order.

We now turn to the statements and estimates of Receipts in the Report.

RECEIPTS.—The actual receipts of the Government during the fiscal year 1865, were as follows:

Balance in Treasury agreeably to warrants, July 1, 1864	$ 96,739,905
Customs	84,928,260
Lands	996,553
Direct Tax	1,200,573
Internal Revenue	209,464,215
Miscellaneous	32,978,284
Total receipts for 1865	$329,567,885
Balance in Treasury, July 1, 1865	$ 858,309

The actual receipts for the first quarter of 1866, and the estimated receipts for the three remaining quarters, are given as follows:

	First Quarter of 1866, actual.	Three remaining quarters of 1866, estimat'd	Total for 1866, estimated.
Customs	$ 47,009,583	$100,000,000	$147,009,583
Lands	132,890	500,000	632,890
Direct Tax	31,111	.....	31,111
Internal Revenue	96,618,815	175,000,000	271,618,885
Miscellaneous	18,393,729	30,000,000	48,393,729
	$162,186,198	$305,500,000	$467,686,198

The balance in the Treasury, on the first of October, 1865, was $67,158,515.

These estimates, we think, are drawn with care. The pres-

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ent tariff, however, will probably yield more than $147,009,583, customs, provided that no changes are made in it, and that no political or social circumstances may meanwhile tend to affect our foreign commerce.

Thus up to October 1, 1865, there had been received from customs, at all the ports of the United States	$ 47,009,583
From October 1, 1865, to January 1, 1866, there had been received at the port of New York alone, from customs	29,581,345
Add one-third more for outports	9,860,448
Total for first half of fiscal year 1866	$ 86,451,376
Add one-fourth more than this for last half of fiscal year 1866. [The imports during the last half are usually one-fourth greater than during the first half of the fiscal year. In 1865 they were one-half more.]	108,064,220
Estimated customs duties for 1866	$194,515,596

One million more, too, might safely be added, we think, for receipts from direct tax.

For the fiscal year 1867, Mr. McCulloch estimates the following receipts:

Customs	$100,000,000
Internal Revenue	275,000,000
Lands	1,000,000
Miscellaneous	20,000,000
Total for the fiscal year 1867	$396,000,000

These estimates we consider low.

Arranged in tabular form, they compare with previous years as follows:

Fiscal year.	Customs.	Lands.	Direct Tax.	Internal revenue.	Miscellaneous	Total.
1862	$ 49,056,397	$ 152,203	$1,795,331	$ None.	$ 981,787	$ 51,985,720
1863	69,059,642	167,617	1,485,103	37,640,787	3,046,615	111,399,764
1864	102,316,153	588,333	475,649	109,741,184	47,511,448	260,632,717
1865	84,928,260	966,553	1,200,573	209,464,215	32,978,284	349,567,885
1866	147,009,583	632,890	31,111	271,618,885	48,393,729	467,686,198
1867	100,000,000	1,000,000	.....	275,000,000	20,000,000	396,000,000

This completes Mr. McCulloch's estimates.

We now proceed to notice those portions of his Report which have relation to special topics connected with the department over which he presides.

LIQUIDATION OF THE NATIONAL DEBT.—On this topic the Secretary has a great deal to say, but nothing that he says indicates more than a very superficial examination into the economical phenomenon of national indebtedness.

If the labor question at the South is settled on terms just to the employer and to the laborer, *if* the debt is funded at five or

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five and a half per cent., *if* two hundred millions annual surplus is derived from the revenue, then, says the Secretary, the debt will be paid off in so many years, months, weeks and days.

If the value of the entire capital of the "Loyal States" in 1860 was 10,716 millions of dollars and of the disloyal States 3,467 millions of dollars; and *if* none of this capital has gone out of the country or depreciated in value, or been sunk by the war, and *if* that portion of it pertaining to the Loyal States shall increase to 24,111 millions in 1870, and that pertaining to the disloyal states shall not increase at all yet not diminish, making the total capital wealth of the country in 1870 to be 27,578 millions of dollars, and *if* the annual *net* product of the country is 25 per cent. on its total capital—then, says the Secretary, two hundred millions a year towards liquidating the debt will amount to a charge of but $2\frac{2}{10}$ per cent. on the yearly resources of the country. "Now if we add but 25 per cent. to the wealth of 1860," continues the Secretary in his milk-maidish rhapsody, "for the States lately in insurrection as their probable value in 1870," then the 200 millions &c. will only be $2\frac{8}{10}$ per cent. &c. Furthermore, *if* the wealth of 1880 should prove to be 125 per cent. more than the wealth of 1870, then the 200 millions &c. will only amount to $1\frac{}{100}$ per cent. &c. Furthermore, *if* the wealth of 1890 should prove to be "only 100 per cent." more than the wealth of 1880, then the year's product will be 31,025 millions of dollars upon which the 200 millions &c. will only be a charge of 0.644 per cent. Lastly, *if* the year 1900 should find the country 100 per cent. richer than the year 1890 then the 200 millions &c. will only be 0.322 per cent. on its yearly product, &c.

"These estimates [!]" he adds, "and the basis upon which they rest are sustained by the result of English experience. . . . . It is true that many circumstances may occur to prevent the accomplishment of these anticipated results, [we should think so], but the estimates [!] have been made upon what are regarded as reliable data, and are well calculated to encourage Congress in levying taxes, and the people in paying them."

Now, we have not the slightest hesitation in saying that, scarcely any of these assumptions have any ground whatever to stand upon, that they are for the most part totally unlikely to happen, and for the rest totally impossible; and that neither English experience nor any other experience affords them any support. They are the dreams of a madman, and for the credit of the country should never have appeared in print.

The labor question at the South may be settled; but that the debt may be funded at five or even five and a half per cent., an amount of legislation directly in antagonism to that

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which has occupied Congress for the past four years, and is still occupying it, would have to be gone through with, that renders the event totally beyond the range of the most remote chance. And regarding the probability of an annual surplus of 200 millions, while 300,000 fundholders, of which class Congress is largely composed, are exempted from taxation, and while 500,000 placemen are maintained in office by the Government—to say nothing of a standing army of 80,000 men, which is now being provided for by act of Congress—we think it entirely out of the question. The fundholders will forget their ultimate interests and look to their immediate ones, and their immediate ones are six per cent. in preference to five and a half, and no taxation in preference to any taxation. The placemen will not forget *any* of their interests, either present or remote, and all of these point to plenty of governmental power and patronage; and without the management of a large debt, and all its demonstrated accompaniments, governmental power and patronage will be lessened, and official patriots cannot flourish and increase.

So much for the Secretary's first chain of contingencies. His second one is hardly entitled to serious attention.

The assumed valuations of the entire capital of the country in 1850 and 1860 are from the census reports, and even if absolutely correct on the days they were taken, which we deny, are partly inapplicable to the very next days after, and entirely inapplicable, as a means of comparison, to a time ten years later. A great portion of these valuations (some three-fourths) are made up by computing vast territories of land at so much per acre, which computations while they might have been measurably correct on certain days, might also have been wholly wrong and inadmissible on any other days. Land rises and falls in value like other things, and it rises very much during a period of peace and active immigration, and falls very much upon the happening of civil war.

Another large portion of the valuations assumed are made up of movable wealth—money and goods—and these move in and out of a country as liberty, justice and peace, invite; or restriction, inequality and war repel. To what *extent* these movements took place since 1860 we shall not attempt to decide, but the market rates of exchange during the war furnish a guide as to their *direction*, the reliability of which we imagine no one will be inclined to dispute.

From three to five thousand millions' worth of property was destroyed on both sides during the war. This insignificant trifle the Secretary takes no notice of. Towns were burned, farms laid waste, railroads destroyed, ships sunk, material of

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war used up, and four years' labor of a million and a half of men, reckoning both sides, entirely wasted; yet no allowance is made for all this loss by the Secretary.

Following his tissue of *ifs*, we deny that the yearly net product of this country, *or that of any civilized country under the sun*, is 25 per cent. upon its capital wealth. If there are any other industries in this country but such monopolies as are suffered to exist in New England, which net 25 per cent. to those engaged in them, we are ignorant of the fact. We know that neither the uncultivated nor the cultivated lands throughout the country increase in value at this rate; we know that farming neither in the North, the West, nor the South, yields any such profit, we know that no commercial occupation yields it, that no laborer earns it above his expenditures; in short, that no industry whatever, which is open, even measurably, to competition, affords 25 per cent. per annum net profit on the capital employed in it.

If individuals generally cannot net 25 per cent. per annum on the capital they employ in business, how can the capital wealth of the country, which is simply an aggregation of the capital wealth of the individuals who live or do business in it, increase at that rate? If out of 30,000,000 persons owning 14,183 millions of dollars worth of property, only 3,000,000 persons owning but 1,863 millions of dollars worth,* can net 25 per cent. per annum on their capital, while the rest cannot net over 7 per cent., by what means, outside of the Secretary's imagination, can the entire capital of the whole number be made to yield an annual net product of 25 per cent.? And if it is not of the *net* product, but of the *gross* product that the Secretary is speaking, what relevancy has it to the argument, so long as its relation to the net product is neither ascertained nor assumed, and seeing that a gross product may be a loss instead of a gain?

Between 1850 and 1860, wars and other disturbances in Europe drove the population and the capital of European countries to our own, and these causes largely added to our population, and our wealth; but the same circumstances may never exist again, or, if they do, may exist with mitigated influence, and the results of course will tally with them and the influence they may exert.

We are much mistaken in the estimate of the character of our people, if, after clearly understanding the value of the

* The population of New England in 1860 was 3,135,283, and its capital wealth was, according to the census, $1,863,848,765. In the text we have assumed that 25 per cent. net profit was earned upon the whole of this capital, but it is hardly necessary to remind the reader that but a small portion of it affords such gains. Outside of New England, with a few exceptions here and there, we know of no permanent investments of capital in this country which yield 25 per cent. per annum net gain.

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"reliable data" thus furnished us by the Secretary, they should, as he trusts, derive any additional encouragement from them to pay taxes; and we respectfully warn the Secretary against the danger of basing any fresh legislation upon this hope.

EXEMPTION OF GOVERNMENT BONDS FROM TAXATION.—On the question of exempting the government bonds from taxation, the Secretary speaks very warmly. He regards such exemption as right and beneficial, and prophesies disaster if it is not maintained. While, for reasons already hinted at, we entertain no apprehensions whatever that the exemption will *not* be entertained, Political Economy teaches us that such discriminations are fatal to the well-being of any community. They tend to cultivate a race of fundholders to lord it over the people, and to oppose every effort they may make to free themselves from the double incubus of debt and its twin-brother, governmental power. Practically it has no such bearing as that which the Secretary claims for it. A very large portion of the permanently funded debt of this country is, or will soon be, held abroad, and will not, in any event, be subject to taxation. The system, as it stands, is simply a protective measure to the fundholders at home, and as such is entirely anti-republican in its nature and its tendency.

THE TAX-SYSTEM.—Upon this topic the Secretary opens with the following remarks:

> The present system of internal revenue is one of the results of the war. It was framed under circumstances of pressing necessity, affording little opportunity for careful and accurate investigation of the sources of revenue. Its success, however, has exceeded the anticipations of its authors, and is a most honorable testimonial to their wisdom, and to the patriotism of the people who have so cheerfully submitted to its burdens.
>
> With the restoration of peace, industry is again returning to its former channels, and a revision of the system now becomes important to accommodate it to the changed and changing condition of the country.
>
> Every complicated system of taxation opens the way to mistakes, abuses and deceptions. Temptations to dishonesty and fraud are placed before the revenue officers and the taxpayers, and both are often thereby demoralized. Honest men, who pay their taxes in full, are injured, if not ruined, by the ingenuity of those who successfully evade their share of the public burdens.
>
> The multiplicity of objects at present subject to taxation is one of the most serious objections to the present system. Many of these yield little revenue, while its collection is troublesome to the collector, and irritating and offensive to the taxpayers. This multiplicity also involves as many temptations to fraud, and as many difficult questions for decision, as the objects from which large revenue is derived.
>
> To impose taxes judiciously, so as to obtain revenue without repressing industry, is one of the highest and most difficult duties devolved upon Congress. Taxation which in one year may be scarcely felt may the next year be oppressive; and that which may not be burdensome to those who are well established in business may be fatal to those just commencing. Every branch of industry has its infancy, and ought to be encouraged by liberal legislation. Whatever of industry or enterprise is destroyed, by injudicious taxation or otherwise, is a damage to the national welfare.

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Heavy taxation may drive capital from our shores, or prevent its employment in the manner most advantageous to the country, and thus prevent that demand for labor which is the best security for its proper reward.

The taxation which is now extremely productive may in a few years become unproductive, or engender a spirit of opposition and discontent which may endanger the national credit.

Were the recommendations which follow this signally felicitous preface, in keeping with it, this portion of the Report might fully make amends for the faults so obvious elsewhere; but here again the Secretary's abstract and concrete are at fearful war with each other, and reconciliation is totally out of the question. He continues:

It is important, therefore, that our revenue system *should be frequently and carefully revised*, in order that it may be accommodated to the habits and character of the people, to the industry of the country, to labor and capital, to wages at home and wages abroad. *It is also of the highest importance that there should be a careful adjustment of our internal to our external revenue system.*

All systems of taxation are bad, and all have various consequences besides the due elimination of revenue—consequences which legislators never perceive, consequences which warp constitutions and bend the industry of communities into unprofitable channels, consequences which promote monopolies, engender social castes, break up equalization, and weaken national attachments—but the worst of all systems, is a changable one. Let a certain sum of revenue be raised by any conceivable method, and if that method is left unaltered for a certain length of time, the revenue so raised will equalize itself among all industries; but as often as any revision is accomplished, this equalization will be disturbed, and the prices of all commodities will fluctuate anew, until some permanent level is finally attained. Far better would it be that the present system were retained as it is, than altered in any respect, except in the way of reduced taxes; but this, while frequent changes exalt the consequence and the power of legislators, is a boon too great to be hoped for. Some forty odd customs tariffs has this country seen since its organization under constitutional government, and it is pretty safe to predict that its days of revenue vicissitudes are not yet ended. Congress is as pliant as ever, the lobby is increasing in power, and the people, God help them, are a set of the jolliest Mark Tapleys that ever existed.

But though perhaps indifferent to the fluctuations of prices, and to the gambling in merchandise, which any revision of the revenue will inevitably set a-going, and to the unexpected and undeserved fortunes, and the equally unexpected and undeserved losses, which it will inevitably confer, the people cannot

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afford to face that positive and collective loss, that loss not to individuals, but to the entire community, which must unavoidably flow from any attempt to adjust the internal to the external revenue system, such as the Secretary thoughtlessly advises. Should any such adjustment take place, it should by all means be made the other way. Our tariff should be adjusted to our internal tax system; because by so doing every foreign consumer of our products would be compelled, in the prices he paid for those products, to share our burden of taxation with us, whether he desired it or not; while, by the opposite method, we not only lose this advantage, but from the incidental protection which it affords to unprofitable production at home, we run a large risk of losing his custom altogether.

For instance, there are some 75,000,000 of working-men in Europe. Of this number not over one-half are actively engaged in production, for want of a market for their products. Their home markets are glutted, and foreign countries, our own included, shut them out. Local attachments, national prejudices, laws of tenure, individual poverty, and other causes keep them at home, and prevent them from emigrating; and there they remain, generation after generation, wearing out useless lives, and adding nothing to the world's wealth. Suppose now our tariff was removed altogether, and that at once a new and vast market was opened to their industry. Would they not gladly supply us with a thousand commodities which we desire, and which they can produce cheaper than we can, and take in return the corn which our Iowa farmers now burn in their stoves for fuel, and which the peasantry of Europe are famishing for—and would they not take it, too, even though a portion of our internal taxes clung to it, seeing that if even they did not profit both ways by the transaction, they would at least profit one way, and also find the much needed employment they now seek in vain? Would they not gladly exchange their cloths, their fruits, their wines, their coal, their hardware, and their crockery, for our bacon and lard, our codfish and mackerel, our buckwheat and Bourbon whiskey, our petroleum and cotton, our rice and buffalo hides, our corn brooms and plug tobacco, our sewing-machines and printing-presses, our clipper ships and apple parers, our six-shooters and patent skates, our Yankee notions, Western cereals and peltries, and Southern field and forest products? In a word, would not the products which were peculiar to each continent be exchanged with profit to both sides, and yet carry with them their due share of taxes to fall upon the final consumer?

In the face of this manifest advantage we are asked to ignore it altogether, and to plunge deeper than we have ever gone

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yet into the darkness and the narrowness of Protection—for this is the meaning of that "adjustment" which the Secretary advises. It means an adjustment that shall confer a still farther monopoly upon those who are engaged in this country in uneconomical industries—industries which, by differences in climate and other natural conditions, could be prosecuted more cheaply in other countries — cotton-spinning, iron-forging, paper-making, and tea-growing — it means an adjustment that shall cut us off still further from procuring foreign markets for our mechanical inventions, our mineral and farm products, and our nautical handiwork—in fine, it means an adjustment that shall cramp our genius, restrict our enterprise, and cause us, like the fabled pelican, to pluck the food upon which we shall nourish our young, from no other breasts but our own.

Of a character with the Secretary's suggested adjustment are the views he expresses on the subject of Canadian Reciprocity. Narrowness and bigotry pervade the whole argument, little else is seen besides the interests of a few manufacturers, and these, while the interests of the people at large are observed through a microscope, are regarded with all the exaggerations of a magnifying glass.

The Revenue Commission provided for in the amendatory act of March 8, 1865, comes in for a large share of commendation by Mr. McCulloch. All that he can say in approbation of the capacity and fairness of the members of this body, and of the value of their labors, so far as the preparation of statistical data is concerned, we warmly endorse; but we cannot help fearing that the plan they have pursued, and which, it is stated, has been to take up, specifically, certain supposed productive sources of revenue and report upon them separately, is not the right one. This plan, it is to be presumed, was not their own; and they are consequently not to be blamed if it leads to unsatisfactory results. Keeping in mind the undesirability of suggesting any radical change in an established revenue system, their business has been less to inquire and report upon "the best and most efficient system of revenue," suitable to the country, as their commission reads, than to patch up and plug the holes which two years' wear and tear have already made in the present one. Time and statesmanship alone can remove the saddle which the war has placed upon the country's back. Meanwhile, it is as well perhaps to keep it in as good order as circumstances will permit.

In this connection it gives us great pleasure to commend the policy pursued by the Secretary in relation to the collection of taxes in the late insurrectionary States. By his circular, under date 21st June last, the Department declared its intention to

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postpone calling upon the citizens of that section for the payment of any taxes accruing prior to the establishment of collection districts among them. This postponement he now recommends shall be made indefinite.

In the adoption of this measure we at once recognized the wise and politic influence of the present Executive; although it is not denied that outside of the field of Political Economy, in which he is evidently not quite at home, the Secretary's own good judgment would have led him in any event to adopt the same line of policy towards the conquered and devastated South. As it stands, it does honor to both President and Minister, and considering how badly it might have gone with the South had other and less considerate officers been confided with the shaping of this important measure, the country has reason to congratulate itself not alone upon the wisdom and fidelity of its Executive, but it can afford to look lightly upon the economical heresies of his financial Secretary; for the prosperity of the South is as essential to the prosperity of the Union as is the prosperity of the North; and the South never could have recovered from the weight of such an incubus as its conqueror might have put upon it, had passion instead of statesmanship ruled the hour of victory.

Our review of Mr. McCulloch's Report now draws to a close. The judgment we have formed of it we revert to with pain: and more particularly because from the acknowledged incompetency of his predecessor in office so brilliant an opportunity appeared to be open to the new incumbent, and now appears to have been lost. To find fault is much easier than to act, to pull down much easier than to build; but every recognized law in political economy would have had to be ignored in an attempt to palliate the shortcomings of this Report, or to justify the conclusions which it seeks to establish and the recommendations which it endeavors to impose. The overflowing prosperity of a great country may yet cover up every trace of ill-management which has of late distinguished its financial policy, but the critical eye in all times will be enabled to detect the evils which have flowed from it, even though they may lie like buried fossils in the lowest strata of these eventful times.

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ART IV.—CLIMATES OF THE SOUTH IN THEIR RELATIONS TO WHITE LABOR.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEGRO RACES—THEIR FUTURE AT THE SOUTH—WHITE LABOR IN ITS CONFLICT WITH BLACK—ADAPTATION OF THE SOUTH TO IMMIGRATION AND ITS SPLENDID FIELDS FOR FUTURE ENTERPRISE.

THE following contribution to our pages is made by Dr. J. C. Nott, of Mobile, a most distinguished physician, medical statistician and scientific writer, the author in conjunction with Gliddon of the celebrated work entitled, "Types of Mankind." Dr. Nott has resided a third of a century at Mobile, and is profoundly familiar with all the laws relating to the sanitary condition, mortality and longevity of the white and black races of the South, and his authority on such matters is paramount. We referred to his investigation in a letter addressed by us in the January number of the REVIEW to Governor Perry, of South Carolina. The position which we took in that letter is amply sustained by him, and we commend this letter to thoughtful men in every part of the Union. We then said and repeat:

"By far the larger portion of each of the Southern States is well adapted to white labor, and actual mortuary returns indicate a much higher degree of physical health in these localities than in the New England and North-western States. . . The region referred to embraces nearly the whole of the great States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky and Texas, three-fourths of Georgia and Arkansas, one-half of South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida."—EDITOR.

TO J. D. B. DEBOW, ESQ:

Sir,—The question of labor, for the production of the great staples of the Southern States is now the all-absorbing one with us, and you ask for my views on the subject, particularly the results of my professional observation, in regard to the adaptability of the white race to field labor in our cotton and sugar regions.

Every reflecting man that has studied the past history of the negro, and spent as I have, half a century in daily contact with the race, must apprehend that freed blacks cannot be relied upon as an agricultural population, and that emancipation must ultimately result in their extermination.

In order to show that I have no cherished theory to maintain, or no prejudices of education to combat, I will here repeat what I have been saying and publishing for twenty years past. I have always been an emancipationist at heart—have been utterly opposed to the slave trade—have maintained that every people capable of self-government had a right to liberty, and have again and again said to the few slaves that I have owned, "Whenever you think you can do better without me than with me I will pay your expenses to Boston or Liberia."

Nevertheless I have not been an abolitionist; for the reason

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that I looked upon emancipation of our Southern slaves as a measure leading only to misery, and the ultimate destruction of the race in this country. But the United States Government has done the deed, has assumed all the responsibility, which frees my conscience of the offense, and I rejoice that the institution is gone.

The physical and civil history of the negro proves that he never has lived, and never can live, in any other condition than that in which he has been placed. In Africa, he has had nearly a whole Continent to himself for ages, and been in constant contact with Egypt, the mother of European civilization, and yet, unlike the Jews, the Phœnicians, the Assyrians, the Greeks, the Romans and other white races, he has not made a step forward in the march of civilization for five thousand years! There is not a relic of art or science to be found, from the Great Desert of Sahara to the Cape of Good Hope, (the land of the true negro,) to show that civilization ever had a local habitation on that Continent. The negro has never invented an alphabet, nor founded or maintained a constitutional government. He has reached his nearest approximation to civilization in our country. He has never, in his own or any other country, from the time of Moses to the present, except under the direction of the white races, *been an agricultural laborer*, and every well-informed Southern man knows, both from history and personal observation, that, as a class, he will not work unless under restraint. Like the Indian and other inferior races, he may expect to be driven out by the superior intelligence, energy and perseverance of the whites.

The negro rarely thinks of the future, and learns little from experience. There are now thousands of the race scattered over our country, with starvation staring them in the face, unless fed by the Government, and yet, as a general thing, they are making no contracts with employers, or arrangements of any kind for the coming year, though I am now writing in the last days of December. In my professional rounds, every day, persons are asking me, "Where can I get a cook, a washwoman, a house servant?" and though willing to pay twenty dollars a month or more, the want cannot be supplied. The negroes are dying in idleness around this city from disease and starvation.

There is but one thing which saves the South from utter ruin for the next half century, and that is the enormous price of our great staple, cotton. One-fourth of the ordinary number of bales will bring as much money as a full crop in former years, and there is good reason to believe that there will not be more than one-fourth of a crop made in 1866. It is probable that negro labor, the year after that will be better organ-

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ized, and something like one-third to half a crop of cotton will be made. After that negro labor will gradually decline, and, as it disappears, white labor will infiltrate into the country, and not only supply the labor of the disappearing negroes, but gradually bring up the cotton product not only to its original figures, but carry it far beyond what it has ever been. How many years this will require no one can foresee; but there is every reason to believe, that the cotton crop will continue to bring, quite as large an income from the present time forward, as it did before the war. Fifty cents a pound is too tempting a bait for the whites to overlook, and there is nothing in our climate potent enough to keep them from it.

With white population too, will come wealth, power and national greatness to the South. With the increase of white population will come increase of intellect, energy, the mechanic arts, etc., and development and progression will be the order of the day. The South has all the elements of greatness, and all she needs is a thorough system of practical education, and a population capable of receiving it.

But let us leave this digression and come to the question before us, viz: that of *Race in connection with climate.*

To comprehend it fully, *climate* must be viewed under two very distinct aspects, first, that of simple *temperature*—second, temperature and malaria combined.

Without touching at all on the vexed question of original Unity or Diversity of Races, we may assert, without fear of contradiction, that the races of men, as we now see them, scattered over the face of the globe, if not so in the beginning, have become peculiarly adapted to certain climates. The negro for example is not only a native of tropical Africa, and maintains his highest physique in hot climates, but is proverbially unsuited to cold latitudes. In New England and Canada, the deaths among the blacks there is every reason to believe, exceed the births, and the race in a few generations would be exterminated by the climate if not renewed by constant immigration.

On the other hand, the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic race generally, flourish in the middle temperate zone, and deteriorate in the Tropic and Arctic regions. The native land of the negro is death to the white man, and the negro race would be exterminated in Russia.

That these idiosyncracies of the two races can be changed, we have no evidence from history to prove, but on the contrary, we have positive evidence in abundance to prove that the white and black races stood face to face around the Mediterranean sea five thousand years ago, and that there has been

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no example from that time to this to show that one race can be transformed into another by anything short of a direct miracle. Climate certainly will never do it.

Official statistics establish conclusively that, in the full acceptation of the term, the French cannot colonize Algeria, nor the English, India. The deaths in those countries, among European colonists steadily exceed the births, and were it not for the constant supply of fresh victims, these colonies would long since have died out. It should be remembered too, that the English in India are engaged in commercial and other pursuits that keep them much within doors and protected from the burning sun of the climate. They have not tilled the soil and been exposed to the intense heat and its malarial creations, as the natives are. Very few scores of years would be sufficient to exterminate one hundred thousand Englishmen in India, if they had to earn their bread at the tail of the plough.

I have not for several years examined any official French statistics in connection with Algeria on this point, but Mons. Boudin, chief surgeon of the department, some years ago proved by figures that more than one hundred thousand Frenchmen had died in Algeria during their attempt at colonization—that the deaths exceeded the births, and that the country could not be colonized by Frenchmen.

It is useless in the present day to multiply facts on this point, and the same reasoning applies with equal force to all the races intermediate between the whites and blacks. Every climate has its Fauna and Flora, and every Fauna has a type of Man peculiarly adapted to it.

Each race of mankind, however, has a certain degree of *pliability* of constitution, a certain degree of *adaptability* to other climates, approximating that of its own Fauna; but there are limits to this *pliability*, which cannot be transcended with impunity.

The negro belongs properly to the tropic, but yet has flourished in full vigor in our Southern States. When, however, you cross the Potomac going northward, his power of endurance begins to yield, and every degree north cuts deeper and deeper into his constitution.

It is estimated that in all, about 400,000 negroes have been imported into the United States from Africa, and our census returns show that they have increased to upwards of 4,000,000; or more than ten-fold—an increase, unparalleled in any agricultural population in the world. All the facts show that they have thriven well, and that too, when exposed in open fields to all the influences of climate.

The white race enjoys a higher degree of *pliability* of con-

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stitution than the black. A native of the middle temperate zone, where there are considerable extremes of heat and cold, he is by nature habituated and adapted to much wider range of temperature than the negro. The negro is a native of the tropic, one extreme of climate, and cannot go very far beyond the tropic before he begins to deteriorate. While the white man, the native of a land of cold winters and warm summers, can migrate to the verge of the arctic, and to many parts of the tropic with impunity.

But the question next comes as to *how far* this pliability of the white race extends? In plain English, Can white emigrants be brought to our Southern States, and be made to live, prosper and cultivate cotton, sugar, tobacco and rice? With regard to *Rice* I must enter a strong doubt, but with regard to the other staples I feel *no doubt*. Even rice will be cultivated by white labor at some future day, when the drainage of rice lands becomes more perfect, and, I may add, when there comes a struggle for bread in a crowded population.

I have already remarked that climate must be considered under two heads—1st, that of simple temperature; 2d, temperature and malaria combined. They do not necessarily go together—we have many localities where there is a hot climate without malaria, or the causes of intermittent and bilious fevers; but on the other hand we do not have marsh malaria, except in warm climates, or at least where there are warm summers.

The climate of our cotton region cannot properly be called *hot*, though a *warm* climate. It is not the mere *heat* of our region that makes it unfriendly to European constitutions, but it is the diseases which the sun eliminates from the soil we cultivate. The hilly pine lands, for example, of the Southern States, forming an immense tract, extending from Virginia to the Mississippi, and even far beyond, under the same temperature as other neighboring lands, are *exempt from the influence of marsh malaria*, and are universally regarded as salubrious, and resorted to by the better class of society as summer residences with perfect safety.

Not so with really *hot* climates. In India, for example, the Anglo-Saxon is killed outright by high temperature independently of atmospheric poisons. The frame is attenuated by the exhausting effects of heat and profuse perspiration—the muscles are relaxed and debilitated, the nervous system is exhausted, the liver inflames and becomes corroded with abscesses, and the whole machine is worn out by the wear and tear of *heat*, and the want of exercise which the climate does not permit. All this, I say, may and does occur independently of malaria, from high temperature alone.

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It will be readily admitted that when the Germanic, or Anglo-Saxon people come into our cotton region, they leave their normal position, and subject themselves to an unaccustomed test of climatic influence. The system is called upon for a certain amount of resistance to a foreign climate, and the struggle results in a certain amount of physical deterioration. The descendants of the Anglo-Saxon and German are no longer exact models of the original prototypes, though the race is still essentially the same—modified, but not changed in type. The complexion is less clear and florid; the body is less plump and vascular; the marks of age appear earlier. An English man or woman is as youthful in appearance at the age of fifty as ours ten years younger; their statesmen and literary men wear longer than ours; the value of life, even in the healthiest parts of the South, is a grade less than in Great Britain and other temperate parts of Europe.

Although more favorable, perhaps, as a whole to European constitutions than our cotton States of the South, I do not regard the climate and population of New England as at all comparable to those of the better parts of Europe. Certainly the population of New England does not compare with that of old England, nor do I think it by any means certain that there is more health or more longevity in New England than in the non-malarious districts of the Southern States.

I recollect hearing Henry Clay say, that the finest population in the world is seen walking in Regent Street, London; and in this opinion I fully concur.

It must be confessed, however, that the climate of the Gulf States particularly is unfavorable to mental cultivation and high intellectual development. The people are full of genius, courage, chivalry and all the high qualities that adorn humanity. Such characters as General Washington, Patrick Henry, Stonewall Jackson, General Lee, the Lowndes, the Rutledges, the Pinckneys, and many others of the South, can no more be grown in extreme Northern latitudes than cotton, sugar, pine-apples and oranges, and yet the heat of the climate for four months of the year puts a stop to steady, plodding, intellectual labor, and the South, in my opinion, will never equal the North in profound learning and general literary attainment. Too much time is lost out of each year to keep up in the race.

But, as we have said, the mere matter of temperature at the South is no serious impediment to the introduction of white labor, and the next question is, What are the difficulties arising from the influence of marsh malaria, with its fevers and other diseases of our climate?

We have said that the pine hills are healthy, and that the

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whites can and do live there with health. We have on the other hand said, that the white man cannot cultivate the rice fields, and a considerable portion of the *alluvial* cotton lands. *But on the other hand there is an immense proportion of our cotton lands, on which white laborers can and will live with a reasonable degree of health—perhaps (when we take into consideration the many diseases incident to dense populations) with as much health as in most parts of Europe from which our emigrants come.*

A very large portion of our cotton lands are to a great degree exempt from malarial diseases, and making an average of the whole year, and thus including diseases of cold as well as heat, it may be well doubted whether these portions are not as favorable to health and longevity as either our New England or Western States. For example, the lime or prairie lands of Mississippi and Alabama, and the uplands generally of the Carolina's, Georgia and other cotton States—even the fertile lands on the banks of the Mississippi, when thoroughly drained and cultivated, may be considered as quite healthy, and if a good system of drainage and culture was generally adopted, the proportion of land unsuited to white labor would be small.

Laying aside all speculation on the subject, there are facts in abundance to prove that whites can live, labor and make cotton in our climate, and the bait is too tempting to be resisted. At fifty cents a pound, one industrious laborer can make his food and clothing, and put besides yearly a thousand dollars of good money in his pocket, and the white man will do it at a much greater risk of life or health than he is called upon to make in well-selected cotton-fields of the South.

Even now, every where through the Carolinas, Georgia and the Gulf States, you see little farms worked successfully by white laborers, both male and female. We should, too, have seen a great deal more of this kind of labor had it not been for the proximity of slave labor. Not only have these small farmers been driven off by the monopoly of the rich, in buying up their little farms to get them out of the way, but agricultural labor has scarcely been considered honorable at the South. The poor white man was put on a footing with the slave that he despised.

Another proof of the availability of white labor is seen around our towns—nearly all the market gardens around Mobile and New Orleans (and so with other towns) are cultivated by white laborers, although these localities are among the most insalubrious in the South. The towns themselves are healthy to the acclimated, but the marshy suburbs are very sickly.

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Who, let us ask, have built our Southern towns. Is it not almost exclusively Northern and foreign carpenters and bricklayers, who labor in the full blaze of a Southern sun?

Although Germans, Irish and Northerners can and will live and prosper in the Southern States, there is no doubt that emigrants from France, Spain and Italy would be most readily and perfectly adapted to our climate. The elegance and robustness of the Creole population, male and female, of Louisiana, is proverbial. They are one of the finest-looking people in the world, and the most healthy ever seen. I doubt whether even the population of Great Britain possesses more health, vigor and longevity than the creole population of Louisiana, but it is all physique. They are generally deficient in energy and entertainment, and rarely attain intellectual excellence.

This physique of the creoles is easily accounted for. The population of France, including that of Normandy (which is mostly of German descent) is like all the population bordering the Mediterranean Sea, essentially *Southern*. The American traveller, after leaving Paris *en route* for Marseilles, does not go far before he is struck by the Southern look of the people—short stature, dark complexion, black hair and eyes—in short, a physique contrasting strongly with the inhabitants of Germany and Britain.

Having prepared this paper at your request, and upon short notice, I can only regret its deficiencies. The subject is a vast one, and might very well occupy a volume. All I can hope by this hasty sketch is to induce thought in others.

Yours, etc., J. C. NOTT, M. D.

MOBILE, ALABAMA, 28*th December*, 1865.

ART. V.—PETROLEUM.

THE falling off in the production of Petroleum and the dying out of the excitement in regard to it, coincident with the cessation of the late civil war and the restoration of commercial relations with the Southern people, will render most welcome to a large class of our readers some record of the discovery, development and great wealth of this marvelous product. Like the sudden discovery of a mine of fabulous wealth, it added immensely to the resources of the North during the most critical period of their financial contraction, renewing confidence in the midst of depression, bringing wealth in the period of the great losses by the destruction of the shipping interests, and turning the balance of foreign exchange largely in our favor when the military situation seemed to promise an almost

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interminable conflict of arms. Now that the old commercial relations are being reëstablished between North and South, and those who have so long been separated from an acquaintance with each other's productions by the lines of hostile armies again meet on common ground, this wonderful product has taken a minor place in the public interest, and attention is little called to it except by those directly interested in it, or of that numerous class who have lost so largely in their wild speculations.

The oil region of Western Pennsylvania, far excelling in productiveness all other localities combined, is limited almost exclusively to the Alleghany River Valley, the most productive portion of it consisting of an irregular quadrangle, each of its sides being from fifteen to twenty-five miles in length, and with Oil Creek, from Titusville to Oil City about equally dividing it. It is true that oil in large quantities has been found outside of these limits, but this locality has been the great fountain head of the enormous supply. In similar geological formations of the same range in Western Virginia, in Eastern Kentucky and Ohio, and in Western New York and Canada, oil has also been found, while proofs are not wanting of its existence in several of the Southern States. In California it is said to exist in more considerable quantities, and several wells have been sunk, yielding a fair supply of oil, but nothing to compare with the Pennsylvania wells.

The physical features of the Pennsylvania oil region, abounding in all the natural beauty of the Alleghanies, are easily understood and full of interest. The bed of the Alleghany River in the region of the largest oil wells, is from two hundred and fifty to three hundred feet above the level of Lake Erie, and some eight hundred feet above tidewater, while its banks rise precipitately from one hundred to four hundred feet on either side, as high up or as low down as can be traced, gray, yellow or brown sandstone, alternating with blue, red, or brown shales, lie in beautiful horizontal lines of remarkable regularity, with scarcely a perceptible "dip." It is in the first, second, or third layer of this sandstone that the oil is usually "struck;" the depth at which it lies varying widely from one hundred feet to six, eight and ten hundred feet, and one well actually being more than twelve hundred feet deep. Humboldt estimated that there were in the United States over two hundred thousand square miles of this sandstone formation, so that it is evident the oil, though found in these localities, is dependent upon other conditions for its formation. The theory that coal and petroleum are of like origin has not been at all borne out thus far, and they have been actually separated by great dis-

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tances. The oil regions of Venango County is bounded on the south and east by the coal fields, but boring through the coal measures for oil has not as yet been at all successful, and wood has been largely used instead of coal in operating the machinery as being more economical.

Petroleum, or rock oil, though suddenly attaining such commercial importance, has long been known to exist. Franklin, Pennsylvania, one of the towns now doing a large oil business, boasts of being one of the most ancient settlements in the State, and in 1754 General Montcalm reports the Indians of Franklin using an oil gathered from the neighboring creek in their paints, and burning it with their sacrifices. In 1849, Mr. Samuel M. Kier, of Pittsburgh, had some analyzed by a Philadelphia chemist, and found that it was a valuable illuminating oil, but required a new lamp for burning it. Making a lamp in which it would burn; he erected a refinery, and from 1850 to 1855 disposed of all the petroleum he could obtain from his own and his neighbors' *salt* wells.

In 1853 a New York firm had their attention called to the oil. Professor Silliman, upon examining a specimen, said it might prove valuable for lubricating, and perhaps could be used for illuminating. The result was the purchase of a small farm in Venango County, near what is now Oil Creek, by the New York firm, and in 1858 the first oil well was sunk. Owing to the difficulties experienced in freeing the oil from impurities, and rendering it non-explosive, it was not until 1860 that public attention was generally called to the subject, and the sinking of oil wells became a regular business.

The magnificent success which attended the first investments at once attracted the attention of capitalists everywhere, and the supply of petroleum was deemed perfectly inexhaustible. If a small section of the favored region could be obtained, it was held that the possessor's fortune was made, yet there has has been no branch of productive industry whose receipts have been more uncertain than that of petroleum. During five years the price of oil at the wells has ranged from ten cents to thirteen dollars and fifty cents per barrel. In the latter part of 1861, owing to the out-break of a large number of flowing wells, bringing the supply suddenly up from one hundred and fifty to three or four thousand barrels per day, the market value sunk so low that the cost of the barrel exceeded that of its contents, and twenty-five cents a barrel was thought a high figure for illuminating oil. This extraordinary cheapness had the effect of forcing the article into all parts of the country, open to domestic trade, and to Europe, where a large demand sprang up. The next year prices improved considerably, re-

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ceding in the Spring of 1863 in consequence of the large flow of a great many wells. The extreme fluctuations have shown a range of prices for crude oil at the wells, from ten cents to thirteen dollars and fifty cents per barrel, and the average range has been about equi-distant from these extremes. The additional value given to the product by refining, storage, transportation, etc., have very largely increased this ratio of prices. The amount of the product for the first few years can only be roughly estimated, but the very large exports in 1864, amounting to over thirty-one millions of dollars, give some idea of the abundant yield of the wells.

These large returns on such comparatively small capital created an intense excitement among moneyed men and speculators, and companies were quickly formed in all parts of the country, to take advantage of the better than golden opportunity. It is estimated that not less than twelve hundred companies, altogether, have been formed, with an aggregate nominal capital of from eight hundred to one thousand millions. A large part of this capital has never been paid in, and the greater part of it which is represented by property, is unproductive and likely to remain so. The best wells have fallen away and finally given out entirely, and that which was thought the most promising oil territory, has in hundreds of instances proved worthless. The number of individuals made suddenly rich has been large, but it has been in a great degree owing to the readiness with which the uninitiated, under the influence of the excitement were induced to make investments at fabulous prices. It is estimated that the whole oil territory of Pennsylvania might have been purchased a few years since for seven hundred thousand dollars, and now it is held to be worth more than two hundred and fifty millions. The amount of humbug, however, has been fully equal to the actual promise, and the number of individuals in every community, who have for some time past vainly sought to get rid of stock in some petroleum company unknown on exchange, is very large. Those companies which do pay well now, not more than three or four in a hundred of those established—are prosecuting their business more as a legitimate branch of industry than as a speculation, and the brokers vainly endeavor to call public attention to the "good-promise" of any particular favored region. It is probable that the permanent yield of petroleum will be very much below what it has been, though, fitful and uncertain as it is, the complete drying up of its subterranean fountain would be most unexpected.

We subjoin a tabular statement of reports from 1860 to the close of 1865:

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EXPORT OF CRUDE AND REFINED (INCLUDING NAPTHA, &c.,) FROM NEW-YORK, FOR THE YEARS 1865, 1864, 1863, 1862 and 1861.

	1865.	1864.	1863.	1862.	1861.
To Liverpool.....galls.	1,561,987	734,755	2,156,851	1,781,877	187,254
London.....	376,283	1,430,710	2,576,331	1,133,399	115,644
Glasgow.....	156,147	368,402	414,943	24,181	276,977
Bristol.....	110,412	29,124	71,912	....	....
Falmouth, E.....	509,815	316,402	623,176	....	....
Grangemouth, E.....	102,292	....	425,334	....	....
Cork, &c.....	1,157,486	3,310,362	1,532,257	299,366	....
Bowling, E.....	....	67,164	....	...	....
Dublin.....	....	....	....	195	....
Havre.....	604,330	2,324,017	1,774,890	794,221	73,716
Marseilles.....	1,333,752	1,982,075	1,167,893	135,765	1,600
Bordeaux.....	....	....	....	200	....
Cette.....	....	4,800	....	2,700	80
Dunkirk.....	110,099	282,803	....	....	....
Dieppe.....	....	79,581	46,000	61,692	....
Rouen.....	97,841	....	143,646	....	....
Antwerp.....	1,593,528	4,149,821	2,692,974	823,090	5,671
Bremen.....	231,983	971,905	903,004	452,522	32,112
Amsterdam.....	....	77,041	486	...	....
Hamburg.....	981,766	1,186,080	1,466,155	229,384	42,343
Rotterdam.....	292,569	532,926	757,249	16,938	640
Gottenburgh.....	....	33,813	....	....	....
Stockholm.....	....	....	....	81,960	....
Cronstadt.....	891,389	400,376	88,060	....	....
Stettin.....	53,317	....	....	....	....
Cadiz and Malaga.....	97,782	58,474	83,284	....	....
Alicante.....	44,988	16,823	33,000	....	....
Barcelona.....	5,128	25,500	....	....	....
Gibralter.....	72,742	69,181	308,450	157	200
Oporto.....	28,205	17,474	2,339	....	....
Palermo.....	22,615	7,983	57,115	3,990	....
Genoa and Leghorn....	666,611	679,606	399,674	21,000	62
Trieste.....	666,371	165,175	3,000	....	....
Alexandria, Egypt.....	....	4,000	....	....	....
Lisbon.....	93,713	167,195	64,662	....	58
Canary Islands.....	5,244	3,358	5,125	1,296	....
Madeira.....	....	....	400	430	....
Bilboa.....	203,818	2,500	....	....	....
China and East Indies..	42,170	34,338	36,942	3,970	400
Africa.....	17,090	25,195	12,230	655	445
Australia.....	735,891	377,884	304,166	233,699	168,365
Otago, N. Z.....	14,380	10,810	5,500	7,850	....
Sydney, N. S. W.....	162,923	97,880	48,013	113,750	....
Brazil.....	291,752	149,676	160,152	54,967	5,882
Mexico.....	194,936	112,986	69,481	18,616	3,702
Cuba.....	704,627	418,034	356,436	213,686	150,703
Argentine Republic....	67,416	20,260	24,470	7,390	4,200
Cisplatine Republic....	72,852	78,552	117,626	13,227	206
Chili.....	53,226	92,550	66,550	17,810	....
Peru.....	110,840	169,061	256,407	56,011	....
British Honduras.....	2,052	6,072	440	....	.. .
British Guiana.....	5,800	7,881	15,104	9,396	3,035
British West Indies....	108,041	70,976	60,931	18,888	3,719
British N. Amer. Col...	104,080	28,902	16,995	2,948	2,686
Danish West Indies....	10,947	8,463	31,503	4,102	1,770
Dutch West Indies....	18,369	26,638	12,143	7,117	....
French West Indies...	31,118	16,020	9,104	2,332	....
Hayti.....	13,696	7,088	12,064	4,856	964
Central America.....	5,494	993	456	1,764	....
Venezuela.....	39,794	28,533	15,455	1,094	610
New Grenada.....	58,570	57,490	107,837	37,058	15,552
Porto Rico.....	43,355	20,026	59,439	25,244	13,925
Total.....galls.	14,332,132	21,335,784	19,547,604	6,720,273	1,112,476

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TOTAL EXPORT IN 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865.

	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.
New York.....galls.	1,112,476	6,720,273	19,547,604	21,335,784	14,332,132
Boston.....	Small.	1,071,100	2,049,431	1,996,307	1,500,000
Philadelphia.....		2,800,978	5,395,738	7,760,148	11,500,000
Baltimore.....		174,830	915,866	929,971	971,500
Portland.....		120,250	842,080	70,762	11,200
New Bedford.....		....	....	....	50,000
Cleveland.....		....	.. .	80,000	81,200
Total Ex. from U. S. galls.	....	10,887,431	28,250,721	32,592,972	28,456,032

ART VI.—VIRGINIA—HER PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.

Were there nothing in the history of Virginia to excite attention and elicit enquiry, except the history of her four years' war, that has just ended, her bearing in that war would make men curious to find out the pedigree, training, laws, habits, customs, social institutions, and all the antecedents, of her people. We do not propose, in this essay, to gratify in full this natural and laudable curiosity, but only to treat of some of the salient points in her history, and of some of the most distinguished features in her laws, industrial pursuits and social institutions; which, however, we think, will of themselves suffice to account for her chivalrous bearing, her pure morality, her religious faith, her conservative spirit, and her intellectual superiority.

The Virginia Company, that undertook and carried out the first successful settlement of the colony, was composed, in great measure, of the highest nobility of England—of cavaliers, Church of England men, of men intensely conservative, and bigottedly opposed to all change and innovation. The company consisted of more than six hundred members, whose object was neither political nor religious liberty, but to found a transatlantic empire, the counterpart of England, such as they thought England should be, that is, England divested of Dissenters, Catholics, Liberals, Radicals and Rationalists. They were careful to send to the colony none whose political or religious opinions might disturb its harmony,—none but loyalists and orthodox Episcopalians.

Severe laws were enacted to punish dissenters, but as no dissenters came, they finding "ample room and verge enough" in the more northern colonies, these laws, for the most part, slept upon the statute book.

Up to, and for many years after the Protectorate, Virginia remained loyal in politics and orthodox in religious faith. England was, in the meantime, divided between Dissenters and Church of England men, Radicals and Conservatives, Roundheads and Cavaliers, who were most zealously and eagerly blowing out each others brains, independent of God and liberty.

Virginia presented a moral spectacle never before witnessed by

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mankind; for a nation of Conservatives is as unnatural, and for any length of time, quite as impossible as a nation of women. In all societies in a natural and normal state, men are born in about equal numbers, as Radicals and Conservatives, just as males and females are born in equal numbers. Without Radicals, or, to speak more accurately, without Rationalists, society would stagnate and fall back. Without conservatives, society would be in a state of continual revolution. Laws, customs, political and religious institutions, (for want of stability,) would afford no security to life, liberty, or property, and anarchy would soon wind up the drama, unless the friendly sword of despotism intervened to quiet discord and educe order out of chaos. Faith and reason are equally necessary guides and forces in the conduct of life, individual, social and political. They are the anti-nomes, the opposing, yet concurrent forces, that sustain and keep in action the moral world. There never was a sane man, or community, or nation, that was not more or less influenced and directed in their conduct as well by faith as by reason. The war between faith and reason did not begin with Luther, and the reformation. It is a war as old as mankind, and one essential to the preservation of mankind.

For centuries anterior to the reformation, men reasoned too little, and believed too much. Hence society stagnated, or progressed too slowly, and despotism, religious and political, prevailed. Scarcely, however, had Luther and Calvin upraised the banner of reason, ere men began to reason for themselves, too much, and to believe too little. Hence Luther found it necessary to anathematize and excommunicate more freely and more boldly than the Pope himself, and Calvin burnt Servitus and several others,—whilst Henry the Eighth, the most beloved of England's Kings, with singular impartiality, sent to the stake of martyrdom, on the same hurdle, Catholics and Protestants. Men soon found that Pope Luther, or Pope Calvin, or Pope Harry, were better than no pope at all. Now every Christian church has a system of faith prescribed by its superior authorities, which its members must believe, or suffer excommunication. Yet reason is everywhere indulged in bolder speculations than it was by the early cavaliers of Virginia, or the puritan fathers of New England.

In New England, however, the settlers having a bran new religion, the Congregational, just formed, or at least essentially modified, by the reasoning of their church authorities; men soon began to break loose from the authority of a parvenue church, to indulge the right of private judgment, and to reason, far too freely, on all subjects, for themselves. We have not time to pursue this subject, but think that, generally, reason so far predominates, at the North, over faith, usage, custom, habit, prescription and authority, that we do no injustice in styling the people of the North "Rationalists"—rationalists in religion, in politics, in agriculture, in law, in medicine; in fine, rationalists in all the pursuits and conduct of life. And as old party issues are dead, and can never be revived, we suggest that the

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new parties about to be formed, (for they will grow up necessarily from the character and circumstances of the times), be called Rationalists and Conservatives.

The men who proposed to settle Virginia were eminently loyal, aristocratic and conservative. The men who did settle it were men of like character. The first ship brought over about a hundred colonists, fifty-five of whom were, *gentlemen:* for "it is so nominated in the bond." Afterwards, from time to time, the sons and kinsmen of the nobility, and thousands of other gentlemen, continued to settle in the colony. After the beheading of Charles I., (a deed that was universally condemned and execrated in Virginia, and admired and approved in New England), a perfect avalanche of Episcopalians, Conservatives and Loyalists, precipitated itself into the colony, whilst, shortly, thereafter, a part of the regicides and their friends escaped into New England.

Meantime, the traffic in human flesh, white flesh, was most busily and profitably carried on. Ship loads of apprentices were daily sent over to Virginia, consigned to agents or commission merchants, who disposed of them just as of any other merchandize. If a negro owner be an aristocrat, how much more of an aristocrat must have been the owner of white men. These apprentices served from four to six years, and when their terms of service expired, soon made enough money to buy apprentices themselves, for the market was overstocked with them, and they sold dirt cheap.

After awhile negro slaves were imported, and this gave a new stimulant to the already aristocratic, loyal and conservative tone of Virginia society. Farms became little kingdoms of the most despotic character, and in vain did the House of Burgesses lay out towns on paper, and urge men, by frequent statutes, to "cohabitation"—that is, the living together in towns. Farm life partook too much of the semblance, if not the reality of royalty, to be exchanged for the vulgar marts of trade, in sickly, half-alive villages. Hence there were no towns in Virginia up to the time of the Revolution of '76, and few men occupied in other pursuits than farming. 'Tis true, that all along the Potomac, the James, and the Rappahannock, each riparian planter had a store, for the convenience of himself and his forest neighbors. These stores were supplied, spring and fall, by ships from England, with every variety of merchandise. Then our tide-water rivers resembled the streets of Venice, and these stores along their banks constituted our towns, if any we had.

The apprentices furnished good cooks, gardeners, house-servants, mechanics of all kinds, schoolmasters, agents and attorney's clerks, etc., etc., and the negroes the best field hands in the world, for they were satisfied and contented, never having heard of abolition, liberty or equality.

We regret that historic truth compels us to acknowledge that the white apprentices were most cruelly treated. But even in this the colonists showed their eminent conservatism, their respect for precedent and authority Their laws for whipping and branding the

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apprentices are almost literal copies of the early English poor laws, inclining, however, to the side of mercy; for whilst the English laborer was whipped for the first offence of quitting his parish, branded for the second, and hung for the third, the extremest punishment for the Virginia apprentice, for the grave offence of running away from his master was branding with the letter "R," which one would have supposed stood for "Runaway," did not the statutes declare it meant "Rogue." Thorough conservatives as we are, we do not thoroughly approve (probably because we do not thoroughly understand the necessities of the times) the Spanish "Auto-da-fe" and the Virginia branding of white runaways. Yet it is more than we can do to solve the moral problems of our own times, and we seldom undertake to censure the legislation of past times, believing that each age and each people understands its own affairs, and always legislates more wisely for the necessities of the occasion than we or any other outsider could possibly do.

In Colonial times, the Governor and Council of Virginia were appointed by the King. The persons selected were always wealthy, well-bred, well-educated and intelligent. They kept up much of the ceremonial, and something of the display of royalty, first at Jamestown and afterwards at Williamsburg. From these social centres all society received its form and purpose, became courtly, dignified and reserved, and has to this day sustained somewhat of that character. Washington and the Lee's were brought up in this social school. Washington, General Robert E. Lee, and the late Bishop Meade, we should select as the best exponents and highest types of Virginian character. Will that character be changed and suffer from the industrial revolution to which we have been subjected? We think not. Our reasons we reserve for another part of this essay.

The vestry of each parish church was a conservative institution. Looking into the records of the old Colonial churches, we find that the vestrymen were men of influence, note and substance, selected and appointed, not because of their piety, but because they deemed the church a most useful institution in restraining crime and preserving order. The Church in America, like the Mother Church in England, was then quite as much of a political as religious institution, Looking to it chiefly as a police or political institution, the vestry cared very little as to the purity or even morality of the Church incumbents. Like Thompson's doctor "of tremendous paunch," the parsons drank harder than their parishioners, and were, besides, profane sorcerers, gamblers, and horse-racers. This state of things, arising from excess of conservatism, gradually brought about a general demoralization of society. From about the revolution of 1776 until about 1820, Virginia gentlemen were much given to dissipation of all kinds, neglected their farms, became involved in debt, and many were avowed infidels. This state of things has been gradually and entirely corrected by the efforts of the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches, aided most efficiently of late years by the Episco-

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pal Church, which has become quite as pure in its morality, and, we have no doubt, as devout in its faith as either of those churches.

We know not an avowed infidel in the State of Virginia, and the morals of our people, rich and poor, will bear favorable comparison with those of any other people whatever. We are eminently a religious people, full of faith, and regardless of theological speculations. Hence, no new churches arise amongst us, and hence, also, the admirable harmony and good feeling between our different churches. The most singular phenomenon, however, which our society presents, is the total absence of socialism, communism, and the thousand other isms that divide and distract Christendom every where without our Southern States, and which shows conclusively that conservatism is universal with us, whilst rationalism is busy everywhere else in undermining all the old and venerable institutions of society, upsetting all old faiths and opinions, banishing all old habits, usages, and customs, and with "assiduous wedges," endeavoring to rive, sheer asunder all the ties that have heretofore bound man to man.

We admit there is excess of conservatism in Virginia, whilst we fearlessly assert that there is excess of rationalism at the North. We may learn from each other many useful lessons. The stand-still conservatism of the one section, and the rash, heedless progressive rationalism of the other, are antinomes, which in the hands of skilful and prudent rulers may be employed as concurrent forces, and beget a healthy equipoise.

Our dislike to all change or innovation, our respect for old institutions, habits, and customs, has certainly retarded material progress and physical improvements in Virginia; but only retarded them. When the late war broke out, there was not a more moral, intellectual, prosperous and contented people in the world than we. Our population was increasing in a slower ratio than our wealth, yet fast enough to ensure us almost a plethora of inhabitants in little more than a century. It was matter of self-congratulation that we were not doubling our population once in twenty years and were not threatened with that most direful of evils—excess of population. Our colleges and academies had more native students than those of any other State; and the social standing of our citizens, when they visited other States, as well as their insight and influence in our national councils, showed that no students profited more by the education bestowed on them than did ours. We had few millionaires, fewer speculators, but little of trade and its tricks, scarcely any paupers, and a very large class possessed of easy and independent means: not so easy and independent, however, as not to require industrious attention and supervision by their owners.

We had constructed a great many railroads, and other internal improvements, and, by our delay in erecting them, profited as well by the mistakes and errors of those who preceded us, as by their useful discoveries and inventions. In all new schemes and experiments it is always wisest and most prudent to let others lead

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the way. We ought to have a canal and a railroad to the Ohio, but we must not be in a hurry about it. We have more good land than our people can cultivate, and should not starve, or be the less comfortable, if there were not a railroad in the world. The Ohio connection is the only thing we fear in the future; the only thing which we think can materially change or modify Virginia character. We are now, and ever have been, a nation of gentlemen farmers. That connection may build up a New York at Richmond, and make us a nation of shop-keepers, traders and speculators—give us *parvenue* millionaires in our towns, and an ignorant peasantry in the country. If such are to be the consequences, all true Virginians will rue the day when those improvements are completed.

We have yet other things in the texture of Virginia society to notice, and from which to account for the eminently aristocratic and conservative character of her people. Until recently her Governor was elected by the Legislature, and the Legislature itself by free hold suffrage. Her magistracy, who, besides being conservators of the peace, were justices of the county courts, and whose jurisdiction was almost without limit, were self-nominated and created, the commissioning them by the Governor being found, in practice, a mere matter of form. These justices constituted a sort of hereditary aristocracy, and never lived there a purer or more intelligent set of men. They worked without fee or reward, except the distant expectancy of the sheriffalty, which fell to them by turns. Their decisions were far less frequently reversed than those of the Superior Court, by our Court of Appeals, or Supreme Court. The judges of the Superior Court and of the Court of Appeals, as well as many other officers, were also elected by the Legislature. Comparatively recent conventions have changed these things, and made most officers of government elected by the people. Yet we are sure the people are sick and tired of these changes, and innovations, and will, ere long, by convention, reëstablish the old order of things, except that of freehold suffrage. It would never do, in a society where there is a numerous inferior race, seemingly even, to degrade white citizens to a level with that race. This would be to invite amalgamation. No! Let the whites of Virginia ever remain, like Roman citizens, a privileged class, with an inferior, unprivileged race below them. This of itself, will go far to preserve the conservative and aristocratic caste of Virginia character. We do not think that the tone of our society will be lowered, but rather exalted, by emancipation. The negroes will be employed to labor for rich and poor, and the substratum of an inferior race will be generally diffused, not confined to a comparatively few large slave-holders. Thus all white men will equally partake of that elevated spirit and bearing that belongs to a privileged class.

As to the actual emancipation of negroes, living in the midst of white society, none but fools, or crazy fanatics, believe that possible. it would be as easy to blanch his skin and straighten his hair, as so to change his moral and intellectual nature as to elevate him to an

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equality with the whites. Since the world began men of inferior mental and moral qualifications have been virtually slaves, hewers of wood and drawers of water, for those of superior capacities. This is more especially the case, where an inferior race, without property and without skill or education, lives in the midst of a superior race; —for under such circumstances, should there be an occasional sporadic instance, of a clever, sensible individual in the ranks of the inferior race, antipathy of race would debar him from all chance of emerging from the low condition of his own caste, and elevating himself to an equality with the race or caste above him.

The question remains, "How can the freedmen be compelled to labor?" It is the first and most incumbent duty of all governments to compel all men to work, for governments are but mutual insurance societies that undertake to provide for all from the proceeds of the labor of all. White men are so provident for the future, that few of us know that we have vagrant laws, by virtue of which idle white men may be put to work in prisons, or sold into temporary slavery. It is mere waste of words to say to the negroes, "work or starve." The freedman's bureau is pledged to compel the freedmen to labor. It has ample power to attain this object. It now says, "You freedmen must hire yourselves out." The majority of them are about as well qualified to hire themselves out as Hottentots. The officers of the bureau must hire them out, and then compel them by force to serve out the time for which they are hired. They are, surely, no better than white sailors, or soldiers, or apprentices, who are compelled to serve by force, if needed. North and South are equally interested in this matter, and practical men from either section will see to it that the negro performs his appropriate roll in society.

ART. VII.—THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER AND THE OBSTRUCTIONS TO ITS COMMERCE.

For a number of years the great subject of deepening and improving the passes of the Mississippi, so as to render it available for the use of the largest ships, has been one of prominent interest to the entire West, as well as to the shipping interests of New England. The ablest papers have appeared, and several times Congress has taken action in the premises. Still the obstructions remain, as will be seen by the following letter to the "Lighthouse Board," from the venerable Jacob Barker, of New Orleans:

WASHINGTON, December 6, 1865.

Com. W. B. SHUBRICK, Chairman Lighthouse Board:

Respected Sir—I left New Orleans on the 19th ult., on the steamer Morning Star, for New York; she grounded on the evening of that day, when attempting to cross the bar at the Balize on a bank formed by the side of a Confederate ironclad gunboat sunk in the channel, designated only by a post of about eight inches, which it was impossible to discover at sufficient distance to avoid. I remained on board two days, and then transferred to a passing boat. I have been informed that the Morning Star remained on the bar a week longer, with a great number of passengers on board, and I have not yet heard of her getting off.

A United States vessel of war was greatly injured, a year or two since, by running against the said wreck, to repair which it is said to have cost $8,000 or $10,000. The pilot at the Balize informed me that a large can buoy should be placed over the wreck, and that as the channel, over the bar shifted every gale of wind, it should be buoyed with a dozen mushroon buoys; that if the United States would furnish them, with fastenings and sixty fathoms of ¾ chain, the pilots would place them every time the channel changed, without any charge for their services.

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The light of the Southwest Pass is very small and dim. The south light, fifteen miles distant, is very brilliant. It would be of great advantage to the commerce of New Orleans to have the dim light removed, replacing it by one similar to the south light.

Will you allow me to solicit your early attention to this subject, to the end that if my suggestions are approved, no delay may take place in having the needful done, in which the whole commercial interest of the nation is concerned.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JACOB BARKER.

Remarking upon this letter the New Orleans Prices Current says: "It has been demonstrated beyond a doubt by the performances of the dredge boats formerly used, that by the use of boats and machinery rightly constructed, a depth of some twenty feet of water, or more, could at all times be had on the Bar at the South West Pass, and this too, at an expense so small when viewed in connexion with the results obtained, as to make it a matter of not much concern. There are no less than seventeen States directly interested in keeping the Passes open for foreign and coastwise commerce and these States are not surpassed in productiveness by any equal number in the whole United States."

At the request of the editor of the Review, Albert Stein, Esq., a distinguished engineer and venerable citizen of Mobile, has prepared the following article in which the whole subject is discussed with great ability:

THE SOUTHWEST PASS OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

The Board of the United States Engineers, in their report on the improvement of the passes of the Mississippi River, dated New Orleans October 28th, 1852, stated that: "They find in the various and conflicting theories and projects brought forward by eminent engineers, &c. * * * * * great cause to distrust any opinion they may form themselves, and equal cause to distrust the projects of theorists, who have made all their observations and facts subservient to a preconceived opinion. * * * * They have, themselves, adopted no theory as to the formation of these bars, or as a basis of projects for their removal, for they believe the subject too difficult, and the facts collected too few, to justify any theory; nor have they attempted to confute the projects and theories of others."

Mr. Herbert, the State Engineer of Louisiana, says: "Let us submit ourselves not to struggle with the Mississippi. We have no hold over it—our presumptuous efforts can only result in bringing the punishment over our own heads."

R. Montaign, civil engineer, in a pamphlet; "Project of a ship canal between the Mississippi River and the Gulf of Mexico," written and published by him, New Orleans, 1861, says: "All the investigations hitherto made convince us that we are powerless to improve the outlets of the river, either by acting directly on the passes, or by modifying the general course of action of the river itself; and we are again and again compelled to admit, that the Mississippi has not, and cannot have, a reliable and adequate outlet at the extremity of its course."

The following remarks, in relation to the improvement of the navigation of the Southwest Pass, will show how far the opinions above quoted are borne out by the correct principles of river improvement.

The Southwest Pass projects far into the Gulf of Mexico, and is much exposed to the action of the marine current, which sets from the coast of Mexico along the northern borders of the Gulf, and re-

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tards the formation of new land in the line of its direct route. This is evident from the fact, that the gain in the formation of new land here in the last century has been very slow, and that the Pass has a very steep instead of a gradually shelving frontage.

The gain of new land at the Pass à L'Outre, and the Northeast Pass is much more rapid, because they do not project so far into the Gulf, and are therefore less exposed to the action of the marine current which passes near the embankment of the Southwest Pass on its way to the Tortugas. At the mouth of the Rhine there was, evidently, a period when the river had the ascendancy, but at present it is in favor of the ocean. The advance of the delta of the Nile is also arrested by the marine current which sets along the southern coast of the Mediterranean Sea.

The Southwest Pass of the Mississippi River has a length of about sixteen miles, from the head of the Pass to the deep water, in the Gulf of Mexico. For the first ten miles it has an average width of sixteen hundred feet, and a depth of sixty feet in the line of current. For the other six miles, which constitute the estuary of the Pass, the low banks recede from a breadth of two thousand to eight thousand feet at the Gulf. The depth of water in the line of current at the head of the estuary is sixty feet, and on the bar, about one and a half miles distant from the deep water in the Gulf, it is fourteen at common high tide. This enigma, in the decrease of depth, may, in some degree, be solved by the following example: "If a volume of water of 96,000 cubic feet require a mean depth of 60 feet to flow with a velocity of one foot per second through a channel of 1,600 feet in breadth, it will require for a breadth of 8,000 feet, in the same condition, a mean depth of only 14 feet. The average rise and fall of the tide at the mouth of the Passes is twelve inches in twenty-four hours. The high water level in the lower portion of the estuary may be considered a fixed point, which cannot be materially influenced by the stage of the water in the Mississippi River. The Pass is in a state of nature, and the current is in equilibrium with the stability of the channel, yet being composed of very fine sand and mud, and the stream being easily turned aside by the slightest obstruction, there is, therefore, no security for the current's continuing to maintain the same track.

On both sides of the Pass there are several lateral outlets, through which a portion of the water of the main channel is discharged into the Gulf, and thus a part of the natural power of the current of the Pass is wasted. The principal obstruction in the estuary of the Pass is a bar, stretching across the channel, just at the upper end of the middle ground or delta. This delta divides the water into two branches, known as the East and West Passes or channels, which are formed by the young flood's being opposed in its passage up by the force of the river current coming down. This current being strongest in the centre, the young flood makes its way along the banks where it meets with less resistance, and thus produces the lateral channels. To the centre between these channels an eddy is created by the op-

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position of the ascending and descending currents, which causes the formation of the shoal delta, termed "the middle ground." The delta being thus in the centre, and shelving or sloping off on either side, tends still more to force the currents towards the banks, which, from the character of the material of which they are composed, become readily subject to abrasion. Hence the gradual expansion of the surface of the Pass at the mouth, which is still further increased by the scour or wash of the waves during the storms incidental to that coast.

The first advance of the flood tide is somewhat like the operation of a wedge. It creeps up under the descending waters of the river, elevating them, until, aided by the momentum from behind, it opposes greater resistance, dams them up, and then reverses them, making high water in the upper course of the river by the reverse action of the land water. The ebb tide being composed of the salt water that comes up on the flood plus the river water ponded back, and that which continues to flow down during the ebb, it, consequently, follows that the mechanical effect produced on the bottom of the channel by the ebb-tide must be much greater than any that can be occasioned by the flood. If the tidal waters which enter the Pass were to advance up a gradually narrowing channel of proper breadth, they would preserve their momentum in a great degree by the sustained pressure of the larger body of water behind, while the gradually shelving sides of the channel would impel the waters towards the line of current, or mid-channel, which result in the improved channel during the flood, would be followed by a similar effect on the current during the ebb, thus operating in a direction favorable to the ingress and egress of vessels. Although the depth of the sailing channel and its maintenance are mainly owing to the superior quantity and energy of the back water, or to the preponderating strength of the waters on the ebb, yet it has been proposed to substitute for the Pass a ship canal from near Fort Jackson to the Gulf, in order to dispense with the improvement of the momentum and scouring power of the Pass on the ebb, thus retaining for the canal only the outer disturbing causes, so as to give them uncontrolled sway to fill or back them up. Such a measure would be the more to be regretted, as the South West Pass is remarkably susceptible of improvement at an inconsiderable outlay. It is only necessary to increase, by proper means, the inner power, so as to hold in check the outer disturbing causes.

That the supply of the matter that causes the obstruction or bars in the channel is from the interior, and that the power of the ebb to discharge it into the Gulf, is far greater than that of the flood to return it, are evident, from the very fact, that the back water maintains a depth of fourteen feet on the bar at common high tide. The theory, therefore, which assures that the deposits in the estuary of the Pass are from the Gulf, and not from the interior *cannot be correct*, unless it be assured and proved that nature reverses her laws of relative power and makes *the weaker agent, in effect, the stronger*. The

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depth of the navigable channel is entirely and exclusively dependent upon the preponderating effect derived from the discharge of the back water. The system of improvement should, therefore, be such as would convert the back water, by artificial means, into *a regulated and energetic current, which would scour down the bottom of the improved channel.* The power of the stream to remove and carry along detritus is greater or less in proportion to the volume of water, the inclination of the surface, and the resisting power of the bed. The greater the scouring power, the easier and faster is the transportation of the detritus. The volume of water may be increased, and the retarding forces may be decreased, but the inclination of the surface, which depends upon the rise and fall of the tide, cannot be altered by works of improvement. The direction of the line of current should be laid out with the view of bringing the flood and ebb-tides into one and the same track, and in favour of an easy ingress and egress of vessels. The bed of the estuary being composed of detrital matters of the finest kind, the line of current may be easily turned by works of improvement.

The bar marks the balance of power between two forces: that of the Gulf, which heaps up material and closes the Pass, on the one hand, and that of the ebbing tide, in conjunction with the river water, which sweeps away the impediments and keeps open the channel, on the other. The changes to which the bar is liable result from the alternate preponderance of the one or the other of these powers. To this preponderance of one power must be attributed the fact that the water on the bar is deeper when the river is low and confined within its banks. To this condition of the river the mechanical effect of the ebb-tide on the bottom of the channel is greater than that of the river floods, which cause the waters to spread over the low banks of the Pass and thus dissipate their scouring power.

The greater the quantity of water that passes up the channel on the flood, the stronger will be the current on the ebb, and the less the quantity the weaker the current, and the less the scouring power also. A decrease of back water and scouring power must be followed, as a certain effect, by a decrease of depth.

At a low stage of the Mississippi when the momentum of the river is reduced, the propagation of the flood-tide extends farther up the channel than at a high stage when it meets a downward current of greater momentum. Therefore an increase in the momentum of the river current is always followed by a retardation of that propagation. The improvement of the estuary of the Pass would have the effect of increasing the velocity of the flood tide, and, consequently, the amount of back water; because the bar not only tends to pond back the fresh water, but also to a partial exclusion of the tide waters. If, therefore, the bar were removed, the flood tide would begin to flow earlier, and a much larger body of water would flow up the channel.

Dredging is not the proper means to be resorted to for removing the bar, and increasing the depth of the water. The excavation made

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by the dredge disturbs for a time the equilibrium between the current and the channel, but this is speedily restored by a fresh supply of material, filling up the vacant space and leaving the bar in the same condition as before. The propelling power of the surface wave being felt at a considerable depth, the lash or stroke of the wave, during high winds, sweeps the detridal matter along the bottom, retards or checks the velocity of the affluent water, and assists also the progress of silting up the pools or marshes made by the dredge.

After the Pass has been regulated by works of improvement with a view to bring the flood tide and the ebb tide into one and the same track, and to admit a greater cubical volume of tidal water into the Pass, it might, nevertheless, become useful or necessary to have recourse to dredging, in order to expedite the improvement, or to remove from the improved channel materials which resisted the increased scouring power The back-water is the most effective agent that can be employed for the augmentation of the depth of the channel, and this may be effected without offering any violent opposition to nature, but merely by regulating and assisting her operations. Every particle of water that comes down the pass is useful for purposes of scouring, and the injury done by any diminution of the power which scours the Pass is not simply in proportion to the quantity abstracted, but it is in a far greater proportion. The lateral outlets leading from the Pass diminish the quantity of water in the channel, and thus waste a portion of the natural power of the current. These outlets should be closed, and the channel reduced to a proper breadth and directions, which would afford the greatest amount of scouring power to any given volume and velocity.

Charles Ellet, Jr., Civil Engineer, states, in his report of 1851 on the improvement of the navigation across the bars at the mouth of the Mississippi river, that "there are many parts of the river where the speed of the current does not extend two and a-half miles, or even two miles per hour, in times of flood, and where it is, notwithstanding, more than 100 feet deep."

"I measured the velocity of the current on the bar of the Pass à L'Outre, and found it to vary at different times and places from three to three and a half feet per second."

"I measured it also repeatedly on the southwest bar, and found there three feet per second."

It is to be presumed that the writer of the above extracts was perfectly well aware that the scouring power of a river depends upon the depth and velocity together, therefore it is not at all strange nor remarkable, but rather perfectly consistent, and in accordance with the principles of Hydredgnomics, that the velocity of the water on the southwest Pass, where the depth is only 14 feet, should be greater than in a part of the river where it is more than 100 feet deep.

The only proper system for improving the navigation of the southwest Pass is *to make use of its own natural forces* in conformity with the fundamental laws of hydraulic motion.

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All the investigations hitherto made convince us that the improvement of the southwest Pass, or any other of the passes, is of easy and certain accomplishment by a steady adherence to correct principles. If we act in this matter fairly, judiciously and wisely, we do not fear that any measure will henceforth be adopted by the authorities in charge of the improvement injurious to the interests of the navigation of the Pass or Passes.

ALBERT STEIN.

MOBILE, *January 1st*, 1866.

ARTICLE VIII.—THE GROWTH OF NEW YORK.

IT would be difficult to find a subject presenting more forcibly the reality of American life, or a subject more comprehensive of the genius of American character, than the one to which we propose to devote this article. New-York is a cosmopolitan city, but it is no less eminently American—as America is representative of the world's civilization, the embodiment of its spirit, and the most complete type of its progress.

But a little more than two hundred and fifty years have elapsed since a small vessel of some eight tons burthen, manned by from sixteen to twenty men, brought the first white adventurers inside the beautiful harbor now known as New York Bay. Well might those on board the "Half Moon," as the little pioneer yacht slowly worked her way up to and past the island of Man-a-hatta, as the Delawares called it, have thought it "a very good land to fall in with, and a pleasant for to see." For considerations of which they never dreamed was the land a good one to fall in with, though there are, indeed, but few localities in a latitude so far north with so many natural attractions as here met the eyes and forced the commendations of the dull Hollanders. Had the "Mayflower," with her unbending Puritans found these shores, instead of the bleak and cheerless earth and sky which met them at Plymouth, possibly history would have been saved its saddest chapter in the record of republics, as a more bountiful nature might have softened those asperities of character, which, with others perhaps no less censurable, have had such unhappy influence in our national history. But it was the steady, tenacious, persevering and obtuse Knickerbockers and Van Twillers and Van Trompe, who were best fitted to form the groundwork on which might be engrafted the steady flow of incomers who were to form the present Empire City of the Western Hemisphere.

Through all changes in the history of New York this distinctive element of Teutonic origin, modified and improved by two centuries of ceaseless immigration, and by commercial contact with the people of every part of the world, has been prominent and controlling. From the time when the two Dutch burghers lost their tempers in a dispute as to whether "Ye towne" should have docks built into the river on the shores of the island, or whether there should be canals cut through the streets, as in old Amsterdam, until the present day this element has continually manifested itself in every stage of the city's progress, No thought of the city they were building ever entered the minds of these worthy citizens, as was so conspicuously the case with their neighbors of the city of Brotherly Love, who laid out their streets so regularly, and made such ample provision for architectural display. As one consequence of the peculiar notions of the original city fathers, Broad street, forming with Wall street the financial center of the continent, and on which the magnificent Stock Exchange has recently been erected, was planned of its present ample width originally to accommodate a *canal* which in early times ran through the center of the street; so also Pearl Street excites the curiosity of strangers from its semicircular course, while few know that it was started by the huts of traders built around the first fort on the island, and extended still farther in a

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circle to avoid a swamp on the ancient site of which is now located one of the wealthiest trade interests of the city. Thus, in every stage of the earlier years of the city's history, as is so often the case at present, temporary convenience and individual profit took the place of a broader spirit looking to a higher end. Thus has arisen the too true assertion that a true New-Yorker always measures a man by the weight of his pocket-book, or his credit at the bank, while principle and character are of decidedly secondary importance. Well was it for the city that Broadway—a street which has not its equal in the world—was necessarily built in a straight line, from the conformation of the land rather than the thoughtfulness of its original builders. Now it surpasses in wealth and magnificence the most famous thoroughfares of London and Paris, and each year adds to its splendor and attractiveness.

It was not, however, until the commercial interests of the city were freed from an enforced dependence upon England, by the Revolution, that the rapid advancement of New York, in wealth and importance, was such as to attract particular attention. Seventy years after the first discovery, in 1678, Governor Andros reported to the British Government, that "A merchant worthe £1,000 or £500 is accoumpted a good substantiall merchant, and a planter worthe halfe that in moveables is accoumpted rich; all estates may be valued at about £150,000; there may lately have traded to ye colony in a yeare from term to fifteen shipps or vessels of about togeather 100 tunns each, English, New England, and oure own built, of which five small ships and a ketch now belong to New York, four of them built there." Slow as this progress was, however, it is not an unfair illustration of the subsequent growth of the city until after the independence of the colonies, when commenced that marvelous advancement which has been no less the wonder of the world, than it is a proof of American energy and enterprise.

POPULATION OF NEW YORK, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.

Year.	Population.	Increase in stated periods.		Increase per annum.
1628....	.....270..	[14 Years from Landing.]	...———..	.....———
1648....	....1,000..	Increase in 20 years,	.....730..	36
1674....	....3,000..	" 26 "	....2,000..	77
1678....	....3,430..	" 4 "	.....430..	108
1703. ..	....4,436..	" 25 "	....1,000..	40
1712....	....5,840..	" 9 "	....1,400..	150
1723....	....7,243..	" 11 "	....1,400..	130
1731....	....8,622..	" 8 "	....1,400..	175
1737....	...10,664..	" 6 "	....2,000..	330
1746....	...11,717..	" 9 "	....1,000..	110
1756....	...13,040..	" 10 "	....1,300..	130
1771....	...21,863..	" 15 "	....8,800..	600
1786....	...23,614..	" 15 "	....2,000..	130
1790....	...33,131..	" 4 "	...10,000..	2,500
1800....	...60,489..	" 10 "	...27,000..	2,700
1810....	...95,519..	" 10 "	...35.000..	3,500
1820....	..123,706..	" 10 "	...28,000..	2,800
1830....	..203,007..	" 10 "	...80,000..	8,000
1840....	..312,710..	" 10 "	..109,000..	10,900
1850....	..515,394..	" 10 "	..214,000..	21,400
1855....	..629,810..	" 5 "	..114,000..	22,400
1860....	..805,658..	" 5 "	..176,000..	35,200

It would be impossible, within the limits of this article, to trace, in detail, the development of the various interests which have contributed to build up and sustain this great metropolis. To its natural commercial advantages—being only two hours distant from the Atlantic Ocean, in a geographical position central to the manufacturing, and a large part of the agricultural interests of the

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whole country, as they have hitherto been developed, have been added all the artificial advantages of railroad and canal which capital could supply, through which the granaries of the west and northwest have poured their treasures, and the products of the Middle States have largely found their markets. This has necessarily brought here, in return, the products of other countries, so that in very many articles the importations are made exclusively at New York, and the receipts for customs at this port alone have frequently amounted to seven-eighths of the receipts for the whole United States.

Probably the Erie Canal, opened in 1825, almost the first in that great system of internal improvements now so fully developed over the whole country, bringing New York in direct water communication with the great chain of northern lakes, and thence with the entire northwestern country, was one of the most important elements in the rapid growth of the city. Yet the Erie Canal has now become of secondary importance, so largely do the railway facilities of communication with every part of the West interfere with its traffic.

The figures on the preceding page, representing the increase in population, both by the year, and for stated periods, from the earliest times to the census of 1860, best illustrate the next active periods of the city's growth. We do not give the figures of the last State census, or 1865, but just taken, from its manifest incorrectness in every particular, and on account of the grave charges brought against the State Government of conniving at false returns for partisan ends, which stand as yet unrefuted. This is more particularly to be regretted from the additional interest which would attach to a true record of the city's growth, during a period of such excitement and such radical change in many of its leading interests in consequence of the War.

In 1847, the State appointed Commissioners of Emigration, who have furnished some interesting statistics relative to the arrivals at this port since that time. It is impossible to determine the population of these immigrants who have made their home in New York, and thus contributed to the growth of the City; but far the larger portion of them have gone west immediately on their arrival. We present the official return of arrivals up to and including those of 1864:

ALIEN EMIGRANTS ARRIVED AT NEW YORK, FROM MAY 5, 1847, TO DECEMBER 31, 1864.

Year.	Ireland.	Germany.	England.	Other Nationalities.	Total.
1847....	....52,946..	...53,180..	....8,864..	...15,072..	129,062
1848....	....91,061..	...51,973..	...23,062..	...16,080..	182,176
1849....	...112,591..	...55,705..	...28,321..	...23,986..	220,603
1850....	...117,038..	...45,535..	...28,163..	...22,060..	212,796
1851....	...163,306..	...69,919..	...28,553..	...26,823..	289,601
1852....	...118,131..	...118,611..	...31,551..	...32,696..	300,989
1853....	...113,164..	..119,644..	...27,126..	...25,011..	284,945
1854....	....82,302..	..176,986..	...30,578..	...29,357..	319,223
1855....	....43,043..	...52,892..	...22,938..	...17,360..	136,233
1856....	....44,276..	...56,113..	...23,787..	...18,139..	142,315
1857....	....57,119..	...80,974..	...28,622..	...17,027..	183,742
1858....	....25,075..	...31,874..	...12,324..	....9,310..	78,583
1859....	....32,652..	...28,270..	...10,375..	....7,969..	79,266
1860	....47,330..	...37,899..	...11,361..	....8,533..	105,123
1861....	....25,784..	...27,139..	....5,632..	....7,004..	65,539
1862....	....32,217..	...27.740..	....7,975..	....8,374..	76,306
1863....	....92,157..	...35,002..	...18,757..	...10,928..	156,844
1864:...	....89,399..	...57,446..	...23,710..	...11,741..	182,296

Already there are indications that a large part of this tide of foreign immigration, will, in the future, find their home in the broad and fertile fields of the

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South, where the obstacles to be overcome by the industrious settler are fewer, and the return more speedy and abundant. Whether this will materially lessen the arrivals at New York may well be doubted, as it will be a work of years for any southern city to overcome the great preëminence which New York has already attained.

The disastrous effect of the late war upon the shipping interests of New York, resulting in the transfer of a large part of the tunnage to the protection of neutral flags, renders any statistics, in regard to the present amount of tunnage, extremely unsatisfactory, and they would not fairly represent the prominence of that interest. We give a comparative statement of the tunnage of the City, State and United States, up to 1861.:

Year.	Tunnage. City built.	Tunnage owned in			
		City.	State.	All other States.	United States.
1815..	...11,754..	...278,869..	....287,428..	..1,080,700..	..1,368,128
1821..	....6,892..	...236,160..	....249,167..	..1,049,791..	..1,298,958
1831..	...15,738..	...286,439..	....300,840..	....967,006..	..1,267,846
1841..	...16,121..	...438,014..	....486,854..	..1,643,890..	..2,130,744
1851..	...71,214..	...931,194..	..1,041,016..	..2,731,424..	..3,772,440
1856..	...49,317..	.1,328,036..	..1,508,810..	..3,362,842..	..4,871,652
1861..	...33,122..	.1,539,355..	..1,740,943..	..3,798,870..	..5,539,813

It is as the money-centre of the country, however, that the importance of New York for the last few years has been most directly felt. The searching character of the Internal Revenue law has developed an aggregate amount of transactions in this department almost beyond all belief, and for the past three or four years they have been without a parallel in history. The sales of the brokers alone, for the fiscal year ending June 30, amounted to $5,989,625,593, or more than twice the amount of our National Debt, and yielding a revenue to the Government of three and a-half millions of dollars. The capital of the private bankers for the same period was set down at a fraction under seven millions; and, so great has been confidence throughout the country in New York bankers, that, with this capital, their deposits were but little short of two hundred millions.

In conclusion, we present a brief synopsis of the transactions of the Associated Banks, through the Clearing House, from October 11, 1853, to May 11, 1865.:

EXCHANGES.

October 11, 1853, to October 1,	1854...	$ 5,750,455,987	06
" "	1855...	5,362,912,098	38
" "	1856...	6,906,213,328	47
" "	1857...	8,333,226,718	06
" "	1858...	4,756,664,386	09
" "	1859...	6,448,005,956	01
" "	1860...	7,231,143,056	69
" "	1861...	5,915,742,758	05
" "	1862...	6,871,443,591	20
" "	1863...	14,867,597,848	60
" "	1864...	24,097,196,655	92
October 1, 1864, to May 1,	1865...	15,773,924,497	10
Total exchanges		$112,314,526,881	63
Total balances, same period.....		5,269,818,653	90
Total transactions		$117,584,3455,35	53

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ART. IX.—DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

THE fertility of the South, and the remarkable adaptability of its soil to a great variety of products, has, under the old system, been almost entirely lost sight of in the overshadowing importance of the great staples, which added so largely to the wealth of the country, by increasing the value of its exports. A new system now obtains, and a new status has been inaugurated under which the changes will be manifold. While we cannot doubt that cotton, tobacco, sugar and rice will continue the prominent objects of agricultural enterprise where the freedmen are employed, yet the tide of emigration, which will surely tend towards this promising field of industry, will introduce a new element, hitherto almost unknown, the farmer. For this class, there is great encouragement in the fact, which cannot be controverted, that there is no prominent crop of the North which, at the South, will not yield to equal labor, certainly as great if not more abundant returns, while this additional inducement is held out, that a few years of observation and experience will enable them to wrest from mother earth, in the snowy fleeces of the cotton field, an exchangeable product to which the great centres of trade are ever open. But, while our farmer is acquiring the knowledge which in due time will convert him into the planter, his "clearing" cannot remain idle, and it is the mission of scientific agriculture to investigate, to suggest, and to direct, so that capital and labor may be skillfully and profitably employed. We invite and solicit communications having for their object the development of new products, or the improvement of those well known; and we present in this number the first of a series of articles on the culture of the sugar-beet, and the manufacture of beet-sugar, to be followed by others, which will exhaust the subject.

In this connection we remark that the "Germania Beet Company" have established a sugar factory at Chatsworth, Ill., which seems a decided success. They are possessed of some half-dozen sections of land; two hotels and fifty houses for the accomodation of their hands are in process of erection; a coal shaft is being sunk; three hundred additional laborers and mechanics have been engaged in Germany, and the arrangements indicate the manufacture of beet-sugar on a scale of magnitude hitherto unknown on this side of the Atlantic. They expect to employ in the operations of next season no less than eighty teams of mules and f rty teams of oxen.

1.—SUGAR-BEET AND BEET-SUGAR.—No. 1.

BY JOHN RUHM, OF TENNESSEE.

The process by which sugar is extracted from the common beet (*beta vulgaris*) was discovered at a time which gave little hope for the improvement of that invention. It was during the reign of the "Great Frederick" that one of his subjects found in the beet plant (*mangold wurzel*), until then cultivated only as an esculent, excellent material for the manufacture of sugar; but the monarch, absorbed in the duties of the field and cabinet, in disciplining his people through his army, or in pursuits of literature and the fine-arts, found no time to encourage the invention. For fifty years the matter slumbered, but was finally revived in France by one Achard, and its manufacture persevered in, until, under successive improvements, it has now become *the* sugar in common use in all parts of France, Germany, Belgium and Switzerland. In these countries, beet-sugar is manufactured to such an extent, that millions of operatives are employed in the various processes, and the price has fallen so low, that the poorest man can freely use what, not more than twenty years ago, was considered a luxury within reach only of the wealthier classes of the population.

It was while the manufacture of beet-sugar was yet in its infancy, that the important discovery of discoloration with animal charcoal was first made known. This process enables the manufacturer to produce an article of great purity, which will compare favorably with the best specimens from the cane.

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Subsequent progress in chemical aids, and in the construction and adaptation of machinery, has brought the manufacture to its present completeness, which, it is thought, cannot be surpassed.

We cannot overrate the importance of this branch of industry, and of its beneficial influences on the laboring classes of society. The raw material is a product of the home soil, giving employment in its culture to a large number of laborers. The buildings and machinery required put in motion a multitude of various powers, and open a fruitful field to their activity. A large capital is employed in the general management, which directly and indirectly distributes itself first, and its gains afterwards, amongst mechanics and laborers of every description. Nor can it be overlooked that the business connected with the manufacture of beet-sugar creates "values" where none were *known* previously to exist. The manufactured article is not only a new value itself, but many of the requirements necessary for its production owe their origin as "values" entirely to the process through which the raw material passes in its manufacture. Instance: fossil fuel, animal coal, certain metals and chemicals, and many other novel wants incident to discoloration and refining. Then there are constantly recurring wants for wood, leather, linen, wool, paper, animal fats, &c.,&c. Indeed, it would be difficult to mention a single branch of industry not practically benefited by the operations of the smallest establishment for the manufacture of beet-sugar; and in these varied requirements, thousands of hands are usefully and profitably employed, that otherwise might find little or no occupation.

Nor is it the least important feature in this branch of industry to consider the inestimable benefits accruing to the soil from the proper cultivation of the sugar-beet. The raw material consumed in the manufacture of beet-sugar is a product of agriculture requiring particular care and attention, and will not yield as expected without a thoroughly cultivated and well-tilled soil. Those who do not think it necessary to bestow peculiar pains upon the raising of the plant will incur heavy disappointments in the returns; while those who bend their energies to the production, on scientific principles, giving to it that degree of labor, manuring and thorough handling, which will be shown to be absolutely requisite, will have their reward, not only in the yield of that crop to which it was given directly, but also in the abundance of succeeding fruits, which will yield more bountifully for it. Positive experience has established that large farms devoted for a few years to the raising of beets in a rational manner, have gained largely in productive capacity, and have gradually, but surely, become enriched to a surprising extent. The "acre" is the most thankful and surest debtor for the capital of intelligence; labor, time and money thoughtfully expended by the farmer in its development, is a sure investment; and we do not hesitate to assert that the "acre" will prove itself in the highest degree grateful to that farmer who exhausts his agricultural knowledge in the cultivation of the sugar-beet.

Extended observation at the South, embracing soil, climate and seasons, has convinced the writer that the introduction and encouragement of this new branch of agriculture and manufacture, would be lastingly beneficial to the Southern States. Keeping in view the amount of capital which will be necessarily involved, the manifold productions of home-soil required, and the number of hands provided with remunerative labor, the encouragement to emigration, and many other results, which will appear in future articles, we feel that we are doing a public service in directing attention to this matter, and have prepared a series of papers on the following subjects, viz., "Choice of Soil," "Culture of the Beet," "Anatomical Structure," "Substances," "Saccharimetry" (which is the knowledge of ascertaining the amount of sugar in the saccharine solution), "Sugar, its kinds, qualities, and the plants from which it is produced," "The Mechanical Parts of Sugar Manufacture," "The Chemical Parts of same," "Statistical Comparison," &c., which we have aimed to make both interesting and instructive.

We close this introductory article by remarking that the refuse of the

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sugar-beet will be found an invaluable material for fattening stock of all kinds, especially cattle, sheep and hogs.

2.—PRODUCTION OF INDIAN CORN IN THE PRINCIPAL CORN-GROWING STATES IN 1840, 1850, AND 1860.

States.	1840.	1850.	1860.
Illinois	22,634,211	57,646,984	115,174,777
Missouri	17,032,524	36,214,537	72,892,157
Ohio	33,668,144	59,078,695	73,543,190
Indiana	28,155,337	52,964,363	71,588,919
Kentucky	39,847,120	58,672,591	64,043,033
Tennessee	44,986,188	52,276,223	52,089,926
Iowa	1,406,241	8,656,799	42,410,686
Virginia	34,577,591	35,254,319	38,319,999
Alabama	20,947,004	28,754,048	33,226,282
Georgia	20,905,122	30,080,099	30,776,293
North Carolina	23,893,763	27,941,051	30,078,564
Mississippi	13,161,237	22,446,552	29,057,682
Pennsylvania	14,240,022	19,835,214	28,196,821
New York	10,972,256	17,858,400	20,061,049

3.—STATISTICS OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE.

Mr. Newton, the Commisioner, has reported to Congress some interesting facts in relation to our Agriculture. From these, it would seem that the average size of farms, in the United States in 1860, was 199 acres, or double the average size in Great Britain, notwithstanding the immense properties of her Nobles. The farms of Massachusetts average 94 acres; of New York, 106; of Ohio, 117. The results of some of the other States are as follows:

	Acres of improved lands.	Acres of unimproved lands.	No. of farms.	Average No. of acres in each farm.
Delaware	637,065	367,230	6,638	151
Maryland	2,002,267	1,833,304	24,494	190
Virginia	11,437,821	12,679,215	92,605	324
North Carolina	6,517,284	17,245,685	75,203	316
South Carolina	4,572,060	11,623,859	33,171	488
Georgia	8,162,758	18,587,732	62,003	430
Florida	634,213	2,266,015	6,568	444
Alabama	6,385,724	12,718,821	55,128	346
Mississippi	5,065,755	10,773,929	42,840	370
Louisiana	2,707,108	6,591,468	17,328	536
Texas	2,650,781	22,693,247	42,891	591
Arkansas	1,983,313	7,590,393	39,004	245
Tennessee	6,795,337	13,873,827	82,368	251
Kentucky	7,644,208	11,519,053	90,814	
Missouri	6,246,871	13,737,939	92,792	
Total	74,362,565	171,101,718	764,867	

The leading Grain Crops are given as follows:

Bushels.	1865.	1864.	1863.
Wheat	148,552,829	160,695,823	179,404,036
Rye	19,543,905	19,872,975	20,782,782
Barley	11,391,286	10,632,178	11,368,155
Oats	225,252,295	176,690,064	173,800,575
Corn	704,427,853	530,581,403	451,967,959
Buckwheat	18,331,019	18,700,540	15,806,455
Potatoes	101,032,095	96,267,888	100,158,670
Total	1,228,501,382	1,013,429,871	953,288,632

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Hay, tons.....	53,538,740.....	18,116,751.....	19,736,847
Tobacco, lbs.....	183,316,953.....	197,468,229.....	267,267,920

4.—PROFITS OF COTTON GROWING.

There are a number of Companies and Agencies established in the Northern cities, with the view of inducing Capital and Immigration to the prolific agricultural regions of the South. The purpose is a good one, and we look to these associations as important auxiliaries in reviving the drooping fortunes of our people, and would give them all the aid which is possible. We are of the opinion still that much may be effected by the State Legislatures, acting in conjunction, as explained in our letter to Governor Perry, of South Carolina, published in the January number of the REVIEW. So far as we can learn, the Legislature of Tennessee is the only one that has acted in the premises.

In the circular of the *American Land Company*, which is before us, an attempt is made to give in detail the expenses and probable profits of a plantation working one hundred hands, in ordinary years. Without criticizing the figures too severely, it may be admitted without hesitation, that upon the basis of past results, and with cotton at 30 cents per pound much more than the minimum and very likely the maximum profit, arrived at in the circular, may be certainly counted upon. We give the figures:

The following table shows the expenses incurred, and the profits received, in and from the cultivation of 1,250 acres of land—1,000 in Cotton, and 250 in Corn:

EXPENSES.

100 hands, at $10 per month.	$12,000	Overseer's Wages.....	2,000
100 barrels of Pork, at $40	4,000	Assistant Overseer's Wages..	800
40 barrels of Molasses, at $40	1,600	Medicines, Medical Attendance, &c.....	1,500
Clothing for 100 hands at $50	5,000		
50 first-class Mules, at $150..	7,500	Carpenter's Tools, Cooking Utensils, &c.....	1,000
Wagons and Farming Implements	3,500	Lumber.....	1,000
Oxen and Cows.....	1,500	Incidentals.....	1,500
5,000 bushels of Corn, at $1..	5,000	Fee Simple of Land, at $20 per acre.....	25,000
Hay and Fodder.....,	1,500		
			$74,400

PROFITS.

1,000 bales of Cotton—400 lbs. each—at 30 cents....	$120,000	Fee Simple of Land.....	25,000
7,500 bushels of Corn, at $1..	7,500		$159,000
50 Mules, at $100 each.....	5,000	Deduct Expenses.....	74,400
Oxen and Cows.....	1,000		
Carpenter's Tools, &c.....	500	Nett Profits.....	$84,600

Say but half of the above crop—200 pounds to the acre—is made, and the profits would still be $24,600, or almost the cost of the land, which, with the certain development of the South, must increase in value.

5.—WHAT THE COTTON INDUSTRY REQUIRES.

We find in the "New Orleans Prices Current" an excellent article pointing out very truthfully the only path which will lead to the restoration of the South, and with the reëstablishment of the National Commerce and Finances. The writer has evidently a profound knowledge of the subject upon which he writes and clearly perceives the exact state of the South. He says that "the cotton bearing lands have been enriched, instead of exhausted by the war, and are at least as fertile as they ever were; that although there has been a serious reduction in the supply of suitable labor, there is still sufficient left to raise a

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fair if not as ample a crop as before the war; that to effect this object two conditions are essential; viz, first, that the laborers be induced or compelled to work; second, that the planters be provided with sufficient cash capital to meet the requisitions of the plantation up to the time of reimbursement by sales of the crop.

"The first of these two essential conditions may be accomplished by the action of the Federal Government through instructions to the Freedmen's Bureau to insist upon plantation freedmen making annual contracts with planters, and to see that such contracts are rigorously enforced, either by the agents of the Bureau alone, or by them in conjunction with State officers, acting under State laws. By this means the laborers may be *compelled* to work. We have no faith whatever in their being *induced* to do so by any of the motives, which ordinarily govern white laborers.

"The second condition may be realised by the prompt action of Northern capitalists. The planter owns the land, the various plantation buildings required for the shelter of his family and laborers, and a limited stock of animals and agricultural implements. He also requires, in addition, more animals and an increased supply of agricultural implements. He also requires the means of furnishing food and clothing to the laborers, for the whole period intervening, before gathering his crop and sending it to market, as well as that portion of the laborer's wages which the contract may make payable in money, monthly.

"Without the assistance of the Federal Government, in the manner indicated, no crop of any *magnitude* can be expected. Without the additional capital needed, not even the required supply of labor will be sufficient. In this event "the North, the East and the West" will suffer far more than the South. We have repeatedly shown that, in the production of cotton, much more than a moiety of it--we suppose nearly three-fourths—enures to the benefit of others than the planter.

"If those who desire that the South shall raise a *large* cotton crop will establish cotton banks in the Southern cities to aid the planter—one in New Orleans, for example, with a cash capital of $20,000,000 to loan on cotton expectations, as our local banks did before the war, they will do more to ensure an ample cotton crop than by all the conventions they can assemble or resolutions they may pass."

6.—FREE LABOR IN TENNESSEE—COTTON.

We shall chronicle very faithfully the developments in Southern agriculture as they are reported by the public press. Though their reports are, for the most part, unfavorable, we are glad to find an occasional exception. "The Nashville Press and Times" furnishes one of these exceptions as the following extract will show:

"It may be a selfish suggestion, but the farmers of every portion of this State where cotton can be grown can make the disorder of their Southern neighbors their golden opportunity to produce a cotton crop of greater value than any four crops ever were to Tennessee before. The *experiment of free labor* (we beg pardon for the phrase,) has been crowned with perfect success throughout Tennessee wherever it has been applied to the production of cotton, as every cotton merchant will testify. In spite of a very dry season the yield has been very good, and the quality as good as was possible under disadvantageous circumstances. We do not think it probable that one-fourth of a cotton crop is likely from present appearances, to be raised in this country in 1866, and, this being the case, the price of this great staple must be highly remunerative. In 1861, when the tobacco farms of Virginia, Missouri and Maryland lay idle the farmers of Kentucky took advantage of the fact, and made that crop more profitable to them than it ever had been before, in spite of the embarrassments of war and the depredations of marauders. It arose from the single fact that Kentucky had almost a monopoly of the tobacco market, and could exact nearly her own price. The Tennessee cotton growers will enjoy a similar op-

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portunity next year, if they only have the foresight to see it, and the practical sagacity to avail themselves of it by gaining and keeping the confidence of the laborers, who will do their part just and faithfully as their employers, and are justly entitled to the prompt payment of fair wages. Here is the turning point of the whole matter."

7.—RICE PRODUCT OF THE WORLD.

When will the United States become again a great rice grower and exporter, and when will the rice lands of Georgia, North and South Carolina, more prolific than those of the Nile, contribute their vast results to swell the teeming wealth of the Nation? What these results were the previous issues of the REVIEW will show, and our "Industrial Resources," published in 1852, condensed all the material into some fifty or a hundred pages.

From a circular recently issued by a Bremen house we learn that to 30th September last. Asia contributed to Europe 156,287 tons against 323,692 the previous year. Of the Asiatic export for 1864–65, there were still afloat, on 1st November last 25,534, against 85,414 tons previous year. The Carolina crop was estimated at 7,000 casks, against 200,000 to 240,000 casks in former years. Of the new crop but little would find its way to New York, and none to Europe. Formerly the United States exported to Europe 40,000 to 50,000 tons of rice annually; now, Europe exports heavily to the United States. At latest advices, the Burmah and Arracan crop was in good order; from India the report was, to 30th October, that the Bengal crop had suffered heavy damage. Java is almost disappearing from the list of rice-producing countries; and China will again, this season, require a considerable portion of the rice crop of Burmah.

ART. X. — DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

1.—COMMERCE OF CHARLESTON, S. C.

The *Charleston Daily News*, one of the most enterprising of our Southern Exchanges, has published elaborate statistics of the commerce of Charleston for the quarter ending 31st December, 1865, which we would gladly give in full but for want of space. After speaking of the difficulty in compiling these tables, owing to defective methods of arrangement at the Custom House, the Editor adds:

By reference to the tables it will be seen that the value of foreign importations amount to $166,333.

The duties on these imports were	$ 83,543.95
Amount of dutiable goods warehoused	22,509.36
Amount of duties on goods withdrawn from warehouse	12,898.43
Value of exports to foreign countries	1,676,534.00
Value of exports to coastwise ports	3,529,785.00
Number of vessels engaged in foreign trade	35
Number of vessels engaged in coastwise trade	316

These figures indicate the revival of a commerce, which we confidently anticipate will increase and multiply until Charleston shall rank first among the cities of the South in the extent and value of her import and export trade.

Of the coastwise exports, which amounted to $3,529,785, $3,103,806 came to New York.

2.—COMMERCE OF MOBILE.

The Prices Current published at the office of the *Register and Advertiser*, Mobile, exhibits already the spirit and energy which characterized the work

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before the war, and the commerce of the city, where we are now on a visit, is active and thriving.

IMPORTS OF LEADING ARTICLES INTO THE PORT OF MOBILE TO DECEMBER 16, 1865.

Articles.		This week.	Previously.	Total.	Last Season
Bagging	pieces	37	2468	2505	
Rope	coils	374	7699	8073	
Bacon	hhds	32	2455	2487	
Butter	kegs	204	1842	2046	
Beef	bbls	10	1333	1343	
Bran	sacks	691	12179	12870	
Cotton	bales	10898	176607	187505	
Coffee	sacks	333	4753	5086	
Corn—Ala. & Miss	sacks	169	6786	6895	
" Western	sacks	1560	32673	34233	
Cheese	boxes	802	7701	8503	
Coal—Alabama	tons	2	2	4	
" Phil. & Eng	tons	75	3866	3941	
Candles	boxes	312	2868	3180	
Flour	bbls	2561	42559	45120	
Hay	bales	300	19955	20255	
Hides	bales	10	416	426	
Lard	kegs	187	3220	3357	
Lime—Alabama	bbls		450	450	
" Philadelphia	hhds		3654	3654	
Molasses	bbls	95	1582	1677	
Oats	sacks	1511	40517	42028	
Pork	bbls	160	4728	4888	
Potatoes	bbls	948	15408	16356	
Rice	tierces	18	736	749	
Soap	boxes	401	3640	4042	
Sugar	hhds	150	1536	1686	
Salt	sacks	9920	90137	100057	
Tobacco	boxes	446	1763	2209	
Whisky	bbls	222	4890	5112	

MOBILE—Exports of cotton from this Port from the first of September in the following years:

	Great Britain.	France.	Other Foreign Ports.	United States Ports.
1865	57970	3165	20	76393
1864				1
1863				
1862				
1861				
1860	81943	28739	3128	46252
1859	99009	42948	6251	40912
1858	61487	49564	9274	27021
1857	22975	21013	2595	9152
1856	15656	15173	1470	43850
1855	39937	31269	5516	30435
1854	30998	16143	932	14103
1853	10776	5056	2871	27771
1852	55037	4563	2385	34995
1851	27925	8390	3444	20317
1850	27778	12448	9087	11962
1849	26897	12413	3185	15336

3.—COMMERCE OF NEW ORLEANS.

We are indebted for the following statistics to that venerable journal the *New Orleans Price Current*, which still continues to exhibit the energy and vigor of youth, and is one of the ablest publications of the kind in the world.

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RECEIPTS FROM THE INTERIOR IN THE YEAR ENDING ON THE 31ST AUGUST.

Articles.	1864-65	1863-64	1859-60	Articles.	1864-65	1863-64	1859-60
Apples..... bbls.	35902	39693	67416	Lard..tcs and bbls.	2981	18027	65784
Bacon, asst, csks &c.	13582	14930	45015	Lard.....kegs.	7803	9655	90699
Bacon.....bbls & bxs'	4942	4489	5967	Lime, western, bbls.	14029	14641	38143
Bacon Hams...hhds.	1609	14059	37814	Lead..... pigs.	5	80	80964
Bacon in bulk..lbs.	.....	18361	39000	Lead, bar.... kegs.	.....	.....	1658
Bagging.... pieces.	6871	2208	21427	Molasses.....bbls.	18725	143460	313840
Bale Rope....coils.	17876	14495	125429	Oats....bbls & sks.	278383	735562	659550
Beans..... bbls.	12881	11555	8389	Onions.....bbls.	17552	13822	26401
Butter..... kegs.	21880	30988	38845	Oil, lard..... bbls.	2507	1162	9383
Butter.....bbls.	179	62	1506	Potatoes.....bbls.	31533	150615	207698
Bran..... sacks.	113314	44098	274277	Pork....tcs & bbls.	41795	67029	216528
Beef...bbls and t'cs.	26541	58062	44934	Pork..... hhds.	.....	580	1874
Beef, dried.....lbs.	6900	8500	98726	Pork in bulk...lbs.	280500	.....	3808500
Cotton.....bales.	271015	131044	2255448	Porter and Ale, bls.	11604	8405	20940
Corn in ears...bbls.	4170	40666	36092	Packing Yarn reels.	789	88	3748
Corn, shelled....s'ks.	558278	410188	1729089	Skins, Deer, packs.	117	69	1542
Cotton Seed..sacks.	18199	8729	.....	Shot..... kegs.	17	225	4001
Cheese..... bxs.	26781	35744	95805	Sugar.....hhds.	9845	75158	195185
Candles..... bxs.	31717	42263	110405	Sugar.....bbls.	2045	8288	4803
Coal, western..bbls.	994770	265293	2900000	Soap..... boxs.	36237	18846	12202
Dr'd Apples &c, "	1214	2025	70	Shingles.....M.	1064	58	7000
Flaxseed... tierces.	425	55	1121	Staves.... .....M.	1907	846	10178
Flour.....bbls.	790824	399897	974840	Tallow.....bbls.	882	57	1025
Feathers.....bags.	5	.....	986	Tobacco, leaf, hhds.	2410	1268	80955
Glassware...boxes.	2851	612	66879	Tobacco, chew. bxs.	13939	14184	14544
Hemp.....bales	2559	308	4883	Tobacco.....bales.	79	96	274
Hides	9951	22256	163548	Twine. ...bundles.	2151	1899	8508
Hay.....bales.	226764	160956	152659	Whisky.....bbls.	21233	16615	185042
Iron, Pig.....tons.	.....	60	643	Wheat..bbls & sks.	2024	529	18116
Leather... bundles.	3575	3358	6115				

4.—SUGAR CROP OF LOUISIANA.

Parishes	1864-65 Number of plantations.	1864-65 Crop Hhds.	1861-62 Number of plantations.	1861-62 Crop Hhds.
Orleans	1.	26.	5.	1790
St. Bernard	7.	361.	19.	6640
Plaquemine	29.	2301.	42.	22433
Terrebonne	21.	426.	88.	28839
Assumption	31.	963.	154.	37766
Lafourche	7.	118.	76.	29781
St. Charles	5.	73.	34.	19191
St. John the Baptist	4.	43.	64.	18843
St. James	13.	267.	88.	34224
Ascension	19.	1285.	58.	30722
Iberville	23.	429.	121.	41921
Jefferson	8.	303.	25.	11086
St. Mary	2.	61.	168.	48779
Point Coupee	1.	4.	59.	22565
West Baton Rouge	3.	35.	54.	24697
East Baton Rouge	1.	60.	39.	10949
16 Parishes	175	6755.	1090.	389547

No returns were received from the following 8 parishes, but for reference we give their product for 1861-2.

Rapides	..	....	35.	19537
Avoyelles	..	....	19.	6121
W. Feliciana	..	....	13.	5712
E. Feliciana	..	....	4.	716
St. Martin	..	....	77.	16088
Vermillion	..	....	8.	907
Lafayette	..	....	6.	1348
St. Landry	..	....	39.	7902
	..	....	201.	58411

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5—IMPORTS INTO NEW ORLEANS, FROM THE INTERIOR, FOR 10 YEARS

FROM THE 1ST SEPTEMBER TO THE 31ST AUGUST, IN EACH YEAR.

ARTICLES.	1864–65	1863–64	1862–63	1861–62	1860–61	1859–60	1858–59	1857–58	1856–57	1855–56
Alcohol..... bbls.	956	1780	172	807	3193	....	....	....	....	....
Apples.....bbls.	85902	39693	30081	24127	74276	67416	43820	76952	36612	62459
Bacon,asst. casks &c	13582	14080	12433	4073	38188	45015	35491	35507	39127	36454
Bacon..bbls & bxs.	4942	4432	1853	681	6344	5987	3815	2143	8855	2782
Bacon Hams.hhds.	1609	14059	12490	3420	25636	37814	37829	32451	32804	28751
Bacon in bulk...lbs.	....	13361	....	784399	....	39000	10000	343833	7660	178760
Bagging ....pieces	6371	2208	48	1223	8554	21427	34706	35691	32028	33905
Bale Rope....coils.	17876	14495	3159	2455	49083	125429	127321	133276	112346	101331
Beans.....bbls.	12381	11555	13454	2098	10127	8889	7771	7678	3139	6758
Butter.....kegs	21880	30958	26178	5046	22447	33345	25113	33733	32845	33119
Butter .....bbls.	179	62	86	322	354	1506	547	1227	1060	1825
Bran.....sacks.	118814	44093	33943	65746	230916	274277	....	....	....	....
Beef..bbls and tes.	26541	53082	41355	13622	23389	44934	54554	32672	30958	61059
Beef, dried.....lbs.	6300	8500	....	....	6000	98726	21700	30450	30880	19010
COTTON. La.&Mis. bales	241085	124182	18515	34594	1824849	1588947	1231942	1201789	1068885	1170693
Lake	4333	1001	1959	....	3511	3481	5072	6386	4137	4652
N. Ala.& Tenn	....	....	....	3585	249150	371658	317456	258692	277545	379434
Arkansas.....	229	....	....	701	168089	163339	104804	105342	80933	102154
Montgomery...	858	....	....	....	11551	28473	13540	....	18996	37081
Mobile.....	16776	647	606	....	48270	34179	59703	67451	41040	36542
Florida.....	630	....	8	....	18279	16335	6684	9160	4708	5186
Texas	7604	5214	690	....	30613	49036	35097	29596	17503	23601
Corn in ears..bbls.	4170	40666	19698	22216	122644	36092	5000	62405	14713	41924
Corn, shelled..scks.	553273	410138	165220	315652	3383011	1722089	759438	1289665	1437051	1990995
Cotton Seed..sacks.	18199	8729	510	258750	207555	....	....	....	....	....
Cheese.....bxs.	26781	35744	29286	3941	59429	95305	60383	44410	48979	42652
Candles... ..boxes	31717	43262	29940	5265	46165	110405	86434	72183	74891	82893
Coal, western..bbls	994770	265298	....	....	1628000	2900000	2145000	2501000	1770000	987000
Dr'd Apples &c bls	1214	2025	3420	1262	1692	70	51	35	255	286
Flaxseed.....bbls.	425	55	20	16	459	1121	468	3809	630	3046
Flour.....bbls.	790824	399897	264601	281645	1009201	974340	1084978	1538742	1290597	1120974
Feathers.....bags.	5	....	....	51	373	986	1378	886	828	778
Glassware...boxes.	2851	612	42	388	22148	68879	61029	20662	30859	30226
Hemp .....bales.	2559	303	10	....	1602	4883	11220	18787	18008	16818
Hides.....	9951	22256	16931	11865	93786	163568	109282	103174	165546	151481
Hay.....bales	226764	170956	87570	40578	152173	152659	107141	84287	59361	146737
Iron, Pig.....tons.	....	60	....	59	215	643	488	257	77	332
Leather..bundles	3575	3358	2456	10340	9768	6115	....	....	....	....
Lard....tcs & bbls.	2981	18027	9495	6069	39633	65784	78564	112970	103027	110713
Lard.....kegs.	7303	9655	12082	4290	61237	90699	63592	93240	93859	83790
Lime western.bbls	14029	14641	15540	27612	40272	33143	27182	13843	28309	16551
Lead.....pigs.	5	30	580	1967	25510	80964	75023	112147	18291	80624
Lead, bar....kegs.	....	....	25	36	1298	1658	410	1342	365	341
Molasses.....bbls.	18725	143460	202616	401404	313260	318840	358715	339343	84169	288811
Oats ..bbls & sks.	278988	735562	201919	45348	552788	639550	249736	568649	393171	587187
Onions .....bbls.	17592	13322	11622	2419	26857	26401	22196	12185	14670	14477
Oil, linseed...bbls.	135	90	195	5	399	1020	598	208	10	163
Oil, castor....bbls.	95	86	422	50	389	571	1218	1472	956	1520
Oil, lard .....bbls.	2507	1162	761	339	7772	9333	20377	12800	8074	10881
Pickles.kgs & bbls.	3468	2178	2714	121	151	332	26	162	113	197
Potatoes .....bbls.	13523	150615	157687	68269	257190	207668	123502	210481	74133	182556
Pork.... tcs .. bls.	41705	67022	50827	11452	213958	216523	266280	278480	243228	277841
Pork..... boxes.	...	....	200	51	....	71	175	200	10924	6723
Pork.....hhds.	....	589	7	370	1734	1874	2828	4330	2872	2893
Pork in bulk..lbs.	280800	....	....	610219	2612776	3803500	5960550	7357291	3417340	7480384
Porter and Ale..bls	11604	8405	2569	861	19515	20940	11466	6350	1785	1687
Packing Yarn reels	789	83	....	10	731	3748	1673	2061	1495	3314
Rice..... sacks.	13443	25816	21090	23476	4761	....	....	....	....	....
Rosin .....bbls.	1648	90	222	277	74558	....	....	....	....	....
Skins, Deer, packs	117	69	....	58	261	1542	2184	1712	794	406
Shot.....kegs.	17	225	....	4	2890	4001	2375	1871	2745	3398
Sp's Turpentine bls	147	19	25	2716	13425	....	....	....	....	....
Sugar.....hhds.	9345	75153	85531	225856	174637	195185	257225	202788	62463	155819
Sugar.....bbls.	2045	8238	8499	7907	5076	4808	5241	6020	3995	5026
Soap.....boxes	36287	18846	19664	8427	9201	12202	13984	9857	9588	10287
Shingles.....M.	1907	53	....	1475	8207	7000	6000	6100	6000	5000
Staves .....M.	1964	346	....	9	7635	10178	13706	11500	7000	46.7
Tallow.....bbls.	332	58	....	792	608	1025	855	905	965	1195
Tobacco, leaf. hhds.	2410	1363	155	1063	34892	80955	75925	87141	55067	56090
Tobacco, chew. bxs	13939	14184	4619	6366	8864	14544	9208	3006	8261	8599
Tobacco.....bales.	79	96	44	315	134	274	112	121	151	109
Twine....bundles.	2151	1899	1268	108	2572	3508	4283	4508	2982	8098
Wool.....bags.	573	220	5	3855	2171	....	....	....	....	....
Whiskey.....bbls.	21243	16615	747	1760	93852	185042	152915	125207	179164	148753
Wheat...bbls & sks.	2024	529	835	36411	71678	13116	29585	401275	775962	869524

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6.—COTTON STATISTICS, 1855–1865.

	Total Crop. *Bales.*	Rec. at New Orleans. *Bales.*	Average Price. *Cts. p. lb.*
1855–56	3,527,845	1,759,293	9
1856–57	2,939,519	1,513,247	12½
1857–58	3,113,962	1,678,616	11⅛
1858–59	3,851,481	1,774,298	11½
1859–60	4,675,770	2,255,448	10⅝
1860–61	3,700,000	1,849,312	11
1861–62		38,880	10
1862–63		22,078	55⅞
1863–64		131,044	85
1864–65		271,015	69½

Seasons.	Receipts at New Orleans.	Average Price per Bale.	Total Value.
1853–54	1,440,779	$38 00	$54,749,602
1854–55	1,284,768	40 00	51,390,720
1855–56	1,759,293	40 00	70,371,720
1856–57	1,513,247	57 00	86,255,079
1857–58	1,678,616	52 50	88,127,340
1858–59	1,774,298	53 00	92,037,794
1859–60	2,255,448	48 50	109,389,228
1860–61	1,849,312	50 00	92,465,600
1861–62	38,880	45 50	1,769,040
1862–63	22,078	231 32	15,107,082
1863–64	131,044	356 20	46,677,872
1864–65	271,015	270 54	13,326,398
Total of 12 years	16,289,873		$817,225,507

Date of Receipt of First Bale.	Receipts of New Crop to September 1st.		Total Receipts at New Orleans.	Total Crop.
1853	Aug. 9	74	1853–54	1,440,776	2,930,027
1854	July 25	1,391	1854–55	1,784,768	2,847,639
1855	July 26	23,283	1855–56	1,759,293	3,527,845
1856	July 15	1,166	1856–57	1,513,247	2,939,519
1857	Aug. 15	33	1857–58	1,678,616	3,113,962
1858	July 25	4,834	1858–59	1,774,298	3,851,431
1859	July 25	9,698	1859–60	2,255,448	4,675,770
1860	July 5	36,670	1860–61	1,849,312	3,699,926
1861	Aug. 11	61	1861–62	38,880	
1862			1862–63	22,078	
1863	Sept. 7		1863–64	131,044	
1864	Aug. 14	12	1864–65	271,015	
1865	Aug. 11	22			

7.—OUR COTTON SUPPLIES.

We have all along maintained, against every interested argument or statement, that the cotton at the South, available for export, would not equal 2,000,000 bales, including the crop of 1865; and, after having made an extended tour throughout the entire cotton district, we can safely say that the crop of 1866 will by no possibility exceed 1,000,000 bales, if it even reach that figure.

The weight of the bales which are now going forward average much less than those of previous years, in consequence of wastage and stealage, and it may be questioned if 2,000,000 bales exceed in weight 1,800,000 before the war.

Having published our own cotton estimate, we give that of an intelligent correspondent of the New York *Times*.

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THE COTTON QUESTION—THE STATEMENT OF MESSRS. NEILL BROS. & CO.

To the Editor of the New York Times,—In your paper of the 12th, reference is made to the cotton circular of Messrs. Neill Bros. & Co., and to their estimates of the total quantity of cotton to be delivered from the end of the rebellion until the crop of 1866 comes to market.

It must not be forgotten that Messrs. Neill Bros. & Co. are chiefly agents for English cotton buyers, and that England may be the purchaser of at least two-thirds of all the cotton now in this country. It will, therefore, be well to consider our position very carefully.

In their public circular of October 31, Messrs. Neill Bros. held out the expectation of 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 bales. They have now come down to 2,100,000 bales, which is 350,000 more than the estimate of the writer, based on a very careful investigation of the matter; but the case is strong enough on Messrs. Neill's final conclusion. We will, therefore, analyze it a little:

Messrs. Neill's estimate of old cotton on hand at end of rebellion and crop of 1865		2,100,000
Deduct the very small allowance made by them for damage		100,000
		2,000,000
Allow for Southern consumption for 18 months, from May 1st, 1865, to November 1, 1866, the actual amount consumed by the South in 12 months of 1860		150,000
		1,850,000
Actual consumption of the North, 6 months, from May 1, 1865, to November 1, 1865		260,000
		1,590,000
Allow for consumption at the North, from November 1, 1865, to November 1, 1866, three-fourths the capacity of the mills		600,000
		990,000
Actual export from May 1, 1865, to November 1, 1865	236,000	
Estimated export in November	100,000	336,000
		654,000

Thus it appears that unless we let too much cotton slip through our fingers under the present temporary pressure, caused by the urgent desire of the Southern owners to get their cotton out of the country before Christmas, when they fear trouble from the negroes, we shall have but 654,000 bales for all Europe for eleven months use, even if we clean out every bale; but, with the prospect of a very small crop in 1866, it is absurd to suppose that the commercial stock held by factors, merchants and speculators can run down to nothing, or to less than 100,000 bales, leaving 554,000 for export.

At the same time there is evidence that in consequence of the low prices prevailing last spring, the planting of cotton in India was curtailed at least 25 per cent.

Also the crop of Egypt, which is now being delivered, has fallen off about one-third. The last crop was 440,000 bales, of over 500 pounds each; this crop will not exceed 300,000 bales.

China and Japan have ceased to export cotton, but are importing cotton from India.

Cotton is our gold, and England should be made to pay its full gold value.

A high price for cotton gives the best security that can be given for peace and good order, with justice and good wages to the laborer in the Southern States.

E. A.

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8.—PORK PACKING IN THE WEST FOR FIFTEEN YEARS.

Believing that it will be interesting to the trade to know the number of hogs packed in the West, as reported by the *Price Current* the past fifteen years, we have examined our files, and made up the following figures from them. It is evident that the returns were not as full as they should have been for the first three years, but the idea was then a new one, and a good deal of trouble was experienced in obtaining them.

Year.	No. of Hogs.	Year.	No. of Hogs.
1849–50	1,652,220	1857–58	2,210,778
1850–51	1,332,867	1858–59	1,465,552
1851–52	1,182,846	1859–60	2,350,822
1852–53	2,201,110	1860–61	2,155,702
1853–54	2,534,770	1861–62	2,893,666
1854–55	2,124,404	1862–63	4,069,520
1855–56	2,489,502	1863–64	3,261,105
1856–57	2,818,468		

(*Cincinnati Price Current.*)

ART. XI.—DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

1.—RAILROADS OF TENNESSEE.

Having recently travelled through the State of Tennessee, we can speak advisedly of the rapid progress which is being made in re-opening and equipping her important railroad works. We had the pleasure of meeting Colonel Tait, President of the Memphis and Charleston Road, and was glad to learn from him that the losses of the road were much less than anticipated, and that in a short time it would be restored to the full vigor which characterized its operations before the war. Substantial bridges and work-shops are being constructed and locomotives and cars procured.

Having no recent reports of any of the Tennessee roads, we shall draw upon previous ones in order to show their great importance:

Comparative Statement of Receipts, Memphis and Charleston Railroad, for past three years:

Receipts.	1859.	1860.	1861.
From Passengers	$751,923.01	$975,259.33	$1,022,595.48
" Freight	509,991.66	582,553.26	729,875.93
" Mail	55,175.00	55,177.00	54,064.58
" Ex. and rents	13,722.73	22,089.08	34,576.61
Total	$1,330,812.40	$1,635,076.67	$1,841,112.60

MEMPHIS AND OHIO RAILROAD.—This road forms an important link in the chain of railroads connecting Louisville, Memphis and New Orleans, extending from Memphis to Paris, Tenn., a distance of 130 miles. The road was completed 57 miles to Brownsville, in 1855; to Humboldt, 82 miles, in April, 1859, and to Paris, the northern terminus, May 11, 1860. In consequence of the Clarksville road not having been completed, direct communication was not made with Louisville until April 15, 1861, on which day the first through train left Memphis, and arrived in Louisville in twenty hours. The time has since been reduced to eighteen hours, and on the completion of the Tennessee river bridge, we are assured it will be still further reduced. The distance from Memphis to Louisville is—Memphis and Ohio Road, 130 miles; Memphis, Clarksville and Louisville Road, 83 miles, and Louisville and Nashville Road, 167 miles—total, 380 miles. The short time that has elapsed since the opening of this route, and the partial prostration of trade in consequence of the war, precludes the formation of a correct estimate of the immense business that will be transacted

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by this road when peace shall again be restored. For the present we can only refer to the movements of freight over the road, as indicated by the statements elsewhere contained in this report. Each year's earnings of the road have evinced a decided increase over the preceding year. In 1860 the receipts exhibited an increase over 1859 of 67 per cent.; and in 1861 over 1860 of 20 per cent., of which $59,061 was from passengers, $29,831 from freights, and $2,691 from mails—total increase, $91,586. The total receipts of the past year embraced $362,595.33; operating expenses same time, $190,764.78; leaving as nett earnings, $171,840.55. The road, as we are informed, has cost about $3,300,000, including buildings and equipments. The financial condition of the road may be briefly stated: Tennessee bonds, maturing in 1895, '96, '97, '98, and '99, $1,493,000; Company 6 per cent. bonds, due in 1866, $97,000; Company income bonds, 10 per cent, due in 1870, $432,000—total funded debt, $2,022,000; floating debt, $278,000—total liabilities, $2,300,000. It will thus be seen that the cost of building and equipping the road exceeds the total liabilities of the Company by 1,000,000. Annexed we give a

Comparative Statement of Receipts, Memphis and Ohio Railroads, for past three years.

Receipts.	1859.	1860.	1861.
From Passengers.....	$71,574.55	$130,285.90	$189,347.55
" Freight.....	76,976.85	136,815.84	166,647.78
" Mail.....	1,273.40	3,908.58	6,600.00
" Express.....	160.40	.....	.....
Total.....	$149,985.30	$271,010.32	$362,595.33

Mississippi and Tennessee Railroad.—The completion of this important artery of commerce and travel opens up direct railroad communication with Granada, Canton, Jackson and New Orleans, and reduces the time between Memphis and the latter point to twenty-three hours. Twenty miles of the road on the southern end, from Oakland to Granada, was completed on the 3d of July, and the first through train left this city on the following day. The future prospects of the road are certainly of the most flattering character. Passing through one of the richest Cotton-growing regions of the South, and forming, as it does, an important part of the great Northern and Southern line of travel, its future operations can scarcely be otherwise than profitable to the public and remunerative to stockholders and others interested. The road is 99 miles in length, and is, for the most part, well built. There are thirteen "Howe Truss" bridges, and seven wrought iron, in spans of 25 and 30 feet, resting on solid and substantial approaches. The pressure of the times has prevented the erection of permanent depot buildings and machine shops at Memphis, which was wisely deferred until the track should be completed; yet this company does all its own repairs in temporary shops, attached to which is a car manufactory, which is turning out all the cars required by the road—some of them the finest to be found in the country. The business of the road during the past year, 1861, circumstances considered, has been excellent, the amount of freight shipped from the city especially showing a marked increase. The earnings of the road, in its various departments, will be seen from the following:

Comparative Statement of Receipts, Mississippi and Tennessee Railroad, for past three years.

Receipts.	1859.	1860.	1861.
From Passengers.....	$ 66,636.41	$ 74,528,06	$ 78,055,62
" Freight.....	104,704.76	140,525.79	134,650.60
" Mail.....	747.33	1,547.33	5,737,50
" Express rents, &c..	4,425.00	4,425.00	1,890.02
Total.....	$176,513.50	$221,026.18	$220,333.74

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2.—RAILROADS IN THE UNITED STATES, NUMBER OF COMPANIES IN EACH STATE, WITH THEIR MILEAGE AND COST, IN THE YEARS 1850, 1860, AND 1864.*

STATES.	Number of Companies.	Mileage.			Cost of Property.		
		1850	1860	1864	1850	1860	1864
Maine	18	245.3	471.9	505.1	$7,000,000	$16,055,000	$12,669,000
New Hampshire	17	467.7	661.0	660.8	14,660,000	23,086,000	22,489,000
Vermont	9	290.0	554.0	587.1	11,266,000	23,856,000	23,852,000
Massachusetts	49	1085.1	1264.2	1285.0	47,719,000	58 642,000	59,051,000
Rhode Island	3	68.0	107.9	125.2	2,913,000	4,405,000	4,588,000
Connecticut	13	401.9	600.8	629.6	13,785,000	21,848,000	23,014,000
N. E. States	104	2508.0	3659.8	3792.3	$97,293,000	$147,892,000	$149,663,000
New York	42	1360.8	2682.3	2820.9	$62,977,000	$128,915,000	$135,887,000
New Jersey	26	206.4	560.8	864.5	9,349,000	28,966,000	38,892,000
Pennsylvania	35	1240.1	2598.4	3359.8	44,543,000	146,744,000	170,080,000
Delaware	4	39.2	126.8	126.8	2,282,000	4,352,000	4,500,000
Maryland & Dis. of Col.	8	259.0	386.3	408.3	12,241,000	21,519,000	22,737,000
Middle Atlantic States	165	3105.5	6354.1	7580.3	$131,392,000	$330,496,000	$372,096,000
West Virginia	1	97.0	352.5	360.5	$4,795,000	$21,656,000	$21,985,000
Kentucky	12	78.2	533.7	566.8	1,330,000	18,046,000	21,062,000
Ohio	30	575.3	2945.5	3310.9	10,785,000	109,601,000	117,583,000
Michigan	10	342.0	779.2	898.2	8,846,000	30,528,000	35,091,000
Indiana	19	238.0	2168.2	2195.2	4,043,000	71,037,000	71,296,000
Illinois	26	110.5	2799.2	3156.2	2,441,000	102,548,000	120,417,000
Wisconsin	9	20.0	904.6	1010.2	612,000	33,458,000	37,165,000
Minnesota	4	.....	.....	157.0	....	.....	3,850,000
Iowa	10	.....	654.8	804.8	.....	18,628,000	25,496,000
Kansas	1	.....	....	40.0	.....	.....	1,400,000
Missouri	7	.....	817.5	924.8	.....	42,342,000	50,046,000
Arkansas	1	.....	38.5	38.5	... .	1,155,000	1,155,000
Tennessee	14	.....	1252.6	1295.7	.....	30,998,000	33,583,000
Interior States	144	1451.0	13,241.3	14,758.8	$33,852,000	$479,947,000	$540,079,000
Virginia	17	384.2	1378.7	1378 7	$7,866,000	$42,905,000	$42,905,000
North Carolina	10	282.5	937.4	988.9	3,707,000	17,560,000	19,120 000
South Carolina	10	289.0	973.0	973.0	7,526,000	22,053,000	22,058,000
Georgia	17	643.0	1419.8	1419.8	13,272,000	29,389,000	29,389,000
Florida	6	21.0	401.5	405.5	210,000	8,628,000	8,628,000
Alabama	10	192.5	742.7	804.7	1,946,000	17,598,000	18.161,000
Mississippi	5	75.0	862.5	862.5	2,020,000	24,458,000	24.682,000
Louisiana	9	79.5	334.8	334.8	1,840,000	12,021,000	12,021,000
Texas	8	.....	306.5	451.5	.....	11,032,000	16,289,000
Southern States	92	1956.7	7356.9	7610 4	$37,387,000	$185,644,000	$193,198,000
California	4	.....	22.5	147.3	.....	$1,600,000	$7,900,000
Oregon	2	.....	.....	19.5	.....	.....	700,000
Pacific States	6	.....	22.5	166.8	.....	$1,600,000	$8,600,000
North-Eastern States	104	2508.0	3659 8	3792.3	$97,293,000	$147,892,000	$149,658,000
Middle Atlantic States	165	3105.5	6354.1	7580.3	131,892,000	330,496,000	372,096,000
Interior States	144	1451.0	13,241.3	14,758.8	33,852,000	479,947,000	540,079,000
Southern States	92	1956.7	7356.9	7610.5	37,387,000	185,644,000	193,198,000
Pacific States	5	.....	22.5	135.8	.....	1,600,000	8,600,000
Total United States	510	9020.7	30,634.6	33,908.6	$299,924,000	$1,145,079,000	$1,264,886,000

* The reports on Southern roads for 1864 not included.

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MEMPHIS AND LITTLE ROCK RAILROAD.—The prospects of this road are of a very flattering and gratifying character. Several months since (1862) the affairs of the Company passed into the hands of a new administration, under whose auspices the work of completion is being prosecuted with vigor. From official sources we learn that track-laying is progressing on both ends, that the grading is completed from Duvall's Bluff, on White river, to Little Rock, and some 18 miles of track laid down since April last, with the prospect of completion by the 1st November. Prior to this date it is expected that the bridge crossing the St. Francis will be completed, when we shall be in direct and uninterrupted communication with Little Rock. The heaviest portion of the grading of the intervening space of forty-five miles between Madison and Duvall's Bluff, has been performed; the iron for the entire road purchased, and a sufficient amount delivered to complete the road from White river to Little Rock, as well as some fifteen miles on the second or middle division, leaving but thirty miles of iron for future delivery.

3.—RAILROAD PROGRESS IN TEXAS.

We have no means of ascertaining what progress was made upon the railroads of Texas during the war, but suppose little or none. We shall be happy to receive information from parties in that State. The latest Report was in 1860, and we are indebted for it to Mr. Richardson. The liberal aid in lands and money which Texas holds out to railroad enterprise must produce great results.

RAILROAD PROGRESS IN TEXAS.

The following twelve companies, are, we believe, the only ones by whom any work has been done, and the table below shows correctly the amount of work done by each up to October 1st, 1859:

	Com.	Grad.	Cont.
1. Galveston, Houston and Henderson Railroad,	42½	..	6½
2. Buffalo Bayou, Brazos and Colorado "	66	10	5
3. Houston Tap and Brazoria "	36½	23½	..
4. Houston and Texas Central "	75	8	5
5. Washington County "	11	..	..
6. San Antonio and Mexican Gulf "	5	20	..
7. Southern Pacific "	27½	..	..
8. Memphis, El Paso and Pacific "	..	35	..
9. New Orleans and Texas "	10	20	76
10. Eastern Texas Road, 15 or 20 miles.			
11. Indianola road, amount graded not known.			
12. Aransas road, 5 miles embankment and grade.			

Thus we have a total of 272½ miles completed, over 130 or 140 miles graded, and 85 miles more under contract.

The contract to complete the 6½ miles from the city of Galveston to connect with the road at Virginia Point, requires that it shall be completed early in December. The Bridge over the Bay is nearly completed, and the grading of about 4½ miles from the city to the bridge is also nearly done and ready for the ties and iron. The contracts require that the entire road shall be completed and the cars running from Galveston to Houston over the Bay, by the first of January next.

The grading on the Aransas road consists chiefly of an embankment from the main channel through the Bay to the mainland. This embankment has been thrown up by Mr. Hawley, who is now at work there with his dredge-boat.

Work was commenced on the Eastern Texas road by the former company under its former name, some ten miles north of Beaumont. We are informed that the present company commenced grading some fifteen or twenty miles south of Beaumont, with a view to make Sabine Pass the terminus, and expect to have twenty-five miles graded by the meeting of the next Legislature. Col. Stamps

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is now superintending the grading. The $50,000 required by the last Legislature, has not been deposited.

The Washington County road is now being graded on the west of the Brazos, and we are assured, will soon be completed to Brenham. The company are taking measures to have a substantial bridge constructed over the Brazos.

ART. XI.—DEPARTMENT OF MANUFACTURES.

1.—MANUFACTURING INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

As is usual, just before the meeting of a new Congress, the Government Printing Office is pouring out a large number of public documents; but the most interesting and important is a quarto volume of seven hundred and fifty pages, compiled from the census returns of 1860, on the manufactures of the United States. Soon after Mr. Harlan entered upon his duties as Secretary of the Interior, he re-organized the affairs of the Census Office, and the volume alluded to is the first issued under the new arrangement. The introduction to the work, prepared under the immediate supervision of the Commissioner of the Land Office (Hon. J. M. Edmunds), contains a marvelous amount of valuable information, while the statistical tables, arranged and corrected by Mr. J. J. Wilson, the chief clerk in charge of the office, contains a number of features which will command general approbation. In looking over the immense number of facts here collected, we have picked out a few items which may interest our readers, and are as follows:

Manufactures.	Total value for 1860.	Manufactures.	Total value for 1860.
Boots and shoes	$91,889,298	Iron	73,175,332
Bread and crackers	16,980,012	Pig iron	20,870,120
Brick	10,253,734	Jewelry	10,415,811
Carpentering	12,646,392	Leather	75,697,747
Carriages	26,848,905	Lumber	104,928,342
Clothing	89,000,000	Steam engines	46,757,486
Coal	20,243,637	Marble and stone work	16,244,044
Cotton goods	107,337,783	Paper	21,216,802
Fisheries	14,284,405	Printing and publishing	31,063,898
Flour and meal	248,580,365	Provisions	31,986,433
Furniture	25,632,293	Soap and candles	18,464,574
Gold mining	47,163,170	Sugar refining	42,143,234
Hardware	10,903,106	Woolen goods	60,685,190

2.—THE GREAT SOUTHERN PIANO MANUFACTORY.

We clip from the New York *World* of 21st December, the following in regard to Piano Fortes Manufacture in the United States, showing the success and extent of the celebrated establishment of Knabe & Co., of Baltimore, Md., whose instruments we cheerfully recommend to our readers:

"Until about forty years ago, Americans were content to purchase at large prices very indifferent piano-fortes from England, France and Germany. These instruments, never very good in themselves, were utterly unable to stand the excessive variation of our climate, and the super-heating of our parlors generally, so that after two or three years they became mere rattle traps, fit only for kindling-wood. One of the first houses to assert that America could manufacture for herself, and whose efforts were successful in diminishing the importation of pianos, was that of Knabe and Co., who commenced business over thirty years ago in the Monumental City of Baltimore. Their beginnings were humble, for large investments in an untried branch of trade, which must at once come into competition with the best manufactures of Europe, was then a thing unheard of, since, besides the competition to be overcome, there was a wide-

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spread, deeply-rooted prejudice in favor of the foreign article to be encountered. The excellence of the Knabe piano, however, gradually attracted attention, and it began to command a market elsewhere than in Baltimore. Pianos made in the Eastern States also began to claim attention, and the fact came to be realized that instruments worthy of that name could be made in America, and that it was worse than folly to import an article at a high price, which could be furnished at home better in quality, and at about two thirds the cost.

"Under these favorable circumstances, the house of Knabe gathered strength and made headway, until to-day their manufactory is one of the largest in the world, and their business extends all over the United States, South America, the West Indies, and even to Europe.

"This house is the only rival of the few great piano establishments of the Eastern and Northern States, and the Knabe instruments are running a race in popularity, and successfully competing in the North and East with the best pianos made there. The enterprise of the firm is noteworthy.

"The present capacity of their manufactory enables them to turn out thirty-five pianos per week; but the success of their agency in New York, carried on by J. Bauer & Co., has so greatly increased the demand for their instruments, that they have been compelled to erect a new wing to their building on Eutaw and West streets, Baltimore, which, with the lumber-yard attached, occupies two entire blocks. This extensive manufactory is five stories high, and with the new wing attached, will present a frontage of four hundred and thirty-six feet, with a depth on all the floors of the building of forty feet. We doubt if there is a piano factory in the world of much larger dimensions. All the modern mechanical aids to labor are contained therein; their beautiful engine turns a hundred wheels, and moves a score of saws; the motive-power, steam, warms the entire building, and a number of rare and costly machines, of extraordinary power and unique invention, are in constant operation to produce the beautiful specimens of workmanship which the Knabe pianos exhibit.

"The pianos of Knabe and Co. are sterling instruments, thoroughly made of first-class and long-seasoned materials, so that their powers of endurance may be entirely relied upon. They are not turned out rapidly with a view only to their sale, but the makers expect that each piano shall be an advertisement, of many years' standing, of the sterling excellence of their work.

"There are but few makers of grand pianos in the country, and in this class of instruments the Knabe acknowledges no superior. Their new scale has produced an instrument of noble qualities. The tone is large and sonorous, brilliant and sympathetic, round and bell-like, and its power of singing or sustaining the sound is not exceeded in any instrument now made. The touch is firm, yet elastic; light, yet powerful, meeting every want of the player. It is an instrument of surpassing beauty, grandeur and richness—one that could not fail to inspire a good player with exquisite thoughts.

"The new squares are equally marked in their general excellence. The popular weakness seems now to be in favor of a great body of tone. This is not in accordance with correct taste. The Knabe square piano has plenty of tone, but is of a refined and beautiful character, sympathetic and brilliant, clear and equal in all its registers, and its singing quality is but little less than that of their grand. In point of touch it is all that could be desired, while in finish and exterior appearance the workmanship is perfect. The purchaser of a Knabe square piano may rest assured that he possesses one of the finest instruments in the world.

"The uprights are the best of their class now made in the United States. The tone is sweet and silvery, rich and sentimental, and possesses far more power than could be expected from instruments of that class. They stand well in time; their small, compact form is very convenient, the cases elegant, and they are in every way an admirable instrument."

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ART. XII.—MISCELLANY.

1.—SOUTHERN FACTS AND FIGURES.

Among the associations recently formed for the development of the South is one at Washington City, under the presidency of Alex. W. Randall. This association puts forth the following facts:

The economists of the North, who have paid but little attention to this question, will be astonished at the immense productions of those States in 1860, as shown by the eighth census reports.

ALABAMA.

Alabama has under cultivation 6,385,724 acres of land, and produced:

Cotton, bales	989,955
Corn, bushels	33,226,282
Sweet potatoes, bushels	5,439,917
Live stock, value	$43,411,611
Slaughtered animals, value	$10,000,000
Butter, pounds	6,028,478

GEORGIA.

Georgia has 8,662,758 acres of cultivated lands.

Cotton, bales	702,850
Corn, bushels	30,776,293
Sweet potatoes, bushels	6,658,541
Live stock, value	$38,372,734

Of land purchased of the Government by individuals, not under cultivation, it had 18,587,732 acres.

FLORIDA.

Acres, cultivated	654,213
Acres uncultivated (purchased)	2,266,015
Cotton, bales	65,753
Corn, bushels	2,835,391
Sweet potatoes, bushels	1,129,759
Live stock, value	$5,553,356

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Acres, cultivated	4,573,000
Cotton, bales	353,412
Corn, bushels	15,065,606
Sweet potatoes, bushels	4,175,688
Live stock, value	$23,934,463

TEXAS.

Acres under cultivation	2,650,781
Acres uncultivated	22,693,247
Cotton, bales	431,463
Corn, bushels	16,500,702
Sweet potatoes, bushels	1,129,759
Live stock, value	$42,825,447

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LOUISIANA.

Acres under cultivation	2,707,108
Acres uncultivated	6,291,468
Cotton, bales	777,738
Corn, bushels	16,853,788
Sweet potatoes, bushels	2,066,981
Live stock, value	$24,546,940

MISSISSIPPI.

Acres under cultivation	5,065,755
Acres uncultivated	10,773,939
Cotton, bales	1,202,507
Corn, bushels	29,037,682
Sweet potatoes, bushels	4,563,873
Live stock, value	$41,891,692

ARKANSAS.

Acres under cultivation	1,983,313
Acres uncultivated	7,590,393
Cotton, bales	367,338
Corn, bushels	17,823,588
Live stock, value	$22,096,977

While Louisiana alone produced 221,761 hogsheads of sugar, and 13,439,772 gallons of molasses.

The cash value of purchased land in these States in 1860 was:

Alabama	$175,824,622
Georgia	157,072,803
Florida	16,435,727
South Carolina	159,652,508
Texas	88,101,329
Louisiana	204,789,662
Mississippi	190,760,367
Arkansas	91,649,773

The cash value of negro slave property in the same States in 1860 was:

	Slaves.	Value.
Alabama	435,000	$215,540,000
Georgia	462,198	230,099,000
Florida	61,745	30,872,500
South Carolina	402,406	201,203,000
Texas	182,566	91,283,000
Louisiana	331,726	165,863,000
Mississippi	436,631	218,315,500
Arkansas	111,115	55,557,000

The great question now is to provide for these States an efficient industrial system, to take the place of the one we have destroyed—to provide an industrial system which shall produce the amount of cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar and molasses raisod in 1860, for the want of which a universal cry of distress ascends from the nations and all people. The cotton crop of the South in 1860 was 5,386,897 bales, while the entire crop of this year will be over-estimated at 1,000,000 bales. In 1860 the

Tobacco crop was	434,183,561 lbs.
Sugar	230,982 hhds.
Cane molasses	14,963,996 galls.
Sorghum molasses	6,698,181 galls.
Rice	187,167,082 lbs.

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Not one fifth of this amount will be produced this year; and when it is considered that the cultivation of these products has been almost entirely abandoned for the last four years, the importance of immediate action upon the question cannot be overestimated.

A wise policy, inaugurated at once by the capitalists of the North and by the landowners of the South, will reproduce the crop of 1860 in three years. At the expiration of President Johnson's administration in 1869, this immense wealth, destroyed during the four years of war, may be restored, and the wants of the world again supplied. The people of the South have taken the initiative by offering to sell their lands at nominal prices, or lease their cultivated lands at reasonable rates for a term of years. They invite, in good faith, Northern and foreign emigration. Let Northern capitalists and the Northern people respond with like liberality, and the re-establishment of a healthy industrial condition will result in a prosperity unequalled in the history of any country.

2.—INDUSTRIAL MOVEMENTS IN LOUISIANA.

The Attakapas country of Louisiana is the garden spot of the world, and we perceive that colonies of Germans have recently located there, and a colony from Maine is also said to have been established. The *Franklin Banner* thus describes the country:

"The soil of St. Mary is inexhaustible. Lands on the Teche below Franklin, in cultivation in cane and corn for ninety years, produced fine crops of cane in 1860, and have never been manured. All the lands in the parish are equally as fertile as these, some of them more so. An occasional plowing in of a crop of cow peas, grown among the corn, is all the manure these lands ever need. These lands, in ordinary crops from plant cane, yield a hogshead of sugar (1100 pounds net) and forty or fifty gallons of molasses to the acre. Some land has produced thirty-five hundred pounds of sugar to the acre. These lands produce sugar, cotton, rice, tobacco, indigo, corn, peas, potatoes, oats, rye, barley, all sorts of garden vegetables. Cabbages, turnips, beets, carrots, mustard, and some other vegetables, grow and come to perfection at mid winter. We have no snow, and rarely a freeze in the winter. Wild fruits of this country are dew berries, blackberries, mulberries, grapes, etc.,—cultivated fruits, oranges, lemons, limes, bananas, citrons, mespilus, or Japan plum, eight or ten kinds of domestic plums, six or more kinds of grapes, peaches, pears, quince—all of these do well in this climate. Apples grow here, but they are not good. It is the best fruit country in the United States.

"From the mouth of the Teche to New Iberia, on the south side of the bayou, the lands have not been overflowed since the memory of the oldest man in the country, and never will be.

"The health of the country is far superior to that of the States north of the Ohio river. Our fevers are light and very manageable, and we have but few diseases besides fevers and diarrheas. No women in the world are more healthy than those at Attakapas, and there are as many old men here as can be found in any northern latitude on the continent.

"Lands between the mouth of the Teche and the pine woods above Opelousas sell at from $50 per acre down to $5. Any one who has large or small means can purchase a home in Louisiana to suit circumstances."

The public lands of Louisiana are also considerable in amount, and are referred to by the *New Orleans Times* as follows:

"There are rising four million six hundred thousand acres of swamp lands that are awaiting reclamation that they may be brought to produce. There is plenty of room for emigrants. No state affords such excellent opportunities for the investment of labour and hard-handed industry. The total amount of land uncultivated in the State, land that is fitted by the treasures of alluvial soil for the plow, is over eight millions of acres. In spite of the present agricultural means of the State, there are but one-fourth of the lands that are under cultivation. But there is four years' work to bring these same uncultivated lands back to pro-

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duction. At least one-third of this fourth of the Louisiana low lands have now, by the neglect that ensued during the war, lapsed into dead growths, that are awaiting the stroke of industry to be brought again to produce. This estimate will reduce the cultivated lands to one-sixth the number in the State."

3.—A FEDERAL OFFICER ON THE SOUTHERN SITUATION.

The following is extracted from a letter written by a Federal officer in Grenada, Miss.:

"Estimating but one-half bale of cotton to the acre, and the price next year but fifty cents per pound, without calculating the corn, potatoes and vegetables and the increase of stock, the family would realize the sum of $2,250 the first year. In all probability the price of cotton will be far above that price, and possibly, not short of one dollar per pound, as not one bale of old cotton will be left in the Southern States by next crop. But to make a smaller estimate, and setting the price of cotton for next year at fifty cents, counting but one-half a bale to the acre, which is a very small aggregate, and is surpassed in almost all the creek bottom lands of Carroll, Tallahatchie, Yallobusha, in fact all the Northern counties of Mississippi, it would leave the family one thousand dollars clear, after having paid for the land and deducting the cost of the animals, farming implements and provisions for the year. Such advantages are offered to no settler in any of the Northern States or Territories.

"The prevailing impression that once the Federal garrisons are withdrawn, the lives and property of immigrants would be endangered, is absolutely erroneous. With the exception of a few bar-room brawlers, of which every small town both North and South has a few specimens, the people are not only well-disposed to the scheme, but are determined, if necessary, to protect emigrants in all their rights. No peaceable citizen, wherever he may come from, need fear the least interference. I consider it the duty of the Northern press to disabuse the mind of the people in this respect, not only as a means of throwing light on the subject, but in order to insure justice to the South, in removing a slander and calumny from a people which, as a mass, is at least deserving of the credit of bearing their misfortunes with manliness. To repulse the hand of the vanquished is unworthy of the conqueror. But to return to the subject of emigration, it would be well to notice the question of climate. The war has exploded the fallacy that none but negroes were capable of enduring the heat of the Southern cotton fields. Northern soldiers have been exposed to all the influences of the Southern climate, and their health has in no manner been affected any more than that of the native born soldiery of the South; furthermore, the work in the cotton field is not required to be done during the most intense heat of the day. Eight hours of intelligent and industrious labor—four early in the morning and four in the evening, is sufficient to keep the cotton in good order during the hot season."

4.—HOW TO INDUCE IMMIGRATION TO THE SOUTH.

Major Tochman, a well known Polish refugee in a letter to some gentlemen in Charleston, refers as follows to the subject of a Polish immigration to the South. Major Tochman would be a valuable man to secure in any such enterprise:

"There are at this time, between thirty and forty thousand Poles of this class in foreign lands of Europe and Asia, and they could easily be persuaded to adopt the South of these United States for their home; nay, I have at this moment, over two thousand Poles, and as many or more Swiss and Germans who would follow them, waiting only for some such arrangement with the Southern landholders, as would convince them that their labor might furnish to them the means for their support and for the payment of the consideration of their homesteads. Without some such arrangement that would show the possibility of their attaining these two objects, they would not venture to come to this country as agriculturists: for they lost all—their property having been confiscated by the Russian government; they cannot, then, pay cash for the land where they would

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like to go, and their honor does not allow them to engage in covenants of chances that might place it beyond their power to comply with the stipulated terms. I know what the safety of the Southern States and the individual interest, of the Southern people require to retrieve their losses, political and material; and I know, better than any American, the dispositions of the Europeans—and this is the reason why I have been knocking where I thought the sound would be heard—suggesting and urging organizations of the Southern land companies, on a plan that would be acceptable to the Europeans, advantageous to the Southern land-owners and to their States, and that would outdo the plans of the Northern speculators, who entice and drive emigrants Northwest, where the climate does not allow them to work more than six (and in many places only four or five) months in the year. As nothing final has been done yet that would secure the attainment of these desirable objects, the South Carolinians, in whose behalf you have opened correspondence with me, could take the lead in this great scheme; and if they do so, by organizing a land company on some such principles as are practicable and would effect the desired end, I am ready to co-operate with them."

5.—THE NATIONAL FREEDMAN'S BUREAU.

General Howard whom we take to be an excellent gentleman personally, and from whom we received some recent courtesies in Washington, has evidently an immense machine upon his hands which, do what he may, must inevitably fall to pieces very soon. He says in a recent report, that to work this vast machine in 1866, the comfortable sum of nearly *eleven millions of dollars* will be required, which was about the amount of the whole national revenue some thirty or forty years ago:

"The work of restoration has progressed very rapidly, and it is probable that when war terminates little or no property will remain under control of the bureau. By this policy of restoration, the expectations of freedmen that land would be assigned them, have been disappointed, and difficulty has arisen thereby, but has been overcome with comparative ease. Much embarrassment and actual suffering has resulted by restoration of property in use. Much more will result from the curtailments of the bureau. About one five-hundreth of the entire amount of land of insurrectionary districts has ever been held, and had the plan of assigning it to freedmen been carried out, the Bureau would have been unable to furnish an acre, for former experience has shown, as a general rule, it is better to leave the price of labor to be regulated by the demand. Schools have been established, but hostility of white people to them is undisguised. Congress when it created the Bureau, made no appropriation to defray its expenses. It has, however, received funds from miscellaneous sources, to the amount of $478,363. Deducting the amount held as retained bounties, $115,236, and the balance on hand October 31, 1865, available to meet liabilities, $313,796. The amount held as claimed bounties is merely held in trust for colored soldiers, or their families. The breaking up of the plantation system has necessarily left the sick with little or no medical provision. As soon as they earn money and become better versed than now, in ordinary means of self support, they will, doubtless, secure necessary aid. From information derived from various reports of military officers, inspectors and assistant commissioners, Gen. Howard arrives at the general conclusion that free labor, notwithstanding the sudden emancipation, and the thousands of causes of disturbances incident to the war, will prove successful. That the Freedmen's Bureau, or some substitute of it, of a national character, will have to be continued, and that the present organization of the Bureau with the understanding that it is not to be permanent, is as good as he could suggest, except as to the subject of the freedmen's court and the employment of civil agencies. Some general system of providing for the aged and infirm is necessary, and it would be well to devote funds raised during the war under the Treasury laws for the benefit of freedmen, to secure sites and buildings for school purposes in different States, and that joint companies, whose object shall be to aid the poor blacks and whites in rental purchase and the settlement of lands,

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should be encouraged by the Government, and that the rights of the freedmen to rent and purchase real property should be guaranteed to them beyond question."

6.—ENDLESS EMPLOYMENT FOR THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.

The kindness of Uncle Sam has instituted for the Freedmen associations and regulations which he has not yet been inclined to vouchsafe to their free white brethren of *American* descent. We perceive that General Saxton, in South Carolina, is likely to have his hands full in all coming time, in looking after the social and moral character of the emancipated millions. He publishes a string of regulations, of which the following is an extract:

"*Parties Authorized to Solemnize Marriages.* 1. All ordained ministers of the Gospel are authorized to solemnize marriages.

"2. Such civil officers may solemnize marriages as are authorized by the State, provided the laws of their respective States are recognized as in force by the general government.

"*Dissolving Marriages, Appeals, &c.* 3. Marriage is a solemn covenant, made by the parties before God, and not to be broken till death. For crimes, however, in either party, and for peculiar prudential reasons, growing out of the injustice of slavery, as hereinafter specified and provided, marriages may be dissolved.

"4. Religious societies and churches, fully recognized by their respective denominations, shall have power to dissolve marriages of the freedmen for the following causes:

"*First*—For moral causes, to wit: adultery, fornication, proved against either party.

"*Second*—For prudential reasons, as provided for in section 4, rules 10 and 11.

"5. Parties dissatisfied with the decision of the society or church, in authorizing or forbidding married persons to dissolve their marriage relations, may appeal from such decision to the minister or pastor of such society or church, whose duty it shall be to appoint a committee of five disinterested male persons, the same not having acted with the society or church appealed from. The party appointing such committee shall preside over their proceedings, and report their decision in the case to the society or church whose action had been appealed from. Such decision will be accepted as final, and the action of all the parties must conform thereto.

"6. If, however, the society or church whose decision is appealed from, have no minister or pastor, then the appeal may be made to any other society or church organized as above specified, willing to give a hearing to the party so appealing. The decision of such society or church thus appealed to shall be received as final, and the party appealing will be required to comply therewith.

"7. Every freedman having only one name is required to assume a "title" or family name. It may be the name of a former owner or any other person. When once assumed it must always thereafter be used, and no other.

"8. Every minister shall furnish each party married by him with an authenticated certificate of marriage for which the party shall pay him the sum of one dollar.

"9. Every minister solemnizing or confirming a marriage will make return of the same with the least possible delay to the office of the Recording District, which will be hereafter formed and announced by the Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau.

"10. Ordained ministers are authorized to give certificates to parties married since obtaining their freedom, and having no official evidence of the same, provided such parties furnish satisfactory evidence of their marriage. Returns of all such certificates for public record will be required, as in all other cases.

"11. All civil officers are respectfully requested to make returns, agreeably to the above rule, of all marriages solemnized by them, unless the laws of the State direct their returns to be made otherwise."

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EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANIES.

In a recent trip, which was made by the editor of the Review, from the capital of South Carolina through the States of South and North Carolina and Virginia, he could not but be gratified with the rapid progress which is being made to repair the immense, and at first seemingly overwhelming and crushing, damages of the war. Though the railroad from *Columbia to Charlotte* has only been restored to Winnsboro', he was assured by the President of the Company that there was every prospect of opening the entire route by the spring, including the construction of a bridge across the Catawba. The road from *Columbia to Charleston* is probably by this time opened, whilst that to Augusta is making such progress as the limited resources of the Company will afford. It is a great mistake which was made by Northern capitalists not to come forward immediately and afford the necessary facilities for the completion of these great works, so important in their bearings upon the national commerce. The through route from *Charlotte by Raleigh, Danville and Richmond* was in good condition, making fair time and with generally excellent cars and locomotives. The *Orange and Alexandria Railroad* to Washington City is in admirable trim.

Everywhere we found the people rallying from their recent discomfiture, and taking hold with true masculine grip of whatever might offer to restore their broken fortunes, and a spirit of enterprise was waking up in quarters which were least expected. Men who were reared to all the luxuries of fortune and life we found putting their shoulders to the wheel in the most rugged and least inviting employments and exhibiting a willingness to toil unremittingly. There were few repinings. Brave and true men never waste time over the inevitable and the irretrievable. Having staked their all and lost upon the issue, they are prepared for all the exigencies. Even the tenderest women, alive to the situation, perform their cheerful part. With such a spirit, and with God's aid and a generous co-operation by the Government, the garden may smile again even for the present generation, dark though the prospect now, and terrible as may be the ordeal through which the country is first compelled to pass.

Richmond, though shattered by the conflict, and her magnificent business structures in ruins, exhibits activity and bustle. The hammer and the pick-axe, the spade and the trowel are at work, and whole rows of buildings are rising from their foundations, whilst others are projected for an early day. It was said that a great drawback to improvements resulted from the action of proprietors, who were unreasonable in their demands.

We found *Washington City* vastly altered since the quiet days of Pierce and Buchanan. The streets and hotels are crowded with new people, and in this respect very little of the old city is discerned. The population has undoubtedly doubled, and is largely without accommodation. The improvements have been but mere, unsubstantial, temporary tenements and shanties. Theatres, shows, circuses, bowling saloons and bar-rooms were multiplied. Shops exhibited more inviting fronts and larger stocks. The Capitol has become a most magnificent pile. The public

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offices are densely thronged with clerks, and among them seemingly a thousand of the female sex. Property, rent, board, rooms, all at enormous figures!

Baltimore was at a stand-still during the war. Few, if any improvements were made, but the city will now revive, and may expect a large share in the future development of the country.

We passed over the *Baltimore and Ohio Railroad* going west, and, barring the discomfort of crossing the Ohio in a ferry boat at night, made the trip safely and in fair time to Cincinnati. Thence to *Louisville* by one of the splendid passenger steamers and over the rails of the Louisville and Nashville road, we set foot in a little over twenty four hours in the streets of Nashville.

Who would recognize the *Nashville* of to-day. What a multitude of active, bustling, driving men and women, and with what strange faces and what a host of contrabands, now freedmen, what innumerable and unique cots and cabins, scarcely weather-proof, which line the approaches to the city on every road, and cluster around the railroad depots! What vast and formidable military works thrown up in every quarter, line within line, what thousands and tens of thousands of wagons and caissons and other paraphernalia of war! There must be twice the population of 1860, but can they be sustained and employed, and will they be made a part of the permanent population? Lots and houses are at fabulous prices; even country lands within 2 to 10 miles bring almost unparalleled rates, and are in great demand for residences, country seats and market farms.

Without doubt Nashville will be a considerable city in the future. She has unrivalled advantages for manufactures. The health of the city will attract from every quarter. Thousands of Southern planters, unwilling to keep their families, though they work their estates in the densely populous regions of the freedmen, will fix homes in Nashville for comfort, quiet, health and education. This is our theory. At present the city is naturally in an unquiet state, and when we were there robberies and murders were so frequent as to cause a general panic. They were the result of the large number of persons thrown out of employment by the Government and left without means of support. The authorities having moved with spirit in the matter, order and law have in a good measure resumed their sway.

Take the cars for *Decatur*, passing over the battle-fields of Franklin and by Columbia. The road is miserably equipped. One of the worst, if not quite the worst, in the country. In eight hours we cross in a ferry boat by the side of the ruins of the magnificent bridge which once belted the Tennessee. It is to be replaced by an iron one now under contract. Decatur is a ruin. Proximate to the seat of war, it bore the brunt of both armies. Its streets are dug up in trenches, and made impassable by earthworks. Shanties abound. Some of the most miserable are crowded with freedmen. There are fair accommodations at one or two hotels, and having to delay a day or two to make railroad connections, we were well entertained at the house kept by Mr. Humphreys. Here we met a number of Northern men who are in search of Southern lands, and propose to cultivate cotton. They have note-books and guide-books and exchange information. They make close and nice calculations of cost, results and profits, and have all the details set down in their pocket-books. They

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cipher out vast results. The field certainly is wide and the prospect is encouraging, but it strikes us these gentlemen are too self-confident and regard too little the experiences of others. They laugh to scorn the experiences of the old planters. They regard them as old fogies. Cotton can be cultivated on new rules and with Northern machinery. There are to be cultivators and buggy ploughs and cotton-pickers and cotton-thrashers and all that sort of thing. Well, all things are to become new perhaps, but it might be upon the safe side to hasten a little slowly. Let the gentlemen try their experiments, however.

The *Memphis and Charleston Railroad* takes us to Corinth. The rate of travel is slow and the road is improving every day under the vigorous superintendence of the President, Colonel Tait, whom we meet upon the cars. He is rebuilding bridges, establishing workshops, repairing locomotives, building cars and relaying the cross-ties, and doing it very much out of the income of the road. He represents its finances in excellent condition, and its savings from the war much larger than were expected.

We reach *Corinth* at 2 o'clock in the morning, and in the most indescribable confusion, and with the worst arrangements in the world, change cars on the way to Mobile. Trains run from that city to Columbus, Kentucky, but three times a week. They are densely crowded and with very little accommodations, but improvement and daily trains are promised at an early day. The business of the road is enormous.

Touch at *Columbus*, Miss., which has sustained little damage by the war, and find the main street crowded with new shops, and a large country trade already opened.

Mobile has much of its old life, and the old residents are back at their offices and homes. Great activity prevails, and cotton is coming in by steamboat and by railroad, and the high prices of the staple, and the exhaustion of every kind of goods and supplies in the interior, creates a temporary prosperity. Can it last? That is the great question which the present winter and spring are to solve! The damage to the city by the great gunpowder explosion is less than we apprehended. Had the accident occurred higher up in town the loss would have been unparalleled.

Make the passage to New Orleans in an excellent steamer attached to a line which is nearly as good as that which was anterior to the war, but whose rates of travel are double. But this is very nearly the case wherever you travel at the South. Double price and less accommodation.

In New Orleans again! It is nearly four years since our departure was hurried by the ominous progress of Farragut's fleet. In that time, what trials and buffetings and wanderings; what hopes, fears and stern realities! Well, it is all past. It is idle to look back. The old residents have returned. The young men of the army who have survived are here, and all at work with vigor and energy. There are, too, hundreds and thousands of strange faces. The levee is crowded with steamers and ships and merchandise and busy men, and the shops are filled with goods. Chartres street and Canal street make a marvelous display of beautiful women. The newspapers publish triple and quadruple sheets of advertisements, and everybody seems to have his hands full. Still it does not equal the New Orleans of former times, and the full restoration of the city must be afar off, if it ever comes.

From this point we shall have other

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notes to make for our next number, and shall in a few weeks return to Washington City, to remain, perhaps, the rest of the winter.

The observations which follow have a necessary reference to our trip:

1. It is too soon, at the date of our writing, to form an accurate opinion as to what will be the result of the labor question, but the general expectation is unfavorable. The negroes are very slow in coming forward to contract. They have unreasonable ideas. They flock to the villages and towns, in preference to the estates. Few contracts have yet been made. Perhaps, however, there will be a change in the next two or three weeks. We sincerely hope so. The pressure of want may bring them, and doubtless will bring them, to terms.

2. We find everywhere a determination to act with fairness and humanity and kindness towards the unfortunate race, now left to their own resources, and it will be no fault of the planters if they are not placed in a condition of comfort and enjoyment.

3. Though there are immense quantities of land upon the market, embracing some of the best estates in the country, which can be bought or leased at low rates, no very considerable number of capitalists or proprietors have been attracted from the Northern and Western States. The number of land sales is comparatively few. The tide of immigration has not set in. There has been little influx of capital or labor; yet the country invites them both.

4. There is no sentiment of hostility remaining in the country. The people are satisfied with the experiment. They made it fearlessly, honestly, and it failed. They would be less than men not to have many regrets and sorrows, pride in their achievements, in their valor, in their great names. General Grant has paid a tribute to these. They have the recollections of injuries, of violence, inseparable perhaps from the war, and the recollections will perhaps take a generation to wear off. Yet they have resumed their citizenship of the United States, and will perform all the duties which that involves, quietly, soberly, orderly, without ostentation or parade, and if the Federal authorities and the people of the North will act with a liberal and enlarged spirit, and with the generosity which the conqueror can well afford, the South may yet be restored and a great future open upon it. *God grant that it may be so!*

OUR BOOK TABLE.

We recognize many familiar names on the title-pages of the volumes kindly furnished us this month, but some, highly esteemed in days of yore, are still missing.

From Harper and Brothers we have received—

1. *Richard Cobden*, His Political Career and Public Services. A Biography by John McGilchrist. Illustrated.

This is a superb specimen of the excellence to which these eminent publishers have attained in typographical execution, and it is high commendation of the text, when we pronounce it worthy of the mechanical skill bestowed upon it. The life of Richard Cobden illustrates convincingly what earnestness and fixedness of purpose will accomplish, when united, as in his case, with thorough conviction of the worthiness of its object. His career was preeminently a success. Rescuing from theoretical inertness some of the mightiest principles of economic science, he achieved for them a practical development fruitful in results, which amply rewarded him for the ceaseless energy

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and the self-sacrificing devotion he had given to their accomplishment.

Mr. McGilchrist has by a judicious and skillful selection of extracts from some of Mr. Cobden's speeches given to his work many of the peculiarities of an Autobiography, connecting his citations with graceful narration and depicting the closing scenes of his subject's career, with a simple, touching eloquence full of tenderness and pathos.

We have not always agreed with Mr. Cobden; but in the language of his noble Eulogist, the Premier, (now, too, gathered to his fathers,) "No man however strongly he may have differed from Mr. Cobden, * * * * could have come into communication with him, without carrying away the strongest personal esteem and regard for the man with whom he differed."

In the three hundred pages of this little volume our readers will find much to instruct and entertain them; we advise them to procure and read it, and feel assured they will thank us for the suggestion.

2. *Social Life of the Chinese*, by Rev. Justus Doolittle, 2 volumes. Illustrated.

Christianity, like Commerce, is an aggressive agent of civilization, and, of these the first is perhaps the most resolute. The restlessness of Trade, the never-satisfied desire for new markets, and more extended fields of enterprise, has done much to disclose the hidden mysteries of Eastern systems; but the perseverance of the Missionary, his sublime self-abnegation and disregard of personal danger, and the social intimacy which is a consequence of his labors, has done more.

The volumes before us constitute an important addition to the valuable contributions on this and kindred subjects which have enriched the literature of the past twenty years; and will take their place, with Livingston, and the magnificent chronicles of the Japan Expedition. The work is elaborate, and so far as fourteen years of close and searching observation—confined and restricted only by the jealousy and exclusiveness of the people—could extend; is exhaustive as to the "Religious, Governmental, Educational and business customs and opinions" of the Chinese.

Our esteemed contemporary I. Smith Homans, Esq., of the *Banker's Magazine*, has for many years made the publication of works on Finance a speciality. We thank him for the following:

1. *History of the Bank of England*, its times and traditions from 1694 to 1844, by John Francis. American Edition, with notes, additions and appendix, including statistics to the close of the year 1861, &c., by I. Smith Homans.

The "Old Lady of Threadneedle Street" has a cosmopolitan fame and reputation, and the authors of the work before us, could not have been more worthily employed than in collecting and preserving its records and traditions. Incidentally and necessarily the volume in review comprises not only a history of this mammoth institution, but of British and Continental Banking in general, and especially of English finance. The notes are copious and supply a fund of valuable information, and a calendar of events both apposite and reliable.

Peculiarly interesting, however, in the present monetary condition of this country, are those chapters relating the history of the Bank from the 27th of February, 1797—when under authority of an order in council, she closed her nearly exhausted coffers—until May the 1st, 1821, when anticipating by a twelvemonth, the provisions of Mr. Peel's Currency Bill, the ring of metal

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again filled her halls with music. We commend these and the succeeding chapters touching the effects of resumption to those who *think*, without comment. The marked diversity of opinion in leading men both in and out of Parliament, the display of talent and ability, and the "muddle" in which this talent and ability was involved; the seeming prosperity which at first sustained the arguments of one party, and the terrible collapse that justified the foreboding of the other; all this is instructive, and may perhaps teach us the management of the problem now awaiting our solution.

We are always pleased when we find works like this on the book-shelves and tables of our merchants, and the effect is heightened when a well-thumbed appearance attests that they are more for use than ornament.

2. *Merchant's and Banker's Almanac*, 1866.

An invaluable book of reference, containing alphabetical lists of all the Banks, National and State, with the names of their principal officers and their New York correspondents, a list of over one thousand private Bankers in the United States and the Canadas, a complete catalogue of British, Continental and Eastern Banks and Bankers with their agencies and correspondents, all forming a handsome volume of about two hundred pages, abounding in statistics and handsomely illustrated with views of the Paris Bourse and the new Stock Exchange, New York.

3. *Acts of Congress relating to Loans and the Currency.*

4. *Supreme Court Decisions, on Taxation of Bank Stocks by States and Cities.*

These are admirable repositories of useful information on matters of pop ular interest. The first is an epitome of facts relating to the national debt, which constitute a history, brief, but comprehensive, of the financial measures found necessary in the recent struggle.

SHELDON & COMPANY furnish:

1. *Marian Rooke*, or the Quest for Fortune, by Henry D. Sedley.

A spirited border tale, well told and abounding in incident and adventure,—a trip across the plains; the gold-seeker's usual ups and downs, in that wonderful land far away on the shores of the Pacific, his toils, his hopes, his disappointments, a fine stroke of financiering by a "*most delicious, wholesale, scoundrel*," a mystery or two comfortably elucidated, a heart disease finally cured,—these are the elements out of which our author has evolved a pleasant entertainment for these long winter evenings.

2. *Washington*, being volume viii. of Jacob Abbott's series on American History. Illustrated.

One of the best of this popular series, and on a subject which can never become threadbare.

3. *Stories of the Apostles*, by Caroline Hadley.

Designed for children, and a real success in this truly difficult field of authorship.

4. *Stoddard's New Practical Arithmetic*, for Schools and Business Men.

A decided improvement on old methods and worthy of the science of which it treats.

To Messrs. Charles Scribner & Co. we are indebted for two valuable publications:

1. *Introduction to the Study of International Law*, by Theodore D. Woolsey, President of Yale College. 2d Edition, revised and enlarged.

The author, in his preface, very justly remarks that he writes to supply a "practical want of a compendious treatise," intended "for young men who are cultivating themselves by the study of

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historical and political science." For this purpose it is admirably adapted, the style being clear and engaging, and as free from technicalities as the subject would permit. No man can consider himself well-informed and remain ignorant of those long-established principles which govern the intercourse of nations; and the excuse which has hitherto obtained that the compass of the subject excluded all but the professional student, cannot now prevail with so thorough an epitome within his reach.

The usefulness of this compend cannot be so circumscribed, however, as the author, in his modesty, indicates it should be. Not only the student, but the graduate at law, will thank him for his labors, and the former of these classes will appreciate the thoughtfulness that, in the appendices, points out the quarries where he may collect material to build on the solid foundation he has acquired from this treatise of Mr. Woolsey.

2. *Elements of Political Economy.* Will be noticed at length in our next issue.

D. Van Nostrand, 192 Broadway, sends us several interesting pamphlets, on the mineral wealth of the Pacific States and Territories, which may furnish the material for a paper on this subject in a future number of the REVIEW. We give the titles only for the present.

1. *The Silver Districts of Nevada.*

2. *Arizona, its Resources and Prospects.* By the Hon. Richard C. McCormick, Secretary of the Territory.

3. *Silver Mining Regions of Colorado.* By J. P. Whitney, of Boston.

4. *Mineral Resources of the Pacific States and Territories.* By the Hon. Wm. M. Stewart, U. S. Senator from Nevada.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

1. *The Farmer.* Elliott & Shields, Richmond, Va. Vol. 1, No. 1. January 1, 1866.

We extend a hearty welcome to this new and ably conducted publication. The present issue is enriched with many and varied contributions of great practical interest. The leading article is a biographical sketch of Gen. W. H. Richardson, with his portrait and autograph, followed by an ample table of contents, comprising original papers and selections on Agriculture, Cattle Breeding, Horticulture, Immigration, and many other matters of prominent interest to the farmer.

2. *The Southern Cultivator.* Wm. N. White, Athens, Ga.

We recognize an old friend in this ever popular journal, celebrated throughout the South for the special excellence of its agricultural department. The proprietors, we believe, continued its publication uninterruptedly during the late conflict, an evidence that they possess that energy and perseverance which is, more than all, necessary in the present condition of the planting interests at the South.

3. *The Old Guard.* Vol. iv, No. 1. For January, 1866. C. Chauncey Burr, Editor.

This is a political magazine of the old school, but devotes a large space to the discussion of matters of literature, science and art, rendering it a welcome visitor to the family library, as well as a useful guide and instructor to those who have not learned to despise the purity and integrity of the earlier statesmanship of the Republic. The present issue is adorned with an excellent likeness of Gen. Robert E. Lee, with a sketch in which the writer attributes the universal esteem and respect with which Gen. Lee is regarded, to the deference and admiration which human nature, under all circumstances, pays to a really splendid character.

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4. *The Banker's Magazine.*

We have spoken elsewhere of the success of Mr. Homans in works on banking and finance, and of his ability in this department. One of the most useful forms in which his labor develops itself is in this monthly record of financial events, and chronicle of improvements in the science of banking, everywhere.

The labor question still excites the most lively interest at the South. It is proposed in many quarters to inaugurate movements for the introduction of *coolies* from India, and attention is called to the fact that 150,000 have already been imported into the West Indies.

It is stated in Louisiana that negroes who refuse to contract will be sent by the Freedman's Bureau to the coast to work upon the levees. The Marshall, Texas, *Republican* complains that the negroes fill up all the towns in Texas, and line the roads; and the *Jefferson Bulletin* of the same State, says:

"From recent indications we are led to believe that a much larger surface will be planted in cotton, the ensuing spring, in Eastern Texas, than we had any right to expect even two months ago. We do not wish to be understood that there will be a crop planted at all approximating in extent to those of the years preceding the war. The general worthlessness of free negro field labor renders such a consumation impossible. Many of the largest plantations of the country will mainly grow up in weeds the coming year. As a general thing, the large planters, who formerly made the great crops, have either determined on doing little or nothing the coming year, or are awaiting the development of events, and seem disposed to stand aloof from the perils of hired negro labor.

On the other hand a letter is published from General Pillow, which is annexed, in hopeful strain, and the reports that have come into New Orleans (where this note is written,) since the first of January, are in a measure more encouraging than they have been:

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Dec. 22, 1865.

Maj.-Gen. O. H. Howard, Commissioner, etc. etc., Washington—

It affords me the greatest pleasure to inform you that I have been successful beyond my most sanguine expectations in encouraging labor for all my plantations in Arkansas and Tennessee. I have already engaged about four hundred freedmen, and have full confidence in making a success of the work. I have given in all cases the freedmen a part of the crop of cotton, and I allow him land for the cultivation of vegetables and corn for his own use, without charge therefor. I would have engaged one thousand laborers, if I had needed that number. My brother, who adopted my plan of work, succeeded in engaging laborers for three places he is working. I have put one large plantation under white laborers from the North upon precisely the same terms I engaged freedmen. I feel anxious to try the system of white labor of that character for the plantation. Knowing the interest you feel in the success of the system of the freedmen, and feeling grateful for your kindness to me, I feel it to be a duty to communicate the result of my work thus far. With assurance of my personal regard and respect,

I am, General, very respectfully,

GIDEON J. PILLOW.

The *New Orleans Picayune* thus refers to a colony of Germans which has reached that city:

We learn that a company of one hundred Germans, who recently came here from New York with the view of seeking agricultural employment in the country, have made satisfactory engagements with planters in Tensas Parish, to which they proceeded on Saturday. We understand that the able bodied laborers are to receive $150 for the first year's services, and to be provided with comfortable quarters, blankets, food, medicines and medical attendance. In the second year they are to have a share of the crop, in proportion to the ascertained value of their services. The third, it is anticipated that they will have saved sufficient to stock leasehold farms for their own account. This we believe is the first practical effort to employ white labor in the culture of Cotton in our State. If these immigrants enjoy ordinarily good health, they cannot fail, from their characteristic habits of industry and thrift, to save enough from their wages to lay the foundation of their future independence.

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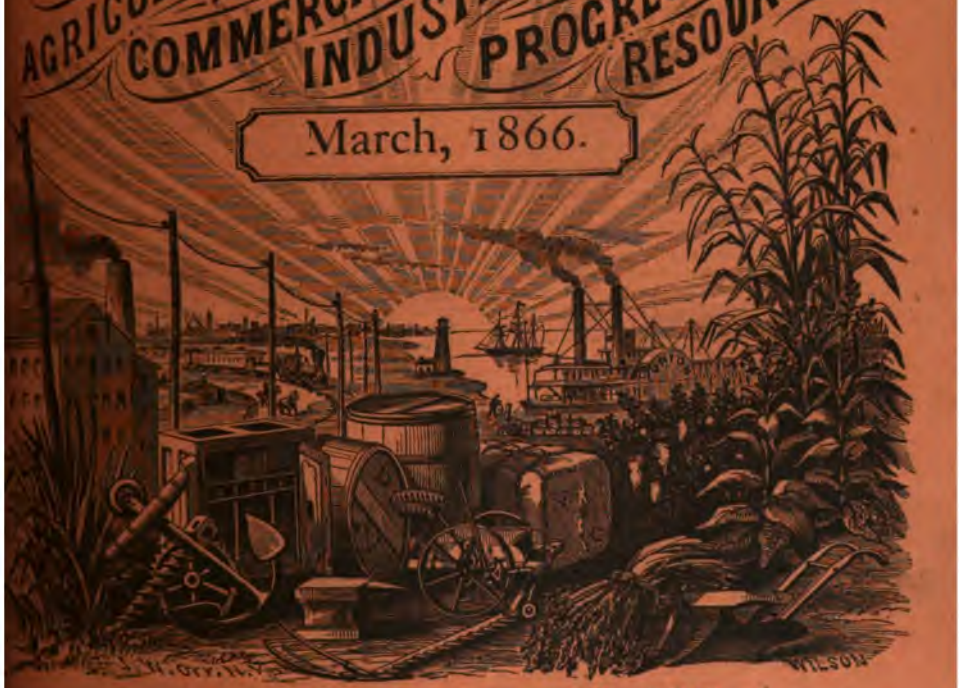
March, 1866.



J. D. B. DE BOW, Editor and Proprietor.

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The price of this guano is but little more than one-half the price of Peruvian, while its *actual value is absolutely greater*, for the reasons above named. This guano manifests all the remarkable activity of Peruvian; but as it furnishes more actual nourishment, it sustains and matures the crop better, whether of *cotton*, tobacco, or wheat. Every cargo of this guano is subjected to careful analysis, by Dr. A. Snowden Piggott, of this city, which affords us a guarantee of its value, before sale. The *soluble Pacific Guano* will be furnished to the planters of the South through agencies established in all Southern markets. Every bag is branded with the name of the undersigned, to whom communications must be addressed.

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ART. I.—MODERN PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEMS.

COMTE, HERBERT SPENCER, SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.—INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGINALITY OF THE POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY, ETC.

MR. HERBERT SPENCER indignantly protests against being regarded as a disciple of M. Auguste Comte. It was impossible for M. Comte to deny that he had been an acolyte of St. Simon. Mr. Spencer repudiates the idea that his Philosophy of Evolution was derived from Comte's Positive Philosophy; and "unkindest cut of all!" adduces evidence to prove, that the speculations of Comte had made scarcely any perceptible impression on the scientific thought of England. M. Comte vituperated and quarrelled with those who discerned the influence of St. Simonism in the whole scheme of the Positive Philosophy, and especially in the wild imagination of the Positive Religion. Each of these distinguished philosophers has displayed a prurient craving to establish an individual originality, and to assert it by ignoring or renouncing the obligations incurred to his immediate predecessors. It is the old maxim re-enforced—*serpens, nisi serpentem ederit, non fit draco*—a reformer of philosophy cannot become the founder of a sect, except by devouring former reformers. How different is the spirit manifested by this jealous asseveration of originality from the true genius of philosophy, so generously exhibited by the Prince of philosophers —"The master of the wise," in his profound acknowledgment of the indispensable services rendered to the progress of truth, even by the errors of all his distinguished predecessors! Aristotle, the most original of the discoverers in science and philosophy, the man who alone did more for both, and in more various directions, than whole schools besides, never claims originality for his researches but once, and then only for a

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small but important division of his labors, his Constitution of Logic. This, we believe, is the solitary instance throughout his voluminous works in which he has directly spoken of himself. But inferior minds, with an irrepressible tendency to self-assertion, must make themselves undisputed lords and autocrats over these our little puddles, and over all the wriggling life that they contain.

Mr. Herbert Spencer may succeed in disproving his allegiance, as well as in denying his homage, to his illustrious precursor, M. Comte. It is not as easy to obliterate or obscure all traces of the influence exercised upon his intellectual development by the Positive Philosophy. There are grave obligations due to suggestion, and even to antagonism, as well as those plainer and more obtrusive obligations, which are manifested by adoption of views and imitation of procedures. The same grounds, which are alleged by Mr. Spencer for his negation of all indebtedness to Comte, would compel us to refuse to Lord Bacon the claim of being the reformer of philosophy and the founder of modern science. We doubt not, that, in a narrow and strictly literal sense, he may honestly deny all conscious obligation to the Positive Philosophy with its extravagant developments, as expounded by M. Comte: but we do not the less think that the construction of the Positive Philosophy, and its systematic exposition by M. Comte were logical antecedents of Mr. Spencer's theory of Evolution. There are other positions, deemed to be characteristic of the new scheme by its author, and by his followers, which had nevertheless been previously announced by others, though they might have suggested themselves independently to his mind, or have been imbibed unconsciously from the atmosphere of contemporaneous intellect. Such, for example, is the doctrine which he is supposed to have extended beyond the speculations of Sir William Hamilton and of Mansel. He is said to have indicated in a more satisfactory manner than they have done, the positive datum of consciousness, that the Unconditioned, though inscrutable, exists." But a writer in the New York *Methodist Quarterly Review* for April, 1857, reviewing the Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, had laid down the principle claimed for Spencer more broadly than has been done by him. That Reviewer had called attention to the fact that "at every turn " the restrictions of the mind are forced upon our notice, but, " at the same time, the assurance of a wider and not less real " sphere than is bounded by the human horizon is implanted, " renovated, or confirmed. Furthermore, a positive founda- " tion of knowledge is supplied even in the darkness of the un- " known, though it is only cognizable under negative aspects:

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" and the finite, conditioned, limited knowledge of man is felt " to rest on a broader, firmer basis than itself, though every " thing but the reality of the support afforded is concealed in " the dim obscurity of the unattainable. Thought strikes its " roots as deeply into the unknown as it sends out its branches " widely into the cognizable; and while its action and achieve- " ments are circumscribed by the finite, its life and its energies " are fed from a larger treasury than the finite of human ap- " prehension.

> Altior ac penitus terræ defigitur arbos
> . . . . . quæ, quantum vertice ad auras
> Ætherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit.

This passage implies, we think, all the cardinal doctrines of The Unknowable, contained in the First Part of Mr. Spencer's " First Principles of a New System of Philosophy"—all the doctrines, therefore, that constitute the foundation of that "New" and elaborate scheme. It leaves him little room for essential originality on this particular thesis. While we do not deny to him great and brilliant originality in the coördination, exposition and illustrations of his system, there is very little that is distinctly new in the principles of his Philosophy; and much that is apparently novel has been, at least indirectly, derived from the slighted speculations of his distinguished precursor, M. Comte. He has thrown stones, while living himself in a house of glass.

But our present concern is with that predecessor, and not with Mr. Spencer. M. Comte and his Philosophy were singularly unfortunate. The pre-eminence of both were passing away before they had been fully recognized. The impulse which was communicated had produced its effect, and its action was becoming obscured and evanescent, before the grand machinery which was to regulate, apply and perpetuate that impulse had been completed. The vessel was left by the tide upon the strand, but the mission of the vessel had been promulgated, and the effects of the publication realized, before the builder of the vessel was ready to launch it fairly upon the waters. Abandoning metaphor, it may be confidently alleged that the doctrine of the Positive Philosophy had been circulated, tested and accepted, with such modifications as reduced it to its true value, before the name of M. Comte had attracted much regard, and before the voluminous proclamation of his system had advanced far towards completion—or towards incompletion. All the fruit that was actually produced had ripened and dropped from the tree, before the tree had done blooming, before it had even burst into full bloom. The most of its blossoms were barren flowers. In consequence of this strange destiny of

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both the man and his labors, it readily happened that many received at second or third hand, views and suggestions which had originally proceeded from him, without being at all conscious of the source of their obligations. Hence they were able honestly to deny any indebtedness on their own account, although the original indebtedness remained still unliquidated. It is a singular fortune which has overtaken M. Comte in this respect. Every one has hastened to disown any dependence upon him; and this may be regarded as a fitting retribution for the indignant heat with which he spurned the acknowledgment of any philosophical dependence upon St. Simon—the Gamaliel at whose feet he sat in youth, the Elijah whose mantle was destined for him. But St. Simon is by no means the only precursor to whom Comte is indebted. He regards himself as the successor and heir of Bacon and the French Encyclopædists—a strange conjunction of names! Newton, Des-Cartes and Aristotle are all claimed in the line of his philosophical pedigree, with the same propriety, but without the plausible pretence, with which Julius Cæsar claimed his descent from Julus, Æneas, Venus and Jove. His philosophy is, indeed, a cento of antecedent dogmas, some of them tried and rejected, others proposed and previously accepted. He introduced a provisional harmony and a settled order into the development of the principle adopted by him: but the harmony proceeded on a low key and the order was too narrow for the wants and for the capacity of the age. The co-ordination and exposition of the system were, in great measure, his own; but the materials co-ordinated and expounded were, in very many instances, the property of others. His labors were in consequence, miscalculated to produce a distinct and lasting effect: and the like fortune, it appears to us, awaits the brilliant speculations of Mr. Spencer for the like reason. Both plumed themselves upon their originality: in both the claim is greatly exaggerated in all respects, and in many is invalid.

We proceed to prove this in regard to M. Comte. Mr. Spencer's theory, as being only a recent manifestation of the latest tendencies of science, requires a more diligent and elaborate examination than can be afforded in this connection, or within the limits of a cursory notice.

We have little disposition to revive the question of M. Comte's indebtedness to his original Coryphæus, St. Simon, an accusation often repeated in the life-time of the Positive Philosopher, and acrimoniously, as well as strenuously, repudiated by him. Our conviction is that there was a close affiliation between them, though we think it might have been rendered unapparent to the disciple by the wide discrepance between

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the mystical conceptions of a feverish intuition and the patient elaboration of a scientific inquiry. M. Comte was cognizant of the gradual and persevering development of his own systematic doctrine: and the unprecedented labors by which his conclusions were obtained, obscured to his view the character and source of the original impulse. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth." Comte felt the inspiration which breathed upon him, but was so occupied with the accomplishment of its behests, that he stopped not to inquire, and failed to discern from whom the spirit had passed to him. We will not further disturb the ashes of the illustrious dead by agitating this inquiry, but will pass to the consideration of less obvious, but perhaps still more significant obligations.

M. Comte in consequence of impatient execution, or insufficient acquaintance with the antecedent history of philosophy, is continually beguiled into grave delusions relative to the novelty of his own speculations. There are many singular instances, in which doctrines, the most original in his estimation, and the most earnestly defended by him on the supposition of their entire or substantial originality, are really nothing but the revival, under a slight change of form, of earlier, and often of forgotten views. Thus, what he deems the distinctive feature of his Biology, the contemplation of vegetable, animal and rational life under one science, is at least as old as David, one of the neglected scholiasts, or Aristotle, who, moreover gives M. Comte's own peculiar law of the three dynamic operations characteristic of life, nutrition, increase and reproduction. So familiar, indeed, was the Aristotelian view of the triple series of organic existences, that it passed into English poetry, and is loosely expressed in Milton's Paradise Lost:

> "In thee,
> Not in themselves, all their known virtue appears,
> Productive in herb, plant, and nobler birth
> Of creatures animate with gradual life,
> Of growth, sense, reason, all summ'd up in man."

We have not yet examined Mr. Spencer's Principles of Biology, but from the indications furnished in his previous works, we may venture to infer that he accepts the main positions of M. Comte, perhaps without direct obligation, and that he also had been anticipated in this respect by the Peripatetic scholiast; and, if by the scholiast, then it may be presumed by the school of the sage, if not by the sage himself. According to our recollection, indeed, these tenets are formally expressed by Aristotle, though we are unable at this moment to turn to his authoritative declarations on the point. Even the

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definition of Life, borrowed by Comte from M. de Blainville with high commendation—a definition which is imitated, but scarcely improved by Mr. Spencer—seems but the resuscitation of those vague and dreamy representations, which preceded its characterization as the "*co-exercitatio sensuum*" by Xenophanes, Aristoxenes, Asclepiades. The very expression of these philosophers is almost reproduced in the phrase employed by the Positive Hierarch, when he describes life to be the "*consensus universel de l'ensemble de l'organisme.*" M. Comte says that the famous scholastic definition of man as "a reasoning animal" is pure nonsense, because all animals and especially those which approach the higher limit of the zoological scale, are necessarily endowed with reason. The anecdote of Plato and Diogenes ought to have precluded the erroneous supposition that this was a scholastic notion. But this specific doctrine is proclaimed by Leibnitz, who attributed a soul to animals, and, therefore, reason in some sort also. It was held by numberless philosophers before it was avowed by Bernardino Telesio of Cosenza, as it has been advocated by many sober, sagacious and scientific men since, as may be recognized from the commentaries of Lord Brougham and Sir Charles Bell on the subject of animal instinct, which are appended to the annotated edition of Paley's Natural Theology. The Italian sage, just mentioned, also anticipated M. Comte in regarding vegetable and animal life as analogous; and thus furnishes another deduction from the claim of Mr. Spencer to originality; but the whole theory is contained in the scholiast, David, to whom reference has already been made. His observations remind us very strongly of Mr. Spencer's Philosophy of Evolution—though, of course, not pushing it to the same extent, nor representing it as the one pervading law of the Universe, nor rivalling the brilliant evidence adduced for its corroboration. But David explains the gradations of organic existence by the successive superinduction of additional functions and capacities.

The illustration of the phenomena of human action by reference to the procedure of animals of an inferior order, which is represented by M. Comte as having been improperly neglected by previous philosophy, was habitual among the ancients, and gave rise in the hands of the Stoics to that doctrine of a State of Nature, which still preserves much of its pristine vitality, though it has forgotten its appropriate significance in consequence of having become totally disconnected from the whole hypothesis of which it formed a characteristic portion. Æsop's Fables could not have arisen among a people unaccustomed to notice the manifold correspondence of men and animals. Almost every page of the philosophical dialogues of Cicero

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teems with these analogies, which are employed by him, as they were by the schools which he represents, with as much frequency, confidence and effect, as they are by M. Comte, though not with the same wild fantasy.

To proceed from the Positive theory of Life to the Positive theory of Society. We have only to look into Ferrari's Philosophy of History, or into any summary of the reveries of socialism, ancient and modern, to discover in how many different positions M. Comte has been anticipated. But we will not take those coincidences which any one may gather for himself. The science of Sociology, which M. Comte apparently regarded as his own peculiar invention, and which, in a limited sense, may be conceded to have been so; which he declares to have been altogether impossible, and even inconceivable, anterior to his times, and previous to the definite constitution of Biology, seems to have been indistinctly contemplated by Jerome Cardan, as early as the Fifteenth Century. That eccentric and crazy philosopher, who resembled M. Comte in so many respects, and in his occasional fits of downright mental alienation, mentioned in the list of his inventions drawn up by himself: "*cognitio morum hominum, primo in genere, post juxta gentes, et reliqua, ut consuetudines demum proprie vel alterius.*" It is true that this conception of the doctrine would approximate more closely to the scheme of Ethology contemplated by Mr. Mill, than to the outline of Sociology elaborated by M. Comte: but it destroys the gloss of the supposed novelty of the science as the direct consequence of Positivism alone. If M. Comte had precursors or heralds in this department of speculation, he must have many successors before even the foundations of the system can be satisfactorily laid. Even after all his acute observation, and his rigid and punctilious divisions, the whole task of adequately constructing the framework of the science of Society remains to be achieved. Valuable hints for that philosophy of the future may be drawn from the earlier and the later manifestations of Positivism; but the ten volumes of that ponderous structure can furnish no more than hints and points of departure for future investigation.

The enforcement of Fraternité, which M. Comte alleges, not as an original thesis, but as a distinctive characteristic of Positivism, entered into the customary jargon of the whole Revolutionary School of France, as it did at Athens in much earlier ages. It is as fully, and more justly and beautifully insisted upon by Cicero as a Peripatetic doctrine, than it is by the High Priest of Humanity—the Grand Pontiff of Positivism.

A very significant development of this universal Fraternity

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was crystallized into the felicitous phrase, "*Vivre pour autrui*," and became the symbol of those circulars in which M. Comte acknowledged or applied for the pecuniary assistance of the learned world. It was his euphemistic rendering of the appeal, "*date obolum Belisario.*" But this "altruisme," in a different application however, was a special precept of the later Stoics, and is as clearly proclaimed by Seneca and Epictetus as by M. Comte. This humanization of the austere and self-concentred tendencies of the followers of Zeno and Chrysippus must unquestionably be ascribed to the augmenting influences of Christianity; but it was not the less accepted and commended by the later disciples of the sect. To the same ancient school, and to that school in its more ancient form, must be restored the tenet that human conduct, individual and social, should be regulated by the conclusions of science, and by the suggestions drawn from the diligent study of nature. This was a favorite topic with them as it is with M. Comte.

The principle which is involved in the conjunction of "Order and Progress"—a principle conceived to be so directly implicated with the whole framework of the Positive Philosophy, that it was assumed as its motto or devise—is announced by St. Thomas Aquinas as the fundamental reason and explanation of all law. Rapid and undeveloped as are his remarks, they may be suspected of including the undisclosed germ of Mr. Spencer's Theory of Evolution. We must look, however, to Dr. McCosh's Treatise on the Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation for the true exposition of the inherent dependence of Order on Progress, and of Progress on Order.

The distinction between the Statical and the Dynamical aspects of Society is a valuable end in the prosecution of Sociological investigations. It is confessedly derived by Comte from the ordination of the Physical Sciences. It is adopted by Mr. Mill with marked approbation. But it was anticipated, or at least foreshadowed by Aristotle; and it was distinctly apprehended by Kant, though the terms employed by him to designate the contrast were Mathematical and Dynamical.

The fundamental laws of the scheme of Positivism—those which relate to the classification and hierarchy of the sciences, consequently those which determine the method and the form of the Positive Philosophy—may be traced to Aristotle through the ancient commentators on his works.

The relations between Theory and Practice—the necessity of controlling speculation by observation, and of irradiating observation and action by general principles are laid down by Joannes Philopenus in his Annotations on the Categories of Aristotle; and, if we had time for the search, it might be

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shown by his Master also, as distinctly and intelligibly as they are in the Positive System. These ancient and neglected writers were in the habit of making a formal enunciation of great principles in a brief and simple form, and of leaving the development of those principles to private meditation or exoteric instruction. The moderns, on the contrary, cackle interminably over every egg that is laid, and are never content unless they proclaim the event to an admiring world, claim the credit of the feat, and rapturously expound the nature of the egg and the brood to be expected from it. In this manner the modern Philosopher has often made his reputation from suggestions incidentally thrown out by the unappreciated writers of antiquity.

The axiom of the new Philosophy that prediction is the test of science, which has been ingeniously commented on by Mr. Herbert Spencer, was held by Aristotle and by a long succession of those metaphysicians who provoke M. Comte's continual vituperation. It is a strange refutation of Comte's pretensions to singular originality, to find Roger Bacon announcing in the Thirteenth Century that one of the distinguishing prerogatives of his own method of Experimental Science consists in the knowledge of things future, past and present—"*in cognitione futurorum, et præteritorum, et præsentium.*"

The remark that each Science tends to encroach on its predecessors, is a truth resulting necessarily from the mode in which our knowledge is developed. But it is only half the truth. The whole truth has passed into a proverb in many nations, and is expressed in an axiomatic form by Cicero—"*suo quisque studio ducitur.*" We do not overlook nor underrate the ingenuity and sagacity with which the principle is applied by M. Comte, nor are we insensible to the value of the speculations which result from its employment by him. But the principle itself cannot be regarded as any discovery of Positivism.

There are numerous other instances wherein the details of the Positive Philosophy, presented as original, and regarded as original by the author of the system in his ignorance of the history of Philosophy and of the labors of his precursors, are in reality fragments and crumbs from the accepted or rejected speculations of his great forerunners. It is needless to extend our observations by introducing additional examples, and by dwelling upon the correspondence adduced. It may well be that the failure of Positivism to make a profound or lasting impression upon the movement of Philosophy has been due, in a considerable degree, to the fact that its originality is more

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apparent than real, and that much which was promulgated as a new accession to our knowledge, was in truth but a republication of what had been previously tried and tested, accepted or abandoned.

But it is to the sage of Königsberg—the still unappreciated Kant—that M. Comte—"*O dimidiate Menander*"—might have been most deeply indebted, as it is to the Critical Philosophy that he most frequently and closely approximates, notwithstanding his avowed contempt for the critical phase of speculation. We will not venture to assert that M. Comte directly borrowed any of his views from Kant, although Kant is one of the few predecessors whom he condescends to acknowledge, and to whom he owns obligations; and although, moreover, the agreement is often so intimate, so minute, and so detailed, that it might scarcely be deemed accidental. Still, as these lines of concord flow legitimately from the fundamental principles of Positivism in their Positive exposition; and as the principles in which agreement is displayed constitute the least luminous half of Kantism, we are disposed to refer the correspondence to the identity of the principles of the one with a part of the principles of the other rather than to assert a positive transfer, which might be readily denied, and could not easily be proved. It is true that some of the most remarkable points of agreement consist in the adoption of cardinal tenets which are stated by Kant only as tempting fallacies to be avoided. But even here we hesitate to allege conscious or immediate indebtedness, since M. Comte does not appear to have studied very diligently any of the writings of the philosophers, ancient, modern, or contemporary, whom he abuses as a class, and seems to speak of them only from vague surmises, colloquial impressions, or from brief or accidental perusal. Were it not for this, we might find it often extremely difficult to shake off the conviction that, in the case of Kant, this was more frequently unconfessed obligation than mere concurrence.

It is not the object of these remarks to impute actual plagiarism to M. Comte, for plagiarism is a much rarer offence than those who ferret out resemblances suppose. Our design is to show that he had been preceded in his most characteristic theses by antecedent philosophers, and thus to explain the trivial and transitory nature of the influences exercised by him. This consideration may alleviate any regrets entertained by his more earnest disciples, by affording the assurance that whatever was valuable in his Philosophy had already entered into the common inheritance of the world.

We proceed to cite examples of the concordances of Kant

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and Comte. The position that a natural Philosopher—a student of strict science—had nothing to do with the research of a First Cause, or with God, in the constitution of science, is laid down by Kant, and had been previously held by many Metaphysicians, even so far back as the scholiast Asclepius, and his chief, Aristotle. Mr. Herbert Spencer has rendered good service to sound philosophy, to enlightened science, to morals, and to religion, by reclaiming for the basis of all valid reasoning the recognition of a First Cause, which must be essentially the Supreme Being.

M. Comte's speculations in regard to the theory of vegetable reproduction tally almost exactly with Kant's.

That all knowledge is merely phenomenal is one of the principal conclusions of the Critical Philosophy, as it is the starting point of the Positive System. This doctrine appears to have been held by Leibnitz, and by the unfortunate Giordano Bruno, and seems to have suggested itself also to Aristotle, though it was repudiated by the Pythagoreans. But it is entirely unnecessary to offer any evidence of Comte's want of originality in this doctrine after the abundant arguments and testimonies presented by Sir William Hamilton.

It is also a thesis of Kant's that Logic should be studied in its concrete forms, as exhibited in the several Sciences. This is the whole of Comte's dogma, but it is only half of Kant's. The other half is that Logic should be previously studied in its abstract shape. Mill's Logic is accordingly a fairer realization of Kant's views than is afforded by Comte, from whom Mill borrowed so largely in his attempt to constitute the special Logic of the different branches of science.

To Kant, too, we owe the precise dictum that all valid observation requires and presupposes a theory of some sort.

The reciprocal improvement of the sexes in married life is explained by Kant in a manner singularly analogous to the exposition given by M. Comte; and the deification of woman, though no doctrine of the German Philosopher's, is at least illustrated, and might almost have been suggested, by him.

That the heart possesses a rightful supremacy over the intellect is asserted by Kant; but he is by no means the earliest apostle of the doctrine, which is splendidly sustained by poetry in Tennyson's allegory, "The Palace of Art," and also in "The Princess."

It is also shown by Kant that, on the principles of Positivism, which are distinctly enounced by him as a fractional and inadequate interpretation of the universe, Humanity, or the Civilization of Man, must constitute the whole ultimate aim of science. The same line of thought, but in the spirit of Kant, not of Comte, is resumed and expanded by Fichte.

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That there must be an intermediate form of knowledge between science and practice seems to be but the application of Lord Bacon's view of the importance and even of the necessity of "*axiomata media*," but it might have been discovered in an explicit form in Kant.

To Kant may also be referred the declaration that the growing expansion and multiplicity of the sciences render it necessary to determine the limits of scientific speculation, and to introduce some compendious or comprehensive process for their acquirement.

The unbroken stream of human progress, and the increasing subjection of the living to the dead, or, in other words, of the present to the past, are conclusions of Kant's. The immortality conferred by Comte on the spectral reminiscences of "the worthy servitors of Humanity," is simply the conversion of Cicero's beautiful rhetorical figure into the vague dogma of a mystical superstition—"*Vita mortuorum. . . . . in memoria vivorum est posita.*" The same idea has been embalmed in the verse of Rogers:

> They, in their glorious course, the guides of youth,
> Whose language breathed the eloquence of truth;
> Whose life, beyond preceptive wisdom, taught
> The great in conduct, and the pure in thought;
> These still exist; by Thee to Fame consign'd,
> Still speak, and act, the models of mankind.

To close this memorable list, which omits many identities of speculation, and touches very lightly and hurriedly upon those which have been specified, let us add as a climax and colophon, that even the notion of "*La Grande République Occidentale composée des cinq Populations avancées, Française, Italienne, Germanique, Britannique, et Espagnole toujours solidaires depuis Charlemagne*," which figures in the Title-Page of the original edition of the "*Discours sur l'Ensemble du Positivisme*, and is so largely elaborated in M. Comte's principal productions, that even this notion of

> "The Parliament of Man—the Federation of the World"

is briefly indicated by Kant. "One of the great results," says he, "of the constant, but more or less accelerated march of Humanity should be the Cosmopolitan constitution of nations, the universal federation. It is an idea, however, which has been constantly advocated in its religious aspects by the Canonists, which it was always the aim of the Papacy to accomplish in the spiritual government of the world; a doctrine to which Henri IV., as well as Napoleon, endeavoured to give a political realization, which lay at the foundation of the Im-

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perial system of Charlemagne, which was transmitted to him from the Roman Empire, and was deduced from the conquests of the Roman Republic. By so slow and secular a progression does the instructive tendency of human development succeed in making itself intelligible, and in displaying itself as a distinct philosophical conception.

Neither in regard to Kant, nor in regard to any of the other authors between whom and M. Comte there exist the remarkable analogies which we have exhibited, have we endeavored to seek out and multiply the points of resemblance or of osculation. We have had no inclination to do so, nor should we have had time for the labor, or space for the exposition of the results. We have only enumerated the instances of agreement in fundamental or important particulars, which had been casually noticed in the course of our ordinary studies.

In justice to Kant, it should be stated that some of the tenets which are resuscitated by Positivism are propounded by him only to be rejected, with reasons assigned for their rejection; and that the rest, as forming parts of a much more comprehensive and liberal Philosophy, are interpreted in a much ampler light and in a much truer sense than by the Positive System.

In justice to M. Comte we would repeat that we have not disinterred the skeletons of the doctrine, which reappear in ghastly guise in his body of phenomenal science, for the purpose of alleging direct plagiarism or conscious obligation. Far from us be the thought of thus desecrating the memory of an earnest and acute philosopher, although we can readily conceive of his giving cordial utterance to the ejaculation, "*pereant qui ante nos nostra dixerunt!*" But, if the practice of Aristotle justified the charge of Bacon (which it does not), that he had obliterated the names and monuments of those whose materials he had employed to rear his own vast edifice, and that like the Turkish Sultans, "he would bear no brother near the throne;" and if Bacon is himself obnoxious in a considerable degree to the like accusations, M. Comte does openly, though very sparingly, acknowledge indebtedness to others for some few details of his system. He always mentions with honor those whom he actually regards as his precursors, though he is by no means anxious to particularize the extent of his obligations. Is it ungenerous to say, "*Ita metuit ne quid unquam didicisse videatur!*"

We have made this enumeration of coincidences with very different motives. The aim of a philosopher should not be to say new things, but to say true things, "*non nova sed vera;*" and the object of the philosophic criticism of philosophy is not

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to deny the originality or the novelty, but the accuracy of the doctrines censured. Guided by this feeling, we have drawn out our bill of particulars for the sake of demonstrating that the leading principles of Positivism, and many of its most striking incidental precepts, lend it no prestige, afford it no confirmation, and cannot be claimed by it as its peculiar doctrines, or as the consequence of its own peculiar system, since they had previously co-existed with very different schemes of philosophy, and had been usually enounced by them either in a juster connection, or in a more enlarged and liberal spirit. Certainly these parallel passages can give no superiority to the Positive over the Critical Philosophy, unless it be shown that in this instance the rule of Hesiod applies: "the half is better than the whole."

Before M. Comte had passed from the scene of his labors, or had brought his labors to a close, his Philosophy had "paled its ineffectual fires," and other luminaries were already in the ascendant. While still engaged in reërecting barriers against social and political revolution by piling up the wrecks which lay around him on the strand, the waves of revolution swept over his frail bulwarks. He still continued his vain structure, unconscious of the breach, incognizant of the ruin. The inundation which he had endeavored to resist by the unintermitted exertions of a long life began to subside when its fury was spent. The tide ebbed when it had reached its flood, and ebbed so fast that its receding waters left high and dry upon the shore the fortifications which had been so painfully constructed, and left the engineer still sedulously at work after the apprehended danger had come and had passed away. Archimedes at the sack of Syracuse was not more unconscious of what was transpiring around him than M. Comte when death arrested him in the midst of schemes, no longer available for their intended use. It is a melancholy spectacle; a sad example of human effort and human genius frustrated by the narrow preoccupations of a mind at once credulous and sceptical.

O miseras hominum mentes! O pectora cæca!
Qualibus in tenebris vitæ, quantisque periclis
Digitur hoc ævi quodamque est!

ART. II.—LOUIS NAPOLEON.

We shall not bore you with biography. It may be bought at the bookstores. We will not disgust you with fulsome adulations of one who has forced Fortune to favor him; forced her by his intellect and energy to renounce her coquetries and follow one of the men of destiny. It is perhaps her feminine

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way to delude and frown on those who sue at her shrine, but yield herself a captive to him who has courage to command her.

Louis Napoleon is the leader of a school of which Cheops, Alexander, Czar Peter, Frederick and Napoleon were founders. It is the school of men whose acts made, according to Carlyle, the great epics of their age; men who owed their eminence to their own ability; men who maintained themselves and their successors upon a throne based on pyramids, canals, rivers diverted from their courses, cities founded upon a morass, roads across the Alps, schools, colleges, hospitals, workshops built and endowed for public use.

Louis Napoleon came into the world and the world did not comprehend his mission. Possibly he did not himself perfectly comprehend it. It was his inspiration to restore the broken column of his uncle's greatness. To execute his designs. To avenge his memory. The world looked on him with derision. It generally does so upon the first demonstration of original genius. It requires the data of a generation to teach the world to admire. Thus the world worships at the shrine of the last idol, and regards any other inspiration as an attack upon its faith. The world fancied it saw a dwarf tugging at the sword of Napoleon, which hung rusting in its scabbard on the walls of the Hotel des Invalides. It deemed Louis invisible amid the folds of the Imperial mantle. The world could not see clearly. It did not comprehend that the unfinished labors of the statesman, warrior, and savans might be completed otherwise than by artillery and the sword. When Napoleon pronounced the words, "The empire—it is peace!" it was the opinion of the half-pay veterans, who had gained their pensions at Waterloo, that he had abdicated. They regarded it as an ignoble abandonment of his pledges. It was thought that content with the honors which France had bestowed upon him he desired only to enjoy them. The world ridiculed the "nephew of his uncle," and turned to look upon other spectacles. The courts of Europe regarded him through their lorgnettes, or passed by on the other side to avoid an embarrassing recognition. He allayed some demonstrations of popular nausea by the "bloody emetic" of grape and canister. A few statues, some public buildings erected, a judicious employment of the poor, appeased the people, and revived the memory of the Empire and of the man who had founded it. To establish himself in the hearts of his people and to escape the intrigues of foreign cabinets he married an honorable and excellent woman; one worthy to be the friend and associate of her most maternal majesty of England. We can offer no higher evidence of his

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wisdom, or of her worth. In doing so he avoided the great error of his uncle, and followed his earlier and better inspirations.

With a throne and a household based upon faith and affection, he commenced to develop the meaning of his grand text. He enounced another great axiom: That nations are respected according to their power. To obtain the greatest amount of power, he commenced to educate and employ the people. Instead of the house of correction and the galleys, he had the school and the workshop. Instead of bayonets to repress the insurrections of hunger and nakedness, he developed work and wages. His theory required that every man, woman and child, every acre of land, every water-power or mineral, should contribute to the moral or material power of France. The demonstration of that power would bring the respect of nations, and in this would consist the Empire of France. Thus the mental capacity of the kingdom was subjected to the test of primary instruction. Perhaps the masses were fit to serve the state as farmers, operatives, soldiers. Sometimes God had gilded with a ray of genius some human mote that floated for its little moment, before it joined the dust of generations and of ages. That immortal mind aided by instruction would make an orator, or a general, a poet, a sculptor, a painter. It might bear the flag of France to glory, or it might conquer a name in the annals of the world. Perhaps some humble girl might contribute to the same result by the triumph of poetry, of song, or of the drama. Such an one might illustrate Paris by a mantle or a chapeau, or witch the world with studies drawn from nature. Native genius cannot remain concealed in France. It belongs to the State, and it will be reclaimed and developed on State account. There are two departments of instruction in France; the one literary, terminating in colleges and the university; the other practical, in its applications of philosophy and science to the useful enterprises of life. The first qualifies the advocate and the statesman to serve, the poet and the dramatist to adorn the Empire. The second furnishes the scarcely less useful and distinguished men who tunnel mountains, open mines and conduct commerce. Now for ourselves we are of opinion, that the mind-power of a nation is its chief wealth. It is upon the development of this power that depend all other elements of material greatness. The minerals may slumber in the earth. The cataract may leap idly from the mountain. The harbor may glass on its quiet bosom the soaring eagle and the simple gull, but without the educated intellect they are as worthless as the mines of Arizona, the falls of St. Anthony, or the roadstead of Acapulco.

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The Emperor advanced in his policy. He perceived that the nation which borrowed, was the slave of the nation which lent. That the nation which imports its daily supplies, must export its own values to pay for them; that, by consequence, there can be no accumulations of capital with this dependent nation; and without capital accumulated in the national funds, there can be no class with means and leisure for literature, science and philanthropy. It is a class, moreover, always conservative, since it has locked up its treasures in the strong box of the Government. With this conviction the Emperor began to develop the mechanical resources of France. He had dignified labor by conferring upon it the honors of intelligence. He proceeded to aid it still further by giving it the control of machinery, to enhance its profits and diminish its toils.

As a branch of this mechanism upon which the judicious application of human labor and the development of national resources so much depends, we may refer to the successful application of steam to maritime navigation and warfare. The whole history of it is worth reading. Philosophers had demonstrated that a steamer could not cross the ocean. Boards of Admiralty had "pooh poohed" floating blacksmith-shops, and armored bulwarks, when *La Gloire* walked out upon the ocean in queenly contempt of the prophets. Observe the effects of this discovery. England had built up a maritime supremacy. Raleigh, Drake and Frobisher had, with the assistance of a very timely tempest, dispersed the Armada, "singed the beard of the King of Spain" in his own harbor, we believe, of Cadiz, and established the superior skill, courage and economy of their vessels as fighters or carriers. The Republican admirals under Cromwell did the same kind office for the Dutch. The fleets of France suffered a similar humiliation on various occasions from the reign of Louis XIV. up to Trafalgar, and until Napoleon ordered Marbois to sell Louisiana to the United States at the price of a few rounds of ammunition; because England was fitting out a fleet for the West Indies, and his sagacity taught him that the blow would fall upon his own recent acquisitions upon the Mississippi. Therefore he told his minister that he would sell Louisiana to the United States: First, because he could not cope with England at sea; and Second, because he would thereby raise up an antagonist that could neutralize her power upon that element. Napoleon then abdicated the ocean. England was thus the mistress of the seas, and she openly affirmed that fact. It was also chronicled and made immortal in the songs of Dibden, and in that traditional tar who dances horn-pipes, gets drunk whenever he

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comes ashore, squanders his small pay and fortuitous prize money on all sorts of unworthy people, with more than Oriental profusion, and proclaims on all occasions, "Jack's the lad!" He boasted very much of the "wooden walls of old Hengland;" hitched up his inexpressibles, and, having cast his quid into the face of his antagonist, announced his readiness for pugilistic conflict. He had compromised with the American tar some forty or fifty years since, and agreed to divide the broad domain of ocean with him, but still he strutted in unmitigated absurdity. Now what do our readers suppose has become of this hero? He is gone. He exists but in tradition. He can no longer talk about "yard-arm and yard-arm," because there are no longer yard-arms. He no longer enacts prodigies with his cutlass in "repelling boarders." There is no more boarding. The boarders are now received, like Cuddy Headrigg at the siege of Castle Bellenden, with a discharge of hot water, which peels these boarders like so many lobsters. Jack no longer "sits up aloft." He no longer sleeps on the cross-trees or lies out on the spars, nor does "the rope slide swiftly through his glowing hands" when he lands on the deck to receive his black-eyed Susan. Those boasts of triumph, those palmy days are gone. And to whom is this extraordinary dethronement of her most maritime majesty due? To the calm man who announced the pacific motto which we have quoted. It is he who has dispensed with masts, sails, spars and cordage. It is he who encrusts a ship with scales like a dragon. It is he who has discharged the tar forever, and what then? He has replaced him with the engine and the pilot; the artillerist and the battery. Very simple that, is it not? Hardly worth the attention of gentlemanly diplomats who change the map of nations by exchanging protocols, and mark what has resulted from that simple change! Machinery equalizes the strength of nations as it has done the skill of individuals. The nation which has most commerce at sea, has the most values at risk. The nation rich enough to order a steam engine and hire foreign seamen, becomes, like the free lancers of the middle ages, very formidable, since they are invulnerable in their poverty and in the capacity to fight or fly. No other illustration is needed of the startling importance of this new power than the fact that an iron-clad ram, the Virginia, sunk at a blow each, two first-class wooden frigates. Half a dozen steamers ordered by the Confederate Government, built, fitted and found abroad, without a home, a port or a coaling station, doubled insurance upon the commercial marine of one of the first maritime powers of the world. Ten years ago England could hold her cotton-fields in India, her penal

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colonies in Australia. She could draw her corn and timber from Canada, and her sugar from Jamaica. This was because if any power interrupted her commerce or insulted her citizens, a terrible vengeance was sure to follow. The masts, sails, cordage and jack tars were important agents of national power. Now these institutions have gone with the ballistæ and the catapult. The steam engine has superseded and relieved them. Louis Napoleon has the merit of having been the accoucheur of that idea. He has now more guns afloat by steam than any other power. The idea has been caught and copied by Spain, Austria; even

"That provoking Czar
Has got *him* a round jacket and pretends to be a tar."

It seems from the London *Times* that if England had intervened to guarantee the rights stipulated to Poland by the Congress of Vienna, the Russian steam fleet was under sealed orders to attack the commerce and possessions of England in the Pacific and Chinese oceans.

Suppose, then, a war between Russia and the United States; how long could England hold her possessions upon the islands or Continent of America? Suppose a difficulty with Russia or France; how could she keep up her commerce with the East or with Malta or Gibraltar? "The Empire—it is peace." Who would have ever dreamed that the Empire—it is a steam-engine? Suppose Louis Napoleon held Louisiana this day, and learned that England was fitting out a fleet for the West Indies, would he sell it to any other power for a mess of pottage to avoid its falling into her hands? Let Mexico answer.

The Emperor has, moreover, taken the deepest interest in manufactures. Silks, wines, jewelry and every article of luxury required no encouragement. He saw that cotton was an important article for the employment of labor and the creation of value. He decreed cotton manufactures. He caused mills to be built. He caused his people to be instructed in spinning, and five years since he had attracted from England alone some eight thousand operatives, who were employed in the factories of France. As a result, the importations and manufactures of this important staple increased, until it is now estimated to afford direct and incidental support to millions of his subjects.

We must pass over his systematic development of the agriculture, the minerals, the fisheries—in a word, of all the material resources of his kingdom. This development is all organized in Departments and Bureaux of his Government, which consider every thing and report every thing in connection with those important interests.

We therefore come to the commercial policy of the Emperor.

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He was the first to perceive the social, political and military effect of the railroads. By their aid he has immensely developed the commerce of France, internal and foreign. They not only bring the trade from much of Switzerland and upper Germany, but they connect France with Italy. Already is Mont Cenis being pierced with a stupendous tunnel. Under his auspices or example other similar works are under construction for the purpose of connecting the valleys of the Alps with the fertile fields and populous cities of France and Italy. Nor has he rested content with these results of intercommunication. He has made the railroad system strategic. *Fert novas aleas Mercurio ignotas Marti.* The roads of France have been so planned and connected as to converge their whole capacity of transportation upon any point of the interior or frontier of the Empire. The telegraphic system is equally perfect. He has significantly said if steam and the railroad had been known to the first Emperor Napoleon, no hostile foot would have polluted the soil of France. Who would have supposed that the Empire meant tunnels, embankments, T rails and U rails, locomotives and cow-catchers? So much for the policy of this very mild man, who disbands his armies after his victories and quietly goes to escorting his wife, nursing his little son, opening a school, building a magnificent dock at one place, inaugurating a statue at another, or viewing the progress of a tunnel at a third!

As a consequence of this system, he wants a colonial market. It required many years to reduce Algeria to submission, but he has succeeded in pacifying its rulers and to some extent industrializing its people. It exchanges tobacco and some other native products for French manufactures, but perhaps it does not pay. The Mahommedans do not like to work for other people any better than our fellow-citizens of African descent. So the Emperor offers his arm to Queen Victoria, and drops in at Canton. Pleased with the idea of exchanging silks, wines and jewelry against Souchong tea and Sycee silver, he announces his purpose to chop-stick with the Celestials. Perhaps her most maternal Majesty had rather he had "stopped at home;" but remembering her of the iron-clads and rifle ordnance, she politely asks him to remain, and they open shop in China together. Still this Empire of peace expands. It re-appears with a ledger under its arm at Vera Cruz, and sends Maximilian, like an imperial constable, with a process of collection. Forthwith follows the inevitable railroad. Mexican prejudices give way, and German, even American, immigrants are invited, and all throng to enjoy the beauties and blessings which Providence has spread in that favored land, and which thus far

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man has failed to turn to profitable account. If Napoleon shall succeed in securing to himself this rich commerce, it will matter to him little who has the cares of the government of Mexico. This commerce is an incident to the system of policy which he has adopted. Give him the exclusive commerce of Mexico, and we imagine the Monroe Doctrine would constitute little objection. If he shall need more trade upon the American continent, he will take it as occasion serves. The employment of Maximilian to develop a trade which France shall enjoy, is perhaps the latest comment upon the text. This policy has founded a new dynasty, and if pursued hereafter with equal success, will transmit the crown of France to a long posterity of princes.

ART. III.—IMPROVEMENT OF THE RIVER AND HARBOR OF MOBILE.

The bed or channel of a river, where the phenomena of ebbing and flowing, and the consequent reversal of the direction of the currents take place, extends to common high water mark; and its breadth is measured by a line at right angles with the direction of the line of current, which is the deepest part for the track of vessels, and includes the whole breadth of the surface of the water of the river at ordinary high tide.

The bed or channel of a navigable river, above the influence of the tide, consists of the bottom and the two banks, or sides. The breadth is the distance from bank to bank, measured on a line at right angles with the line of current. In times of flood the waters of a river may extend over these natural boundaries. To secure the adjacent lands from the danger of overflow at such times, dikes or levees have been extended along the banks. The country on either side of the Mississippi, for a considerable part of its lower course, is protected by levees, and the low countries in Holland are defended in the same way by dikes.

The perimeter, at common high water mark, is that portion of the transverse section of the alveus, bed or channel of the river which is in actual contact with the water, and the surface of the water, at ordinary common high tide, marks the limit of the channel. The term "banks or shores" of a tidal river, includes the natural appendages of the margin land, which rise out of the water, and are bordering on the surface of the river at ordinary high tide.

The right of navigating the Mobile river is vested exclusively in the United States, and the river is free, in its *whole breadth*, to all their inhabitants, and forms up to high water mark a part of the domain of the State of Alabama. The inhabitants bordering on the river, or the riparian owners, have no claim beyond the banks, or shores, and the right to navigate the river involves the right to moor vessels to its banks or shores, and to load and unload cargoes,

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etc. In fact, in the case of all navigable rivers, the navigation is an object of paramount importance to which all other questions and interests connected therewith should be considered subordinate.

Riparian proprietors are entitled to all accessions made to the lands granted, either by the natural retreating of the river from its former limits, or by the slow and secret deposit of sand or other substances, provided they do not impede, or interfere with navigation. The owners of these accessions have not the right to erect works, or plant trees or shrubs on them, if they are detrimental to the free discharge of the water, or to the navigation of the river, and if erected or planted they may be removed at pleasure.

In evidence of this, we cite the case of the Trustees of the river Clyde. The Trustees made embankments to improve the navigation of the river by narrowing the channel, in order to deepen it. The land gained on each side accrued to the riparian proprietors, by a reserving clause in the Clyde Navigation Act. The Trustees were advised that embanking the river and making it so narrow, and its breadth so equal, was not advantageous to the navigation, and they proposed to demolish part of the embankment so as to increase the propagation of the flood tide, and the quantity of backwater. Some of the proprietors resisted and said: "This land is ours and you must not touch it, or at least you must give us compensation." To that case the Navigation Trustees contended, and successfully, before Lord Jeffrey, that the primary object was the navigation of the river, and that, though they had tried this experiment of embanking, they were equally entitled to try how it would do without embanking, and, that, in point of fact, there was nothing to prevent them, if they found the experiment unsuccessful, from restoring the former alveus or channel of the river. The court sustained the position taken by the Trustees, and the case being carried by appeal before the House of Lords, the decision was confirmed.

It is perhaps still a mooted question how far prescription runs against a State, or the United States, or whether they can suffer by the negligence of their officers. This much may however be said, that it is the great public policy to preserve the public rights, revenues and property from injury and loss by the negligence of public officers. No statute of limitations should be allowed to protect persons in possession of a right properly belonging to the public, and which came into their hands by means of official ignorance, or official neglect, for no *lashes* can be imputed to the Government, and against it no time runs, so as to bar its rights. It was considered by Tilghman, Chief Justice in Pennsylvania, that the Commonwealth could not be affected by acts of limitation. Neither can such statutes in the States affect the rights of the United States, in a suit in the courts of the United States.

By judicial decision founded upon Magna Charta and various statute laws, "all lands subject to the flux and reflux of the sea, and the soil of all navigable rivers in England, belong to the crown." By the same decision too, "no length of time can legitimatize such

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encroachments as are detrimental to navigation." The Roman law which considered navigable rivers public or common property, declared that the right to the use of the shores was incident to that of the water, and that the right to navigate a river involved the right to moor vessels to its banks, to lade and unlade, etc. The same principles, both as regards the public right to the free and uninterrupted use of navigable rivers and the extent of the authority of Government in protecting it, derived from the old Roman law, exist in the laws of France and Spain at the present time, and, I presume, may be found in the judicial system of every country in Europe.

All navigable waters within the State of Alabama are to remain for ever public highways, free to the citizens of the State and of the United States, without any tax, impost or toll thereon, imposed by the State. The territory of the State includes the lakes, seas and rivers entirely enclosed within its limits. The rivers which flow through the territory, also form a part of the domain, from their sources to their mouths, or as far as they flow within the territory, including the bays or estuaries formed by their junction with the sea. Where a navigable river forms the boundary of a conterminous State, the line of current or the Thalweg is generally taken as the line of separation between the two States, unless otherwise ordained by special agreement.

The primary object of the improvement of the river and harbor of Mobile is, or ought to be, the navigation of the river, to which all other questions connected therewith should be regarded as subordinate. Mobile is dependent upon the upland and tidal waters for its existence as a harbor. The size of the harbor, as respects both, its width and depth, is in proportion to the quantity of water passing through it, and every diminution of such quantity by encroachments upon the channel of the river, tends to diminish the capacity of the harbor. To permit these encroachments to continue would be to destroy, or to surrender the advantages of a great natural agent.

By giving the river a proper direction and a breadth, which would be adequate to the free discharge of the water on the ebb, and to the propagation of the flood-tides, and by stopping up the lateral outlets or branches, the quantity of water in the main-channel would be increased and a greath depth of navigable water obtained.

The encroachments already made, and permitted to remain, opposite the city of Mobile, by narrowing irregularly the channel of the river, forcing the water from its ancient and natural course into Spanish river and other lateral outlets, and excluding a quantity of tidal water, greatly diminish the scouring power of the current on the ebb, and impede navigation. It would be necessary, therefore, to devise an effectual remedy to prevent further encroachments, and to remove those obstructions already made as far as necessary, so as to allow the uninterrupted flow of the water in its original channel, which extends to the limit of ordinary high tide, within which no person has a right to erect any private works.

The encroachments on the channel of the Mobile river have not

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been authorized by any grant of the city of Mobile, the State of Alabama or the United States; they are, therefore, illegal. Their immediate disadvantage to navigation is manifest in the shoal water and the sluggish current. To aid in adopting the best measures for effecting the removal of those obstructions, or for enforcing other sufficient remedy, it is necessary to know the rights and powers which the city authorities have to effect this object; how, and by what process, and at whose prosecution or suit it is to be accomplished, and whether there is any, or what limitation of time, in regard to the penalties or responsibilities incurred.

It is evident, under the circumstances stated above, that the encroachments in question are public nuisances, as injuring the harbor and impeding the passage of vessels.

Mr. Chitty in a similar case, says: "It appears to me under the circumstances stated, that the embankments and obstructions in question are public nuisances, as being an injury to the harbor and passage of ships: (Callis, on Sewers, 76; Hale, De Jure Maris, 21; Hankins, Pleas of the Crown, book i, chap. 32, ss. I., II.) As such nuisances, they may be abated and removed; or the erectors or maintainers of them may be indicted, or have a criminal information filed against them; or if any individual has sustained any special injury arising from them, (as by the destruction of his ships in the harbor, or the like,) he might maintain a special action on the case against them: (Super Lord Ellenborough, R. *v.* Dewsnap, 16 East, 196; Greasley *v.* Codling, 2 Bing, 273.) Of these remedies, I should, at all events for the present, advise the adoption of the one by indictment only; which may be prosecuted at the instance of any individual who may think fit to resort to it. I should advise the indictment to be against the parties who have erected or maintained the most recent of the embankments causing the nuisance. I do not think that the length of time during which the embankments have existed, will legitimatize them: (Weld *v.* Harnby, 7 East, 195; R. *v.* Cross, 3d Campbell, 227; Coupland *v.* Hardingham, *ib.* 398; Vooght *v.* Winch, 2 B. and Ald. 662.) There is no limitation of time for the prosecution by indictment. The responsibility to an action at the suit of any person specially injured, would cease at the end of six years from the occurring of that injury. Those persons who erected the embankments since the 46 Geo. III. was passed, may, I think, have subjected themselves to the penalty imposed thereby."

I think it is within the jurisdiction of the city of Mobile to remove or destroy the whole or any part of an obstruction, within the limits of the bed or channel of the river as defined by ordinary high tide, wherever it may deem such a step necessary to preserve or restore the navigation of the river or harbor. Todd *v.* the Clyde Trustees, affirmed in the House of Lords in 1841, reported in the 2d vol. of Robinson's Appeal Cases; Smart *v.* Magistrates of Dundee, 1798, 8 Brown's cases of Parliament; Magistrates of Culross *v.* Geddes, 1809; Seven *v.* Magistrates of Burntisland, 1812;

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Campbell *v.* Brown, 1813; Boucher *v.* Crawford, 1814; Berry *v.* Holden, 1840. In the case of the river Tay, the Dee, &c., in Great Britain, the parties concerned were compelled to remove all obstructions to navigation below ordinary high tide.

The injurious effects of the encroachments upon the bed of the Mobile river, which force a portion of its waters through the lateral outlets above the city, and impede the propagation of the flood-tide, thereby diminishing the quantity of water on the ebb, or the power that scours the bed of the river, may become apparent by referring to Mr. Walker's Report on the River Tay, January 21st, 1845. He says: "The injury done by any diminution of the power which scours the rivers and removes obstructions, is not simply in proportion to the quantity abstracted; it is in a greater proportion; that is, if you take away any, say half the quantity of the water that now keeps the river open, although by doing so you reduce the velocity only one-half, you take away more than half the power. Every one used to canal or river navigation, knows that very much less than one-half, or even less than one-fourth, the power is required to draw a boat or other body through still water, at one mile per hour, than at double the speed, (the increase of power during the time it is exerted is as the cube,) and also, which is indeed the same thing, that very much less than half the power is required to hold a body at rest against a stream which runs at the rate of one mile, than against a stream of two miles per hour. And the same principle extends in a degree to the powers of rivers to widen and deepen their channel."

Under a judicious system of improvement the Mobile river might be brought into a condition not only befitting its present importance as a navigable stream, and the extent of the commerce now carried on through its waters, but affording such an enlarged capacity for an almost indefinite increase in that commerce as would in a few years add largely to the population, wealth and prosperity of the city, and by that stimulus which the increasing commercial facilities of a large emporium always give to the interior dependent upon it, would contribute to the increase of the population and the rapid development of all the rich resources of the State. But in order that these happy results may be brought about, a knowledge of the best measures must be accompanied by energy and determination to carry them into effect.

Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, in an address delivered at Glasgow, January, 1857, says: "I think it is not eighty years ago since the Clyde could only admit a few lighters from Greenock, from its numerous sand banks and contracted margins; but now the sand banks are removed and the margins are widened, and America, India and China float their vessels into your harbor. And is not that river a type of that intelligence itself which enriches cities and States, in proportion as we clear the obstacles from its bed and widen the space of its waters."

The navigation of the Mobile river could be improved with much

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less trouble and expense then that of the Clyde, and would afford a greater width and depth for the accommodation of vessels. The quantity of water brought down the river is so great as to leave no doubt of its ability to remove all shoals consisting of fine sand and mud, were the energy of the current properly directed, and the assistance of the flood-tide secured.

In 1860, an Advisory Council, consisting of Jas. G. Totten, Act. Brig.-Gen. and Civil Engineer; A. D. Bache, Supt. U. S. Coast Survey; and Chas. H. Davis, Com. U. S. Navy and Supt. Nautical Almanac, was appointed to consider the best mode of making a channel 300 feet wide and 15 deep from the wharves at the city to the lower anchorage in the bay. The Council made its report recommending dredging as a practicable and feasible mode of accomplishing that object. With all due respect for the opinion of the gentlemen composing that Council, I contend, their report to the contrary notwithstanding, that to create and permanently secure a channel 300 feet wide and 15 deep, from the wharves at Mobile to the lower anchorage in the bay, by dredging is neither possible nor practicable. To remove by dredging the sedimentary deposits brought down by a river, without at the same time removing the causes which led to them is useless, because the same causes continuing to exist are constantly engaged day and night in replacing them. The defects in the channel of a river are the causes which produce shoals, bars or sedimentary deposits, and as long as the defects are permitted to remain, the removal of the deposits by dredging is useless. But remove the defects in the channel, by restoring it to a proper condition, and the legitimate operation of the current will gradually remove the deposits altogether, and, while the channel continues to remain in that condition, those deposits can never be replaced. Without such a regulation of the channel of the Mobile river as will increase the quantity and scouring power of the back-water, and give a proper direction to the line of current, all attempts by dredging to deepen the present circuitous track of vessels, in the hope of making a permanent channel of the capacity above mentioned, would be a waste of time, labor and money.

ALBERT STEIN.

MOBILE, January 20, 1866.

ART. IV.—LIBERTY AND CIVILIZATION.

As civilization advances liberty recedes, because laws become more complex and numerous, public opinion more stringent and dictatorial, religion and morality more dominant and restrictive, fashion more exacting in its requirements, human wants and luxuries more numerous, and the labor needed to supply them greater. Hence it will even be found that in large cities, the great centres and foci of civilization, there is least of liberty. Not only the laws of the State and of the Union, but the corporate laws, more restrictive than either, curtail men's liberties in such cities. But, white men, especially

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good men, are extremely averse to that degree of liberty which law and government still leave to them. They contract marriage and have families, and both husband and wife become almost slaves to their children, for whom they are legally, morally, and religiously bound to labor, take care of, and educate. Besides, they become members of a church, and thus incur new obligations, and further lessen their liberty. But this does not suffice; whilst white men dislike liberty they love security, and very properly are not satisfied with that loose and imperfect kind of security that mere law and government afford. They labor from morn to eve to amass property, and whilst so laboring, if not s aves, are performing the part of slaves. But wealth is easier to lose than to make, and to provide against such losses and the various contingencies and misfortunes of life, they enter into temperance societies, freemason and odd-fellow societies, and many other such that provide for their sick and unfortunate members, and for their destitute families after their deaths. Trades Unions are another fashionable and most efficient way of parting with liberty in order to beget security. We highly approve of them. Think them a great and beneficent discovery in social science; nevertheless, they abridge liberty to acquire security. We like especially the eight-hour rule, which, if it is secured, will pretty well give the "*coup de grace*" to the liberty of the masses; but it will infinitely promote their well-being, and human well-being is cheaply purchased by the sale or sacrifice of human liberty, when such liberty stands in the way of its enjoyment.

But the most all-pervading, thorough and efficient way in which civilization destroys liberty is through the agency of its servants and offspring, capital or property.

Although we cannot trace back civilization to its origin, the whole of the white race having been more or less civilized, as far back as history (written or monumental) or tradition extends; yet observation and reflection will readily convince us that the appropriation of the lands by the few was the first great step in the progress of civilization.

Savages always hold lands in common. Were they capable of originating and fully sustaining the institution of private property in lands, they would at once cease to be savages, and become civilized. For the owners of lands would not only want necessaries, but superfluities and luxuries, so soon as they found they could be acquired without labor of their own, by the mere command of other people's labor, with which the ownership of the soil had invested them. Liberty took her flight from the domains of civilization when land became appropriated, and we now only hear of her among the roving savages of Africa and America; we mean the true and genuine goddess. There is, it is true, a pretender or imposter, much worshipped by the Sans Culottes of Paris, by the people of Utah, and by a few crazy abolitionists of Europe and America. We repeat it. Liberty took her flight when land became property, at least the liberty of the honest masses, of those who possessed neither capital

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nor skill, nor the cunning, shrewd, calculating, overreaching, money-making faculty. Nineteen-twentieths of mankind became the subjects of an exploitation, as oppressive, grinding and exacting in many instances, as domestic slavery itself, so soon as lands were made private property. 'Tis true that the owners of money and of merchandise, professional men, artists, money-making men of all kinds, escaped the bondage of land monopoly by helping the landowners to tax and exploit the laboring masses, and thus paying their rents from the profits, gains or advantages which capital, skill and cunning enabled them to exact from the working millions. In thus exploiting the masses (we wont say "cheating," because that is an ugly, vulgar English word, and the French have such an elegant way of saying harsh things that we always prefer the French term when we know it), these classes wonderfully aid the landowners, in tasking the masses into continuous, unceasing industry, and in exciting their ingenuity to make useful inventions and discoveries, whereby a few of them escape from their semi-servile condition by amassing capital, and thus become themselves taxers or exploiters of the very masses to which they lately belonged. If every man owned lands all would speedily become savages, for no man would build a fine house, or fabricate fine clothing, or furniture, or luxuries of any kind for himself. In such a condition of property every one would be content to produce the merest necessaries of life. There would be nothing to stimulate to the exercise of skill and invention, for none could pay for it. No luxuries, elegancies, or superfluities of life whatever would be produced, for men only fabricate luxuries for others to procure necessaries for themselves; and all owning lands alike, none need labor for others to procure a living for themselves. All would become poor and ignorant, but no one would be ashamed of his poverty and ignorance when he saw that his neighbors were equally poor and ignorant.

The loss of liberty is the price of civilization, and it is cheaply paid for at that. Who would not rather be a common laborer in some large city, bound by law, religion, or prevalent morality, to support one's wife and children, taxed by government, exploited by one's landlord, doctor, lawyer, parson and merchant, and taxed by an odd-fellow's, temperance, or freemason society, and by a trades union society to boot; who would not prefer to have his liberty thus hemmed in, restricted, or taken away, than to be a roving savage. Indeed, we have no doubt that the poorest white laborer in Europe or America, in the course of an ordinary lifetime, has more of intellectual and physical comfort and enjoyment than any roving savage whatever; for the savage is half of his time starving, and the other half stealing or fighting. He is never secure for the present or the future, and has no moral, religious or intellectual enjoyments.

The proposition to give everybody land (which is a pet notion of Mr. Seward's, broached by him in the Senate during the Session of '57–'58) is equivalent to a proposition to return to the savage state. That done, and civilization would take her flight and liberty come

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again to dwell in our midst; the ownership of land by every one would be equivalent to holding all land in common. It is the ownership by a few that lashes labor into exertion, and stimulates and rewards genius, skill and inventiveness, and thus advances civilization.

Negroes and American Indians are irreclaimably wild in their natures. 'Tis true they may be tamed, and kept tame, so long as they are in the society and under the rule of the whites, just as Van Amburg's lions and tigers were; but when turned loose to themselves they will as inevitably go wild again as any other naturally wild animals.

There are two tame or civilized races—the Whites of Europe, America and Western Asia, and the Yellow or Mongol race of Eastern Asia. And two distinct wild or savage races—the Negroes and American Indians.

The two former races prefer security to liberty; have been always tame, provident, obedient to law and government, money-making, accumulative, docile and literary. The two latter, being wild, prefer liberty to everything else, and can only be permanently civilized by abundant miscegenation, as in the instances of the Choctaws and Cherokees in our Indian territory.

The division of races into the wild and the tame, or civilized and savage, is apparent to every one, and admitted by all in the many instances of inferior animals that come within our observation. No one will deny that there are wild ducks and tame ducks, wild geese and tame geese, that horses, cattle and sheep are of a docile and tamable nature, whilst wolves, foxes and lions are irreclaimably wild, or at least cannot be domesticated from generation to generation. The dog and cat, and the common barn fowl, seem always to have been tame or domesticated, whilst the partridge and pheasant are wholly untamable. The submission to rule, the deprivation of liberty, is the distinguishing trait of all tame or civilized animals; whilst the inordinate love of liberty, and the readiness to sacrifice everything else in order to enjoy it, is the leading characteristic of wild races of animals, men included. We should study the natural history of man, and to do so properly we must include a comparative natural history of man and other animals.

ART. V.—THE SOUTHERN EL-DORADO.

DURING the war, it was fashionable in the Free States, to make the most stirring addresses and appeals to their white laborers, admonishing how much they lost, by the fact that the South was hermetically sealed to them in consequence of the blight of Slavery. Well, that monster, painted with such "hideous mien," lies bleeding —dead, and one would suppose that the rush from Borean climes to the "regenerated" land of Dixie would be perfectly overwhelming. A fourth of the agricultural property of the South is open to pur-

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chase, lease or settlement! Truly, the *lands* are plenty, but the laborers few.

We have before us a pamphlet prepared in 1864, by a very intelligent gentleman of New York, whose acquaintance we made recently, and who is connected with one of the leading journals of that city —Charles Nordhoff, Esq. The author shows in detail how white laborers have emigrated from the South northward, in numbers many times greater than the reverse migration, remarking upon the fact as follows:

A French writer, the Count de Segur, says: "The human race does not march in that direction; it turns its back to the North; the sun attracts its regards, its desires, and its steps. It is no easy matter to arrest this great current." In other countries all emigration has turned to the southward, by an instinctive movement; but with us the horror of slavery, the aversion of the free laborer to come in contact and competition with slave labor, has sufficed to conquer even this strong instinctive tendency.

"Bear in mind, too, that the South has lost, by this migration, the best class of her citizens. The indolent masters remained; the slaves remained; those free whites who were too poor and helpless and ignorant either to desire or to be able to remove, remained; but there has been a constant drain of the yeomanry of the border Slave States—the forehanded farmers and industrious mechanics, the class whom a State can least afford to lose. These men and their families have helped to fill our northwestern Territories and States; and have taken the places of the thousands who removed from the border Free States to the northwest. They have faced unwonted winters and harder conditions of life—why? Because *these free workingmen felt slavery to be a curse, a bar to all their efforts.* They were not abolitionists—they brought into the Free States with them their curious hatred of the negro, as though it was the slave and not the master who was their oppressor."

Mr. Nordhoff is not satisfied that this state of things should longer exist. He will not give up the fairest spot on earth to the negro. He would send the white man with his energy, his enterprise and cunning to take charge of the teeming and luxuriant fields, and make a garden out of the desert of the South. Will the white man respond? There is no let or hindrance. Slavery is dead, dead as a door nail (*i. e.* as it is dead all over the world, *in name.*) The slavery to capital remains.

We give a page or two from the pamphlet:

Is it no matter to workingmen that they are thus driven out and kept out of the largest, most fertile and pleasantest part of the Union by the slave labor system, which there robs them of work, and attacks their rights? In the mild climate of the border Slave States, the seasons are longer, the productions more varied; trades which can be pursued in the North during only eight or nine months, may be carried on there all the year round; food is or ought to be cheaper; the workingman and his family need fewer and less costly clothes; in many ways the conditions of life are easier, for the mechanic and laborer as well as the farmer, than in the colder North. *But that great region the slavemasters*

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closed against the free workingmen, and preserved for themselves and their slaves.

"The climate is not too hot in any of those States for white men and women to labor in the fields. Governor Hammond, of South Carolina, says: 'The steady heat of our summers is not so prostrating as the short but sudden and frequent heats of northern summers.' White men work on the levee in New Orleans in midsummer, and have the severest labor put upon them at that. He who writes this has rolled cotton and sugar upon the levee of New Orleans in the month of July, and screwed cotton in Mobile Bay in August. Dr. Cartwright, the great apostle of slavery, rightly remarked: '*Here in New Orleans the large part of the drudgery—work requiring exposure to the sun, as railroad making, street paving, dray driving, ditching and building—is performed by white people.*' This severe labor was put upon the free white workingmen; the slave owners reserved the light tasks for their slaves.

"In Alabama, by the census of 1850, sixty-seven thousand; in Mississippi, fifty-five thousand; in Texas forty-seven thousand *white men, non-slaveholders, labored in the fields*, and took no hurt. Cotton was cultivated in Texas, before the war, with perfect success, by white men; the Germans managed even to raise more pounds to the acre, pick it cleaner, and to get a higher price for it, than the neighboring planters. Olmsted mentions an American in Texas who would not employ slave labor, and who, with white men as his help, 'produced more bales to the hand than any planter around him.

"The mortality reports of the census show that the southern States are not peculiarly unhealthful. In Alabama, the deaths, per cent., were less than in Connecticut; in Georgia they are 1.23 per cent., in New York, 1.22; in South Carolina they are 1.44 per cent., in Massachusetts, 1.76, which is precisely the same as in Louisiana, notoriously, till General Butler cleaned New Orleans and drove out the yellow fever, the most sickly State in the South.

"*Nothing, therefore, has kept free workingmen out of these states—nearer to the great markets of the world, having abundant mineral wealth, and in every way more favorably situated than the cold Northeast and the far away Northwest—except the fatal competition of the slaveholders.* To avoid that, millions of workingmen, native and foreign born, have removed to the northwest, until at last the tide of emigration has even trenched upon the inhospitable desert, and has spread beyond the extreme limits of arable land, and far beyond the profitable reach of markets. The Northwestern farmer has burned his corn because he could not afford to send it to the distant seaboard—*was it no loss to him that slavery kept him out of the fertile fields of Virginia and North Carolina?*

"Even had slavery remained in full vigor, the time had come when free labor, seeking new outlets and greater opportunities, would have pressed hardly upon it. If slavery is swept away, free workingmen will hereafter have opportunity in the South, and to all that great region a boundless future of wealth and prosperity opens up. The abandoned farms, the mouldering villages, the empty cottages, will once more be filled with the busy and cheerful hum of the labor of freemen.

"Their cunning will repair the waste of unskillful slave labor; their ingenious toil will redeem the barren fields of Virginia and other southern States. The tide of emigration, sweeping in that direction, may repeat in the South the marvelous results which it has accomplished during the last twenty-five years in the Northwest; Virginia will be another Minnesota, North Carolina a new Iowa, and in Tennessee will be repeated the story of Ohio.

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ART. VI.—THE AMERICANS IN LOUISIANA.

THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA FROM FRANCE AND ORGANIZATION WITHIN THE AMERICAN UNION—CONTEMPORARY DISCUSSIONS—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PEOPLE—ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE, ETC.

[The paper which follows comprises the introductory chapter of the fourth volume of the History of Louisiana, by Charles Gayarre, a distinguished citizen of the State and contributor to the REVIEW. The volume has not yet been published, but the author has revised, corrected and adapted this chapter for our pages, and we feel quite sure that it will deeply interest the student of American History in every part of the Union.—EDITOR.]

ON the 20th of December, 1803, the colony of Louisiana, had passed from the domination of Spain to that of the United States of America, to which it was delivered by France, after a short possession of twenty days, as I have related in a former work. Its inhabitants, of French or Spanish descent, and almost all foreigners who resided in the province, either permanently or temporarily, were discontented and gloomy. To them the change of government, or nationality, was extremely distasteful for reasons as various as the habits, tastes, prejudices, passions, disappointments and hopes of each individual. A few Americans, who were almost lost in the vast numerical superiority of the rest of the population, and who had well-founded expectations to profit, in every way, by the great event of the cession, were alone to feel and to manifest any degree of exultation. The immediate effect of that cession, was to vest all the powers of the defunct government (a sort of Gallic and Spanish hybrid) in Gov. Claiborne, until Congress should legislate on the organization of the government of the new Territory. Thus this officer, as he informed the inhabitants in a set proclamation, had suddenly become the Governor-General and the Intendant of Louisiana, uniting in his person all the authority severally possessed by those two functionaries under the despotic Government of Spain. Well might he be astonished at the strange position in which he was placed; for he, a republican magistrate, found himself transformed into an absolute proconsul, in whom centered all the executive, judicial and legislative authority lately exercised, in their respective capacity, by the superceded Spanish dignitaries. Moreover, he was to wield those extraordinary powers in maintaining and enforcing the laws and municipal regulations of Spain, which were to remain in vigor until modified by the United States, and of which he was entirely ignorant. Not only were they unknown to him, but they were written in a language with which he was not acquainted, and they were thoroughly impregnated with a spirit completely foreign to his nature, to the atmosphere in which he was born and had grown up to manhood, and repugnant to the very moral and political training of his mind. Besides, he was to construe and to execute those laws in their application and adjustment to the wants of a population of which he knew nothing. These were circum-

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stances which could not but startle him by their novelty, and by the danger with which they were fraught. Surely, it is not to be wondered at, if the colonists looked at their new ruler with a jealous eye, and if they awaited with nervous apprehension the course which he was to pursue. He himself must have felt that his situation was such as to require that he should tax to the utmost all the knowledge, talent, sagacity, prudence and firmness which he might possess, and that no time was to be lost, in his giving a decided manifestation of his being gifted with these qualifications.

In confirmation of what I say on the discontent existing among those whose allegiance was now claimed by the United States, I quote Judge Martin's views on the subject, as expressed in his history of Louisiana: "The people of Louisiana, especially in New Orleans," says this learned jurist, who came to the territory shortly after the cession, "were greatly dissatisfied at the new order of things. They complained that the Governor whom Congress had sent to preside over them was an utter stranger to their laws, manners and language, and had no personal interest in the prosperity of the country; that he was incessantly surrounded by new comers from the United States, to whom he gave a decided preference over the Creoles and European French in the distribution of offices; that in the Court of Pleas, recently established, most of the judges of which were ignorant of the laws and language of the country, proceedings were carried on in the English language, which Claiborne had lately attempted to introduce in the proceedings of the municipal body, and that the suitors were in an equally disadvantageous situation in the court of the last resort, in which he sat as sole judge, not attended, as the Spanish Governors were, by a legal adviser—and that the errors into which he could not help falling were without redress. They urged that, under the former government, an appeal lay from the Governor's decision to the Captain General of Cuba, from thence to the Royal Audience in that Island, and in many cases from the Loyal Audience to the Council of the Indies at Madrid." Thus, as you see, Claiborne was at the same time the Governor, the Intendant, and the Supreme Judge of Louisiana. There could not be under the sun a more complete despotism.

It is true that this state of things did not last beyond the time which was strictly necessary for Congress to modify it. On the 26th of March, 1804, an act was passed "to organize" the newly acquired province, and to divide it into two parts—the one called "Territory of Orleans," and the other "District of Louisiana." But that act was so framed that it proved a fresh source of discontent, instead of a healing ointment on festering wounds. The severing of Louisiana into two distinct fragments turned out to be a very unpopular measure, and was keenly resented by the old population. The province had always been a unit in the hands of France and Spain. Now that it was relieved from the burden of its colonial vassalage, and was promised the speedy possession of sovereignty, why was it afflicted with this odious partition which, in the

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opinion of the Louisianians, was evidently intended to diminish their importance and to retard the advent of that sovereignty which had become the object of their desires? They maintained that Congress had no right to curtail Louisiana of the magnificent proportions which it possessed when ceded, and not in a state of mutilation, that it was to be received into the Confederacy, *as soon as possible*, according to the very terms of the treaty of cession.

The Louisianians, who had objected to the immense power possessed by Claiborne as Governor, Intendant and Judge in the last resort, did not think that a sufficient guarantee had been given to them by the slight change made in the recent act of Congress for the organization of the Territory. Thus, by that act, the Supreme Court had been made to consist of three judges, it is true, but one of them was sufficient to constitute the court; so that, according to circumstance, the change might amount only to this: that one man, called "Judge," could dispossess them of their property, tarnish their honor and hang them at will, instead of the man formerly called "Governor."

There was another feature in that act, which was exceedingly unpalatable. It was the prohibition to import slaves, except by those American citizens who should come to settle in good faith in the Territory, with such slaves as they owned in their former domicil. This was looked upon as a blow purposely aimed at the old inhabitants, who, by such legislation, were deprived of the means of increasing that manual labor which was so much needed for the development of their resources. It may not be amiss to state that a convention "for promoting the abolition of slavery and improving the condition of the African race," had assembled at Philadelphia on the 13th of January, and had called, through "resolutions," submitted to Congress on the 26th of that month, the attention of that body "to the utility and propriety of passing such laws as should prohibit the importation of slaves into the Territory of Orleans." They appealed to the solemn declaration made by the United States that "all men were born free and equal," and hence they argued, "that our Government could not authorize man to enslave unoffending man." Such was their language. They also urged other magniloquent considerations which have become familiar to the American mind, from the persevering zeal with which they have ever since been pressed into the service of ambitious demagogues, or of praiseworthy patriots and philanthropists, according to the different views taken of the subject by their respective friends and supporters. Be it as it may, on this occasion, the importation of slaves was partially prohibited in conformity with the wishes of the petitioners against slavery. The Louisianians were greatly mortified. They thought that it was an encouragement to further interference, and some predicted that it was but an entering wedge.

There was also in that act a provision which excited the ire of the former colonists. It was one which declared that certain concessions of lands made by the Spanish Government were "null and void."

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This was considered as a demonstration of hostility, and as a threatening indication that something else would soon be forthcoming in violation of what the Louisianians believed to be their rights and privileges. An intense anxiety was produced by the authority granted to the President of the United States to appoint "Registers and Recorders of Land Titles," who were to receive and to record all titles acquired under the Spanish and French Governments, and also commissioned to take cognizance of all claims to land, and to decide on them in a summary way, and with such proceedings as they might deem best to adopt—which proceedings and decisions were to be reported to the Secretary of the Treasury, and laid before Congress for their final judgment. The people thought that this was a complicated machinery to dispossess them of their broad and fertile acres. They trembled at the consequences which they foresaw—such as arbitrary spoliations, of ruinous litigation, with an endless train of troubles and vexations which were dolefully predicted to them by those who pretended to read the dark pages of futurity.

But all these causes of discontent paled before that which arose from the 4th section of the act providing for the temporary Government of the Territory of Orleans. By that section the Louisianians were only granted a "Legislative Council," composed of thirteen members. They had not even the poor privilege of electing them, as those members were to be annually selected by the President. This was not all. That body was not permitted to take the initiative in legislation, but was only to deliberate on such subjects as might be laid before them by a Governor also appointed by the President. All the other civil and military officers were to be nominated either by the President, or by the Governor, who were authorized to choose them, if they should deem it advisable, among those who had resided only one year in the province, and who were therefore utter strangers to the old population. The Louisianians declared that such a government was much more despotic and much less paternal than those under which they had lived. Whether they were correct or not, it is very evident that Congress was, at that epoch, very far from suspecting that there could exist any sovereignty whatever in territories—not even that squatter sovereignty which has since become so famous in the vocabulary of politicians.

It must be admitted that the debates in Congress had been of a nature to wound the just susceptibilities of the Louisianians. Mr. Eustis, of Massachusetts, was the leader among those who advocated the passage of the bill. He contended that it was objectionable, unprecedented and incompatible with the rights and privileges so much valued by American citizens; "but," said he, "it is extremely difficult to form any system of government for this territory, consonant with our ideas of civil liberty, under the Constitution of the United States. Before we determine the principle on which the Territorial Government is to be based, it is necessary to distinctly understand the genius, the manners, the disposition and the state of the people to be governed." He went on saying that, in his opinion,

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the Louisianians were unprepared for, and even undesirous of, exercising the elective franchise. "The first object of the Government," he observed, "is to hold the country. How? By protecting the people in all their rights, to be sure, but also by administering the Government in such a manner as to prevent *any disagreement* among them—to use *no other terms*. Suppose the people called upon to make laws for themselves, does the information we possess justify the belief that this privilege could be so exercised as to conduce to the peace, happiness and tranquility of the country? I apprehend not. It appears to me indispensably necessary that a vein of authority should ascend to the Government of the United States, until the people of the territory are admitted to the full enjoyment of State rights. From that knowledge of this people which I have been able to acquire, I have formed an opinion that authority should be constantly exercised over them, without severity, it is true, but in such a manner as to secure the rights of the United States and the peace of the country.

"The government laid down in this bill is certainly a new thing in the United States, but the people of the country differ materially from the citizens of the United States. I speak of the character of the people at the present time. When they shall be better acquainted with the principles of our Government, and shall have been desirous of participating in our privileges, it will be full time to extend to them the elective franchise. Has not the House, since the session, been informed from an authentic source (Claiborne's communication to the President) that the principles of our Constitution are inapplicable to them. If so, why attempt, in the pursuit of a vain theory, to extend political institutions to them for which they are not prepared? I am one of those who believe that the principles of civil liberty cannot suddenly be engrafted on a people accustomed to a regime of a directly opposite hue. The approach of such a people to liberty must be gradual. I believe them at present totally unqualified to exercise it. I consider them as standing in nearly the same relation to us as if they were a conquered country. By the treaty they are, it is true, entitled to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States, and to be incorporated into the Union as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution; but can they be admitted now? Are they at this moment so admitted? If not, they are not entitled to those rights; but if they were, I should doubt the propriety of extending to them what might be missed."

Mr. Lucas would not wish to reflect on the inhabitants of Louisiana, but he would say that they were not prepared for a Government like that of the United States. They had been governed by Spanish officers, exercising authority according to their whim, which was supported by military force, and it could not be maintained that a people thus inured to despotism were prepared on a sudden to receive the principles of our Government. It should be recollected by gentlemen who advocated the abstract principles of right, that the

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people of Louisiana had not been consulted in the act of cession to this country, but had been transferred by a bargain made over their heads. As a proof that the act of cession had not been received with approbation by them, it must be borne in mind that when they saw the American flag hoisted in the room of the French, they shed tears. Was it not a proof that they were not so friendly to our Government as some gentlemen imagine? There is no doubt but that after they shall have experienced the blessings of a free government, they will wonder at their having shed tears on this occasion, but they must, in the first instance, feel those blessings."

The time allotted to this lecture does not permit me to extend these extracts. Many members of the House of Representatives took their share in these debates. The subject was also fully discussed in the Senate; and Congress, after the most lengthy deliberations, voted by a large majority for the passage of the bill, which, however, had been strongly and eloquently opposed in that body, and with as vehement language as could be desired by the Louisianians, to whom it was so objectionable, for orator after orator rose in the House and Senate, who declared that the bill was infamously tyrannical, a violation of plighted faith, and a disgrace to the American people.

These debates and their final result, it must be admitted, were of a character to keep up the excitement which I have related. Huger, of South Carolina, a gentleman of French descent, had been understood to say on the floor of the Capitol, notwithstanding his awkward explanations, that the French of Louisiana were hardly above the standard of negroes—that is, to use his own language, "above the standard of a certain portion of the population of the United States which was, with propriety, deprived of all political rights." Mr. Eustis, it must be remembered, had said that "they ought to be treated as a conquered people." Many had maintained that it was impossible to suppose that a population so long subjected to the debasing government of France and Spain, were fit subjects to be intrusted with the dangerous possession of liberty, without a gradual training and a slow process of emancipation. The whole length and breadth of the debates was narrowed down to this question: "Are the people of Louisiana capable of self-government?" "If they are, and we are convinced of it," said the warmest advocate of this bill, "we give it up, for we confess that it establishes a form of government hitherto unknown to us, and at variance with our political institutions. We admit that it would be an odious act of tyranny, if applied to any other people, but we are persuaded that it is demanded by the necessities of the case." Therefore, the question whether Louisianians were capable of self-government was avowedly the basis on which stood the bill to organize the government of the territory of Orleans, and that bill, notwithstanding the extraordinary features which it was admitted to possess, passed by an immense majority in Congress, and was readily sanctioned by the President of the United States. Thus the Louisianians, in four months after

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they had been delivered to the warm embraces and paternal protection of that great republic which invited all mankind to the enjoyment of liberty, had the intense mortification of being branded, before the whole world, with a solemn official declaration, that they were incapable of self-government—a declaration which derived an additional humiliating pungency from the circumstance, that it was made by a Democratic Congress and promulgated by Thomas Jefferson, that great apostle of universal liberty, and the immortal author of the celebrated document in which all men are proclaimed to be "born free and equal."

These debates, of which I have here given you a short abridgment, deserve to be studied with care, and possess much interest, particularly when taken in connection with the probable fate of Mexico, and the inevitable expansion of the protectorate, if not the actual Government of the United States, over nations whose vitality is threatened with destruction, and who, according to common belief, are destined, when the hour marked by fate shall strike, to take shelter under the strong eagle wing of their colossal neighbor.

Such was the bitter state of feeling which prevailed among the former subjects of Spain and France, in consequence of the facts which I have laid before you, when the colonial prefect, Laussat, who had been the agent of France in delivering the province to the United States, and who had remained in it several months after the cession, departed for the island of Martinique, not without having addressed to his Government some interesting observations, which show that he sagaciously appreciated, to a certain extent at least, some of the results which were to follow from the cession, at no distant time. "The Americans," he said, "have given fifteen millions of dollars for Louisiana. They would have given fifty, rather than not possess it. They will receive one million of dollars for duties at the custom-house in New Orleans during the present year—a sum exceeding the interest of the money they have paid for the acquisition, without taking into consideration the value of the very great quantity of vacant lands. As to the twelve years, during which our vessels are to be received on the footing of national ones, they present but an illusive prospect, considering the war with Great Britain, and the impossibility of our being able to enter into competition with the merchantmen of the United States. Besides, all will, in a short time, turn to the advantage of English manufactures, on account of the great facility which this place will exclusively enjoy from its situation, to supply the Spanish colonies as far as the equator. In a few years the country, as far as Rio Bravo, will be in a state of cultivation. New Orleans will then have a population of about thirty to fifty thousand souls; and the new territory will produce sugar enough for the supply of North America and part of Europe. Let us not blind ourselves. In a few years the existing prejudices will be worn off; the inhabitants will gradually become Americans by the introduction of native Americans and Englishmen—a system already begun. Many of the present inhabitants will leave the coun-

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try in disgust; those who have large fortunes will retire to the mother country; a great proportion will remove into the Spanish settlements, and the remaining few will be lost among the newcomers. Should no fortunate amelioration of political events intervene, what a magnificent new France have we lost! The Creoles and French unite in favor of France, and cannot be persuaded that the treaty for the cession of Louisiana is anything but a political trick. They think that the province will return under the dominion of France." It is important to remark, for the better understanding of future events in the history of Louisiana, that the representative of France seemed to admit the possibility of what he mysteriously and quaintly called, "The intervention of a fortunate amelioration of political events," by which the territory which his country had voluntarily relinquished might be secured, and that the Creoles, and the European French remaining in that territory, thought that the cession was a "political trick," and that they would return under the dominion of France.

Before his departure, Laussat caused to be distributed among such of the inhabitants of Louisiana as had shown themselves most zealous in favor of the French Government, as a feeble testimonial of the satisfaction and good will of that government, seven hundred and sixty-five pounds of powder, which "being French," he said, "was much appreciated by the inhabitants, who are ardent sportsmen."

In another despatch, Laussat gives the most graphic description of the condition in which he leaves the ceded province, and comments harshly on the organization of the territorial government, which was to go into operation on the 1st of October, 1804, in compliance with the act of Congress passed on the 26th of March. He also reflects in no measured terms on the blunders which he attributes to the agents of the new proprietors of Louisiana, in taking possession of their magnificent acquisition:

"The Louisianians have seen themselves with much regret rejected for the second time from the bosom of their mother country! At first, on their being made aware of that event, their interpretation of the cession and their comments on it, showed but too clearly the extreme bitterness of their discontent. In this disposition they were secretly encouraged by the Spaniards .... who, besides, were marvellously assisted by the natural antipathy which the Louisianians entertain for the Americans.

"Nevertheless, on the approach of the change of domination, partly from the love of novelty, partly from the hope of those advantages which were depicted to them, and perhaps also from a forced resignation to a fate which they could not avoid, they had become tolerably well disposed toward passing under the Government of the United States.

"But hardly had the agents of that Government taken the reins in hand, when they accumulated errors on errors and blunders on blunders. I will refrain from enumerating them in detail to your Excellency, citizen minister, but I will only, in a few words, mention the leading characteristics of this administration—such as the sudden introduction of the English language, which hardly anybody understands, into the daily exercise of public authority and in the most important acts of private life. The affrays and tumults resulting from the struggle for pre-eminence, and the preference given to American cotillions over French dances at the public balls; the invasion of bayonets into places of

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amusement, and the closing of the balls; the active participation of the American General and of the Governor in those quarrels; the inconsiderate proceedings which ensued; the revolting partiality exhibited in favor of native Americans, or of Englishmen, in the audiences granted by the authorities, as well as in the judgments rendered—the marked substitution of American to Creole majorities in all administrative and judicial bodies—the arbitrary mixture of old usages with new ones, under the pretext of a change of domination—the intemperate speeches, the injurious precautions, the bad advisers, the scandalous orgies, the savage manners and filthy habits, the wretched appointments to office—what more shall I say, citizen minister? It was hardly possible that the Government of the United States should have a worse beginning, and that it should have sent two men more deficient in the proper requisites to conciliate the hearts of the Louisianians. The first, Governor Claiborne, with estimable qualities as a private man, has little intellect, a good deal of awkwardness, and is extremely beneath the position in which he has been placed. The second, General Wilkinson, who has been long known here in the most unfavorable manner, is a rattle-headed fellow, full of odd fantasies. He is frequently drunk, and has committed a hundred inconsistent and impertinent acts. Neither the one nor the other understand one word of French or Spanish. They have, on all occasions, and without the slightest circumspection, shocked the habits, the prejudices and the natural dispositions of the inhabitants of this country. The gazettes of Philadelphia have lately published, I do not know by what mistake, a confidential dispatch of Governor Claiborne to President Jefferson, in which he speaks of the Louisianians as of ignorant but good-natured beings, in the treatment of whom everything could be dared with impunity, and, who, unable to appreciate the value of American institutions, are not susceptible of self-government.

"As if it were to drive them into extremities, copies of the late act of Congress to organize the Territory have recently been brought to their perusal. Your Excellency might hear on all sides the utterance of such sentiments as these: 'Is it in this way that we are secured the benefits that were to result to us from the cession of Louisiana by France? Are these the liberties of which she seemed to have guaranteed to us the preservation by an express clause of the treaty? Is it thus that she calls us to the enjoyment of the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States?"

Laussat further speaks of the excitement as being so intense that, at night, placards, in which insurrection was openly preached, were put up at all the corners of the streets. Crowds gathered round and copied them, preventing also their being torn away. Even public officers who attempted it were driven off. In the country, particularly in the district of Attakapas and of the Opelousas, which were the most populous, "and which," says Laussat, "had always distinguished themselves by their ardent love for France," the dispositions which were manifested were not more favorable. "I contented myself," continued Laussat, "with observing everything in silence, or if I was provoked into breaking it at all, I did so by speaking in favor of the treaty of cession, and by representing that, henceforth, it would be impossible to do away with such an act. It is what the Louisianians refuse to be convinced of. They complacently feed on the idea that the First Consul has merely yielded to temporary circumstances, but that when peace shall come, and when he shall have humbled the insolence of Great Britain, he will recede from the treaty of cession. They arrange this political question in their own way, and they firmly adhere to what they have thus settled

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in their own minds. They make no concealment of it; they have expressed on the subject their sentiments to me, and also to the Governor and to the American General.

"With regard to myself, citizen minister, I am very far from sharing in such a belief. It is a dream which I do not rank among the things which are possible. I think, on the contrary, that Louisiana being once emancipated from her colonial fetters, it would be unnatural to expect that she should ever willingly resume them and give up her new position."

He then predicts that the animosity which prevailed at the time against the Government of the United States, would soon die away, unless unskillfully kept alive by the faults of the Administration. "These people," he added, "are naturally gentle and docile, although touchy, proud and brave. Besides, they are few in number, and scattered about, without experience, and without any rallying point. The Spanish Government made it its policy to keep them entirely disconnected with public affairs, which it has accustomed them to consider with indifference and even with a sort of abnegation. The Louisianians will not for a long time recover from such a training, and in the meanwhile they will gradually make up their mind to their change of circumstances, because, although their new chiefs should go astray and commit blunders, yet there are advantages inherent to the Constitution and to the situation of the United States, of which it is impossible to prevent these people from experiencing the salutary influence.

"But, on the other hand, if this country is entirely abandoned to the impulse which will be given to it, I consider it from this time as no longer existing for France. The Americans in general detest us. Those amongst them who have the least of English nature in them are more English than French, notwithstanding their hypocritical and pompous protestations. There is not a day on which they have not proved it to me here. Add to this disposition on their part the temptations offered them by the resources of English commerce. There is no doubt that Louisiana is a vast field which England will work to her own profit. This probable turn of affairs might be counteracted by the innate attachment and the natural sympathy of the Louisianians for France, but one of the most prompt effects of change of domination will be a complete revolution in the elements composing the population of the country. In less than ten years the greater portion of what is now considered as private property will have changed hands. Cause will be given to the old colonists to be disgusted with their new condition; they will be set aside, expropriated and expelled. The Government of the United States is not blind to the fact, that Lower Louisiana is the key which answers for the security of their finest and most extensive possessions. They will have no rest until they shall have succeeded either by open force, or by secret and skillful contrivances, in putting that key in the hands of full-hearted and full-blooded Americans.

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"If our Government should ever look back to this country, it should be, in my opinion, only with a view of entirely detaching the Western States from the rest of the Confederacy. Such a scheme, far from being extravagant, would have, on the contrary, innumerable chances of success. Time alone will one day bring on this separation. But what is important for the French Republic is, that this separation be operated under the protection of France, and whilst generations of Frenchmen and French spirit retain their ascendancy in these regions. The consequences of such a revolution would then turn infinitely to the advantage of our nation, and Louisiana, in such a state of political independence and filial alliance, would be to France of a far more inestimable value than the most important colonies."

To those who may become familiar with what I have related in my work on the Spanish domination in Louisiana, in which I have proved that Wilkinson was in the pay of Spain for certain great purposes, and who may read what I shall recite in my fourth volume, of which I give you but a brief extract, the famous Burr conspiracy, which was to convulse the public mind two years after, and which has remained to this day a mooted mystery, may not appear altogether a baseless fabric. Gen. Wilkinson, who was destined to act, in connection with it, a conspicuous part, and who had been commissioned, jointly with Claiborne, to take possession of Louisiana, departed a short time after Laussat, and sailed for New York, leaving a few companies of United States troops which he had brought with him, distributed at the following points; New Orleans, Natchitoches, Point Coupee and Fort Adams. I find, however, that it will be necessary to postpone to the next number of the REVIEW, the remaining topics which relate to the occupation of Louisiana in 1804, the manifold difficulties of Governor Claiborne and the Territorial organization.

ART. VII.—THE PROBLEM OF THE BLACK RACES.

WHAT WE HAVE DONE—WHERE WE ARE DRIFTING—WHAT ARE OUR HOPES AND REMEDIES—AND, WHAT OF THE FREEDMEN AND THE FREEDMAN'S BUREAU?

[WHEN in Mobile a few weeks since, it was with much pleasure that we enjoyed a social evening with our old friend, Dr. J. C. Nott, who stands deservedly at the head of the list of the eminent physicians and physiologists of the country. With forty years' experience in his profession at the South, and with a profound knowledge of the characteristics of the white and black races, acquired during the studies and the enlarged practice of that period, he is enabled to speak with judgment and wisdom wherever the physical interests of either are at stake, and his voice of warning may well be heeded.

Dr. Nott presented us a copy of an elaborate letter which he had recently written to the head of the Freedman's Bureau, which is so able and instructive, and so freed from sectional bias, that we deem its early appearance in the REVIEW a service to the entire country.

Accepting, as he does, in the article which he contributed to our February

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number, the status of freedom for the negro in all the future, he reasons powerfully upon the future policy which is to be adopted in regard to him.—EDITOR.]

To Maj.-Gen. Howard, Sup. Freedman's Bureau:

GENERAL: The position you are called upon to fill as chief of the Freedman's Bureau is one of the most responsible and difficult that has ever fallen to the lot of any human being, and for your guidance you will require all the light of the past and the present. There is even good reason to fear that you have problems to solve which are beyond the sagacity of man. Unfortunately, you are the representative of a party [I mean the Abolition or Republican party of the North) who, in the language of Mr. Seward, have been "educated from childhood to hate slavery!" The idea of slavery to you is an abstraction, and you approach the subject of *negro* slavery with all the prejudices of education, and I fear that your mind, however honest your intentions, cannot be brought to see the real practical difficulties that confront you.

Slavery has existed in all ages, and even negro slavery was common in Egypt 5,000 years ago, and has existed there ever since; but in the United States for the first time has *Negro* slavery formed the basis of the institutions of a great nation and the groundwork of a peculiar civilization. Negro slaves in Egypt, both ancient and modern, were rather articles of luxury—like parrots and monkeys; while the true laboring population, the tillers of the soil, were the fellahs, or native Egyptian population, that *were not black.* This, then, is not a mere abstract question of *liberty or slavery*; an entirely new question comes before you—viz., that of *races*, and it remains to be seen whether your party has not raised a storm that will leave nothing but devastation behind it.

When I complained, in a conversation with you, that you had suddenly, without looking to consequences, liberated 4,000,000 of negroes, and instead of shouldering the burden yourselves, now call upon us in the bankrupt, devastated condition of the South, to educate them and provide for the thousands of colored people that you have pauperized—you replied that all this was the "*work of God!*" Now, General, I must very respectfully differ from you on this point. I cannot consent to hold God responsible for what we conceive to be the bad acts of any political or religious party. The so-called "Lord John" Van Buren, on the other hand, thinks that God has taken from this world three Whig Presidents—among whom is President Lincoln—to make way for the reign of three Democratic Vice Presidents, and the triumph of Democratic principles. Others, no doubt, think that thousands of negroes are dying under your regime by the will of God; and the Government officials who are robbing our people of their cotton look upon the war, doubtless, as a special interposition of Providence in their behalf. Whatever the intentions of the Freedman's Bureau may be, it so far has certainly done far more harm than good by sowing seeds of discord between the whites and blacks, unfavorable to the future of both races. We must,

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therefore, wait for better fruits before we can accept your mission as a Divine one.

The Rev. Dr. Dabney, of Virginia, has addressed you a very respectful letter, in which many of the difficulties you have to contend with are presented with a force rarely equalled. In that communication he treats of the colored population simply as a simple-minded, uneducated class, ignorant of their wants, without any allusion to the difference of *race* and consequent difference in capacity for moral and intellectual development. My object is to supply this omission, and to show you from a different stand-point difficulties quite as embarrassing and more permanent than even those to which he has called your attention. I propose to show from the physical and civil history of the negro race that it is now, wherever found, just what it was five thousand years ago. Of the question of *original unity or diversity of races*, I shall say nothing; my intention is to deal with the negro race as *it is*, and to inquire what position Providence has assigned it in the affairs of our world. The future can only be judged by light drawn from the history of the past, and we ask if there is any reason to expect the next one hundred, or one thousand years, will bring about a radical change in this race, which the last five thousand have not been able to effect? What good results to this race can you anticipate from emancipation and education, when you reflect on the condition of half a million of free negroes in this country before the war—on the condition of those in the West Indies, as well as those in Africa—where this race has had all the opportunities of other races for taking up the line of march in the great work of civilization.

You will recollect that, in my short interview with you in Mobile, I surprised you by saying that your Freedman's Bureau was the most mischievous institution ever established in this country, both from the demoralization it entails on the blacks and the antagonism it has produced between the races. Four millions of colored population are suddenly turned loose upon us—a population ignorant, improvident and vicious—a large portion of whom are destined to pauperism; and then you tell us coolly that we are greatly mistaken if we suppose that we are not to educate and support them! Now, is there not a dictation in this which might well offend a people who have any self-respect; and is there not injustice in thus throwing a burden which you have created upon our shoulders, exhausted in resources as we are by the ravages of a war which you have waged against us? By what moral right do you impose such terms on us?

Soon after the fall of Mobile, your bureau took forcible possession of our Medical College and transformed it into a negro school—a State institution which had cost upwards of one hundred thousand dollars, and in many respects the best appointed medical school on the continent. In spite of our remonstrances for six months, you still hold possession, with the museum, laboratory, and building all going to destruction. You seem greatly grieved at the thought of turning your black pupils out from such elegant quarters, to make

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way for the rightful owners and the white students for whom the State intended it.

This is another instance of the assumption of power and spirit of dictation which is so galling to us, and, therefore, so destructive to your power of doing good. There are many others.

In my professional round every day I hear complaints that the negroes will not work at any price. They are huddled together in shanties around the town, stealing, burning fences for fuel, dying of disease and want, and yet you cannot get a cook or washerwoman at twenty dollars a month. The trouble is only beginning, and to a great extent it is the work of your bureau, to whom the negroes have looked for protection and support. I admit that your bureau has done some good and desires to do more, but it has been far more an instrument for evil than good. If the black troops had been promptly removed, and your bureau with them, the relations between the two races would have been much sooner and better regulated. There would, doubtless, have been some insubordination among the blacks, and a few would have been shot and hung, but not a tenth part would have been sacrificed that have been and will be under your regime. If the outside pressure had been taken off, the labor question, I repeat, by the law of necessity, would have been in better condition than it now is, and in rapid progress towards such regulation as negro labor admits of.

You remarked to me, among other things, that you had never seen a people more anxious for education than the "people of Alabama." There was something in your manner that struck me, and I asked you if you meant by "the people of Alabama" "the negroes of Alabama." You hesitated, and replied, "I said, the people of Alabama." I rejoined, "Let me understand you; do you mean by the *people of Alabama* the freedmen of Alabama?" To which you replied, "I do."

Now General, when you take forcible possession of our Medical College, of which we have been justly proud, and pervert it to the purpose of a negro school, and then coolly call the negroes of Alabama "*the people*" of the State, you insult us, and your bureau cannot expect to effect your purposes in any Southern State, unless you hold us as conquered provinces, and with the bayonet pointed at our breasts.

I beg you not to misunderstand me, for I allude to all this with regret, merely to show you the ground you stand on. No one has more kindly feeling for the blacks than I have, or is more disposed to use every effort to better their condition; but when it comes to forcing them into a false position, or to elevating them above our own people, as seems to be your policy, you must permit me to warn you against the ill-feeling you are producing among the whites, and the unfortunate effects which must result to the weaker race. History proves, indisputably, that a superior and inferior race cannot live together practically on any other terms than that of master and slave, and that the inferior race, like the Indians, must be expelled

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or exterminated. In every climate where the white man can live and prosper, he drives all others before him. The history of the Chinese in California is adding another melancholy example to the many which have gone before of the inequality of races.

To my mind, every people have a right to freedom who know how to use it, and I have never hesitated to say, and to print the declaration that I was at heart an emancipationist, but have opposed the emancipation of the blacks in the United States upon the ground that all experiments of abolitionists heretofore had utterly failed to improve the condition of the blacks, and resulted in their gradual extermination. I have shrunk from the horrors which have been predicted, and which are now staring you in the face. I preferred to wait till Providence, in His wisdom, should point out some scheme by which emancipation could be humanely effected. But if the Almighty, through the Black Republican party, takes the responsibility and exonerates me, I rejoice that the day has come. I am opposed to the slave trade, opposed to the Coolie system, and desire to see this nation of white men, whatever may be the difficulties on the question of labor. Slavery, though it has had its use in developing the agricultural resources of the South, was becoming a great and growing evil. The four millions of negroes in this country have had no more to do with the intellectual development of the country than mules and ploughs, and we shall advance in real power with tenfold speed when you substitute four millions of progressive population in their stead.

The whole organization of our social system is soon to be changed; education will be improved and diffused; labor will become honorable; the mechanic arts will be introduced; agriculture itself will be greatly improved; in short, all that constitutes power and greatness in a nation. The history of the negro race is simply a page of natural history—it has no intellectual history, because God has not endowed it with the faculties necessary to preserve written records.

What has been thus far said was intended merely as preliminary to the main topic of discussion, and has led me much farther than anticipated.

Your great object, as I understand it, is to elevate the negro above the condition from which you have removed him, and to place him in every respect upon a full equality with the whites.

The first question then to be settled is, *the capacity of the negro for self-government.* Is he capable of taking any part in the march of civilization beyond that of a mere "hewer of wood and drawer of water"? Does his history afford proof that his intellect is susceptible of any really useful development? These are questions which his past record certainly answers in the negative.

The Duke of Wellington remarked that it was a great mistake to "educate a man beyond his capacity," as it only makes him less contented and more mischievous to society. Yet, with all its risks, education must be disseminated as widely as possible in our race,

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because we have no means, *a priori*, of determining the *grade* of intellect of individuals. Every man who reads history will agree, that a very large proportion of the white population of this and other countries are wholly unfit to vote understandingly on the affairs of the nation, to say nothing of bribery and corruption in the lower classes. With regard to the negro race, however, there can be little ground for dispute, as not a single full-blooded negro has ever made a name worthy of being remembered, and in our Southern States at least, the best educated have been the most vicious. The colored preachers particularly, as a class, are the worst citizens we have. Two of them in the last week have come under the penalties of the law in Mobile. One, the Rev. Ferdinand Smith, has been sent to the penitentiary for ten years for stealing; and the other, Samuel Gailliard, of notorious character, was shot dead by a United States soldier for resisting the law.* As a class, the negroes who cannot read and write are more moral, more pious, more honest, and more useful members of society than those who have received education. Like the Indians, they learn all the vices of the whites without their virtues. A little knowledge is a dangerous thing; "drink deep or taste not," is an old maxim, and the negro has neither the thirst nor the capacity for much of this kind of drink. All the education the missionaries have been able to instil into the native Africans has not been enough to do them much harm, even in Liberia. But these you will say are mere bald assertions, and we shall therefore go on to inquire into the past history of the negro, and see how far facts will sustain the grounds taken.

We have abundant material for following up the dark history of the negro through the stream of time for several thousand years, unillumined as it is by a single ray of light from his own records, and we shall show that the same physical and intellectual characteristics have marked him from the earliest antiquity to the present day. No naturalist can now be found to contend that through this long period of time any causes have existed to transform one type of man into another—as the white man into a negro, or *vice versa*.

The reader has only to turn to the great works of Champollion, Rosellini, and Lepsius (to say nothing of many others) on the ancient monuments of Egypt, published by the French, Tuscan and Prussian Governments, to be satisfied of the truth of those assertions. There you behold, copied from the tombs, temples and other monuments, the life-like portraits of all the races that lived around the Mediterranean four thousand years ago, and antedating the epochs of Moses, Abraham and Joseph, and even Archbishop Usher's date of the Deluge. There are depicted the portraits of negroes literally by thousands, as laborers, slaves, traders, &c., with their black skins, wooly heads, peculiar features, &c., as distinctly as if they were drawn from life but yesterday. Not only

* The accounts now coming in from the insurrection of Jamaica also show that the colored preachers are the prime movers of all the troubles and barbarities.

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have we on the monuments the faithful portraits, but we have the mummied bodies from the catacombs, contemporary with the drawings. Side by side with the negroes we have equally well depicted the native Egyptians, the Abyssinians, the Nubians, the Berbers, the Arabs, the Jews, Assyrians, Persians, and Mongols that still inhabit surrounding countries, thus proving the permanency of all human types when not disturbed by miracles or intermixtures. Of the antiquity, then, of the negro race there can be no doubt, nor can there be a doubt with regard to the permanence of his type; for more than a century past the blacks have been torn from their native land and scattered in America through a wide range of latitude, and still no change has been produced in the color of their skins, the form of their heads, or their grade of intellect, although there is a law well known to naturalists that very few generations produce all the changes of any importance that change of climate can produce.*

The permanence of his intellectual peculiarities is not less certain than that of the physical. For many thousand years he has had the greater part of an immense continent to himself, with fertile soil, congenial climate, and all the facilities that other races have had for civilizing himself, and why has he remained stationary? From the Great Desert to the Cape of Good Hope (the land of the true negro), not a vestige of civilization is to be found, no remains of art, no ruined temples and cities, no relic of science or literature, and no negro has ever invented even a rude alphabet. His intellect for four thousand years has been as dark as his skin, and all attempts in and out of Africa have failed to enlighten or develop it beyond the grade for which the Creator intended it. The little show of progress made by Mandingos, Jaloffs, and other black tribes of the North is attributable to the Mahometan religion, and the infiltration of Arab and other foreign blood and arts.

Sir Charles Lyell, who opposed me strongly but a few years ago on this point of human chronology, has recently published a remarkable book, entitled, "The Antiquity of Man on Earth," based on geological data, in which he contends that man must have been on earth, not, as commonly supposed, six thousand years, *but something like one hundred thousand*, and was the contemporary of animals whose fossil remains have been attributed by Cuvier and others to a former geological epoch. This opinion is now the generally received one in Europe.

Granting this antiquity for man, we know nothing beyond his *modern* history, commencing with that of Egypt, whose monuments, according to Chevalier Lepsius, carry us back about three thousand eight hundred years before Christ. Egypt then is the oldest country of which we have any authentic records, and is regarded as the cradle of arts, sciences and civilization, from which all succeeding

* It is true that Lamarck, Geffroy, Saint Hillaire, Darwin, and other naturalists have contended for the gradual change or development of organic forms from the physical causes, yet even this school require *millions* of years for their theory, and would not contravert the facts and deductions I have laid down.

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nations have borrowed their light. In the Bible it is considered a compliment to Moses to say, "he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," and even his Ten Commandments may be expected almost *verbatim* from the Egyptian "Rituals of the Dead." When the Jews first entered Egypt they found a grand old Empire, boasting a long list of Pharaonic *Dynasties*, running back beyond the time of Abraham two thousand years. The Greek historians all point to Egypt as the source from which they drank, and through Greece have more modern nations received their light. The Israelites, the Phœnicians, the Persians, the Assyrians (including Nineveh and Babylon), the Greeks, Romans, Gauls, Britons, and all other fair skinned nations have all drank deeply from the same stream as it flowed around the Mediterranean through the channels of commerce, and have continued to play their parts in the great work of human progress, when not trampled under foot by barbarian despotisms.

But what has been the history of the negro race during these thousand years, while others, even the Chinese, the Hindoos and Mexicans, were marching on, according to the strength which nature endowed them with respectively? In the language of Dr. Robert Knox, of London, "Human history cannot be a mere chapter of accidents. The fate of a nation cannot always be regulated by chance; its literature, science, art, wealth, religion, language, laws and morals cannot surely be the result of mere accidental circumstances."

While all the nations on the east and north of Egypt were eagerly grasping at her intellectual treasures, why did not the negro, more conveniently situated on the South, in constant contact with her for 2,000 years prior to the time of Homer, reap the same harvest? The works of Champollion, Rosellini and Lepsius, before alluded to, give innumerable proofs, not only of commercial intercourse of negroes with this country, but that they were regarded as an inferior race and treated as slaves. It is a singular fact, too, that even at this early day, the Egyptians were so far advanced in ethnology as to have classified mankind into four grand divisions, viz: white, red, yellow and black, and grouped their portraits together accordingly.*

Commercial intercourse has been the great civilizer. No nation has ever been highly civilized, as far as we know, without it, and no white race has ever failed to respond to its influence.

The Rev. Theodore Parker, who was educated and lived at the "hub of the universe," will certainly be received as good authority on the subject. He says:

"The Caucasian differs from all other races; he is humane, he is civilized and progresses. He conquers with his head as well as his hand. It is intellect after all, that conquers—not the strength of a man's arm. The Caucasian has been often master of the other races—never their slave. He has carried his religion to other races,

* See "*Types of Mankind*," page 84, in which will be found a description of the tomb of SETI-MONEPTHA I. (generally called Belzoni's Tomb) of the XIXTH Dynasty, and a copy of the drawings alluded to. Similar drawings of the four races occur repeatedly on other monuments. This one of Belzoni dates 1500 B. C.

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but never taken theirs. In history all religions are of Caucasian origin. All the great limited forms of monarchies are Caucasian. Republics are Caucasian. All the great sciences are of Caucasian origin; all inventions are Caucasian; literature and romance come of the same stock; all the great poets are of Caucasian origin; Moses, Luther, Jesus Christ,* Zoroaster, Budha, Pythagoras, were Caucasian. No other race can bring up to memory such celebrated names as the Caucasian race. The Chinese philosopher, Confucius, is an exception to the rule. To the Caucasian race belong the Arabian, Persian, Hebrew, Egyptian; and all the European nations are descendants of the Caucasian race."

This quotation gives a very remarkable ethnological jumble of greyhounds, foxhounds, bulldogs, pointers, mastiffs, poodles, &c., under one general head of *Caucasian*, little in accordance with the natural history of man; still, it is very well expressed, and shows very clearly that the negro is "left out in the cold," where he properly belongs, according to what may be called the lower law, or law of God.

But commerce, together with the herculean efforts of thousands of missionaries, have signally failed to make any impression on the negro in Africa, the Indians in America, or the dark-skinned races of Oceanica.

What has been the history of the half million of free negroes in the United States previously to the late war? They certainly have had abundant opportunities, under the pressure of New England philanthropy, for making some show of intellectual development, and yet we ask where is it? Can any one call the name of a single full-blooded negro, from the time the question was asked. "Can the Ethiopian change his skin or the leopard his spots?" to the present day, who has written a page worthy to be remembered; who has made any improvement in the mechanic arts; who has originated or ever successfully copied anything in the fine arts?

When we ask for examples of negro intellect, we are pointed to such specimens as Fred. Douglas, President Roberts, of Liberia, and other *mulattoes*. Now, such intellects as those in white men are so common-place, that their names would never have been heard of had it not been for the *color* of the individuals. But a mulatto can with no more propriety be call a *negro* than a mule can be called a thoroughbred Arabian horse, or a common hound can be called a greyhound, mastiff or pointer. Pardon me for using homely illustrations, as I am writing for those who have only studied the "*higher law*" and have not studied the laws of God, as exhibited in natural history. It would be much easier and more agreeable to illustrate the subject, as I have before done, in more technical language. But to resume.

The natural history of the human family runs a curious parallel with that of the canines. The earliest history of the races of men finds each in possession of a race or races of dogs as dissimilar as

* Mr. Parker does not say whether God Almighty is regarded as a Caucasian at the "hub," but we infer this from the physical and intellectual character of the Son.

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the races of men, and, like the Teutons, the Jews, the Arabs, the Chinese, the Hindoo, the Negroes, &c., when kept separate for ages, without intermixture, each preserves its original type—greyhounds, foxhounds, mastiffs, bulldogs are all well depicted on monuments of Egypt, Greece and Rome; and when bred separately perpetuate their types in all climates where they can live. That climate does modify varieties and species greatly no one will deny, but, on the other hand, no one will contend that greyhounds, foxhounds, pointers, or bulldogs could be transformed into each other's type by any change of climate. In America we have all the breeds of dogs, and all the breeds of men almost of the earth, and no one believes that the Jew, Anglo-Saxon, Negro, or Indian will change types as long as blood is kept pure. The only fear is that we shall become a nation of curs, fit for no good purpose, if the doctrine of miscegenation be carried out.

Alexander the Great carried the mastiff from Asia to Greece—the bulldog is well depicted in Rome—the greyhound and foxhound perfectly, with other breeds, on the monuments of Egypt, as far as the 12th Dynasty, about 2300 years B. C. Certain modifications of these types do occur from change of climate, but they are unimportant, as the true type is never lost through its influence. A greyhound is a greyhound all the world over; so with other canines, as well as races of men. Man is the *least influenced* by latitude of any animal, when his stock is kept pure. The Jews even are a very mixed race, but everywhere over the earth you see the true Jewish type cropping out too plain to be mistaken, and no one who reads can believe that anything short of a miracle can change a negro into a white man or any other type. As before stated, all the races that lived around the Mediterranean 4000 years ago, live there still, in the same localities: Egyptians, Nubians, Berbers, Arabs, Jews, Assyrians, Abyssinians, and Negroes, are all clearly portrayed on the early monuments, and have preserved their respective types to the present day.

When the white and black races are bred together, a stock is produced, intermediate between the two, both physically and intellectually; they are more intelligent than the black, and less so than the whites. It may well be doubted whether intellect enough is added to the negro by admixture to improve him to any useful degree, while on the other hand it is certain that the white race is deteriorated by every drop of black blood infiltrated into it—just as surely as the blood of the cart horse destroys the beauty and speed of the Arabian racer, or that of the greyhound or pointer is polluted by that of a cur. These are not mere idle assertions made for a special object, but they are stubborn facts that any man may verify, who will, and which have incalculable practical bearings on the great question at issue. Fred. Douglas is unquestionably the most brilliant mulatto intellect now before the public; and he is nothing more than what St. Paul calls a "pestilent fellow." He has just brains enough to talk fluently about matters he does not compre-

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hend, and to spit out the venom of a blackguard—witness his attack on President Johnson.

Can there be found in history anything more positive than the utter failure of the negro race in Hayti? There the negro was left in full possession of one of the finest islands in the world, having a tropical climate, well suited to his nature. At the time the whites were expelled, their successors were left with everything a people could ask for attaining a position among the civilized nations of the earth. A large portion of the population were educated; the system of agriculture was well developed; they possessed a large export and import trade; many of them had been drilled to commercial avocations, to the mechanic, and other useful arts; and what has been the result? If a sick man wants a little sugar in this island, which once produced more of the article than any equal territory in Christendom, he now is obliged to send to a druggist to purchase it as he would medicine! Agriculture, commerce, literature, arts, law and order—all are gone; and I was assured a few years ago, by Admiral David Porter, that he, on two occasions, saw negroes roasting and eating Dominican prisoners by the wayside, in Hayti! For a time the white blood of the mulatto caste ruled in the island, and with some semblance of semi-civilization; but the blacks, becoming jealous, exterminated them, and swept every remnant of civilization from the country, which soon relapsed into savagism. History affords no example where the white race has had such an opportunity and failed, while it affords many where it has advanced in spite of impediments.

There is one illustration to be drawn from modern history, which alone should suffice to demonstrate the difference between races. What was the condition of the Russian Empire one hundred and fifty years ago? A nation of uneducated barbarians, consisting of ignorant, cruel nobles, domineering over hordes of serfs. What advantages had they for commencing the work of civilization, compared with those of the black Haytiens, except that of *race?* With one of the most inhospitable climates of the earth; without foreign commerce or contact with civilized nations; cut off from the rest of the world for want of those communications established by modern ingenuity; wanting in the mechanic and other arts; in short, opposed by every obstacle that could obstruct the progress of a people, yet they triumphed speedily and nobly.

In the face of all these difficulties, Peter the Great, though a coarse, illiterate brute himself, following the promptings of ambition, and the instincts of his race, conceived the idea of civilizing his people—of making himself and nation great—and had the sagacity to see how his objects were to be attained. He travelled in foreign countries, observed everything he beheld, noted what was wanting, labored with his own hands in common workshops to learn the mechanic arts, and carried back to his native land the knowledge necessary for the commencement of his grand enterprise. One of his early works was the building of the city of St. Petersburgh, in

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the face of difficulties that would have appalled others, knowing that commerce was one of the leading elements of civilization. He also established schools, colleges, and other public institutions, and the great work thus begun by Peter, has been steadily carried on to the present day by a succession of rulers wiser than any other nation in Europe can boast.

Russia, then, with a *white population*, ruled by wise heads of their own race, now stands out as one of the foremost nations, wielding a power that keeps all Europe in awe.

Why did the Russian people thus respond to the intellectual stimulus when applied, while the black African races, the Oceanic, the American Indian, and other inferior races, with, in most instances, far greater advantages, through a long series of years have remained stationary in spite of commercial intercourse and the untiring efforts of missionaries? Even the colony of Liberia, that has for nearly a century had every possible influence brought to bear upon it, has dwindled to nothing, and is an acknowledged failure. Commerce, money, missionaries, schoolmasters, have been unceasingly and lavishingly applied, and all to no purpose. The reason is obvious: it is simply because these races are what God made them, and your bureau can no more unmake, or thwart the laws of nature, than it can pluck the sun from the heavens. "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." The Russians, as I shall proceed to show, had an average of *nine cubic inches more of brain than the negro*, and an intellect ready for producing fruit as soon as the seed was planted.

My lamented friend, the late Dr. S. G. Morton, of Philadelphia, so well known for his great works, *Crania Americana* and *Crania Ægyptiaca*, left behind him the largest collection of human skulls in the world, which is still kept in the Academy of Sciences in that city. By numerous measurements of the various races he has established certain facts with regard to the relative sizes of brains that are now admitted by all anatomists, and which have great significance in connection with our subject.

The following table, copied from page 454 of *Nott and Gliddon's Types of Mankind*, is based on Dr. Morton's measurements, and shows at a glance the relative size of brains of races in cubic inches:

TABLE—SIZE OF BRAINS IN CUBIC INCHES.

Modern White Races.	Mean. Cubic inches.		Mean. Cubic inches.
Teutonic Group	92	.....	92
Pelasgic	84	.....	88
Celtic	87		
Semetic	89		
Ancient Pelasgic	88		
Malays	85	.....	83½
Chinese	82		
Negroes, African	83		
Indostanes	80		
Fellahs, (Modern Egyptians)	80		

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Modern White Races.	Mean Cubic inches.	Mean Cubic inches.
Egyptians, (Ancient)	80	
American Group:		
Taltecan Family	77	
Barbarous Tribes	84	79
Hottentots	75	
Australians	75	75

The critic might here object to an apparent contradiction—viz.: The fact that the negro, in these measurements, presents a brain about the size of those of the Chinese and Malay, and larger than that of the Hindoo, although greatly inferior to all in intellect. The same objection might be urged in the measurements of the Taltecan and barbarous tribes of American Indians. But the discrepancy is easily explained. The negro, it is true, *in the aggregate*, has a brain as capacious as that of the Chinese and Malay, and larger than that of the Hindoo; but in the negro the *posterior or animal part* of the brain greatly preponderates over the *anterior or intellectual lobes*. In the other races named the anterior or intellectual lobes of the brain greatly preponderate over the posterior or animal portion. The same facts apply to the semi-civilized and barbarous tribes of Indians.

Now, I am no convert to the details of phrenology; but that certain grand divisions of the brain have opposite functions cannot be denied. All agree that the intellectual faculties are grouped together in front; but whether they can be mapped out, as phrenologists pretend, I will not affirm or deny.

But push the argument to the wall, if you please, and call all this speculation; who will deny the broad historical fact, that the white, which are the *large-brained* races, have governed the world from time immemorial, and have been the only depositories of true civilization?

The foregoing table affords much food for reflection; it shows a sliding scale of *seventeen cubic inches of brain* between the Hottentot and Australian at one extreme, and the Teutonic races at the other! The former giving an average mean measurement of but seventy-five cubic inches and the latter ninety-two. The negro races, those from the part of the coast *from which slaves are brought** to America, give an intermediate measurement of eighty-three cubic inches, or nine inches less than the average of the whites! These are facts well established among naturalists, though I presume not accepted by the Freedman's Bureau, as its whole action seems based on an opposite assumption.

It is a well-known fact, too, even among slave-traders, that only certain tribes of negroes, those of middle grades of intelligence, will answer for slaves—those from what is called the "slave coast;" and none others have been brought to America except in the earliest

* Mexico affords another unanswerable argument on the question of race. In a population of 8,000,000 there are 1,000,000 of whites, and the rest divided between mixed bloods and Indians. Does any one believe in their capacity for self-government?

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times. The Hottentots and Bushmen, at the Cape of Good Hope, are too stupid and sluggish to be made available as slaves, and the Mandingos, Joloffs and other tribes North are too intelligent and unruly. The fact, too, was notorious that *mulattoes*, as a general rule, made bad slaves—they had too much intelligence and their white blood yielded unwillingly to the yoke.

History proves that the negro makes his nearest approach to civilization in slavery, or some subordinate position among the whites. Whenever, as in St. Domingo and Jamaica, he is removed from the controlling influence of the superior race, and is left to his own instincts, he soon sinks into savagism. Even now, while I am writing, we are receiving appalling accounts of an insurrection in Jamaica, characterized by all the barbarities that always attend negro wars. Fortunately the race is so wanting in intellect that this outbreak must soon be put down by a handful of white British troops.

I beg leave here to call special attention to one of the greatest errors committed by false science and false philanthropy, which has been strangely overlooked—viz., the idea that the *brain* of a race, and with it the *intellect*, can be *enlarged* or *developed by education* continued through successive generations, and that the capacity of an inferior race can thus be brought up to the highest standard. That the Hottentot race, for example, by education can have seventeen cubic inches added to his brain, and his intellect brought up to the level of the Anglo-Saxon. It is really astonishing how judgment has been allowed to go by default on this point without examination. I assert without fear of contradiction that the idea has no foundation in truth, and that the evidence of history is against it.

We have already shown that the negro for five thousand years has been in contact with Egyptian civilization, and has had all the opportunities of other races in the Old World. We have given an outline of the intellectual history of the negro in America; we have shown that the brain of the negro in ancient Egypt was just what it is now; we have shown that his intellectual status there corresponded with his physical organization; and we have shown that the same permanency of type holds in all the races of men that have lived, and still live around the Mediterranean; we have shown, too, that when Peter the Great applied the spark to Russian intellects, a century and a half ago, the brains were *ready developed*, and responded at once.

The babarous condition of the British isles, not only at the time of the Roman conquest, but for many centuries after, is well known, and yet the skulls of ancient Britons, disinterred from barrows dating back to the time of Cæsar, cannot be distinguished from those of the English nobles of the present day.* Education has done nothing toward enlarging the brains or expanding the intellect of Britons—the intellect was always there, ready to respond to cultivation—just as Russian serfs are now responding. In Germany similar facts have been established — the skulls taken from the

* See "Crania Britannica."

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ancient barrows of that country are identical with those of the highest class of the present day.

How stands the case with regard to our contemporaries? Will any one pretend that the lower, uneducated class of our time are less susceptible of immediate education than the children of the highest. Do not the great men of our day spring more often from the uneducated class, or rather imperfectly educated, than from the nobles? The royal families and nobles of Europe have been educated classes for centuries, and what increased development have they attained, or what intellectual wealth have they added to our store? Of all families royal families as a class are the most stupid, and if the House of Peers were not constantly replenished with intellect from the Commons, it would long since have sunk into insignificance. In our country the Clays, Websters and Calhouns come from the rank and file.

The inferiority of the negro is practically admitted in our Northern and Western States by the inferior social position in which he is held, and no legislation or arbitrary rules can change it. In the first place, there is a natural antipathy of race which no human power can efface. Then there is a jealousy of the white toward black labor, which it will not tolerate in competition. The whites will not associate with the blacks as equals, and intermarry with them. Some of the States have actually passed laws against the immigration of blacks, and in the face of all this, the "so-called" Republican party are stirring the powers of earth to force upon the South what they will not tolerate at home.

What, then, must be the fate of this unfortunate race? I was born among negroes at the South, have spent many years in the study of their natural and civil history, and feel confident in the prediction that they are *doomed to extermination*—an extermination which is being cruelly hastened by the unwise action of a party that will not study and comprehend the subject it is dealing with.

The negro has an instinctive and unconquerable antipathy to study agricultural labor, and must therefore be gradually supplanted by the whites, whose energy, industry, and intelligence will rule in this and all other important pursuits. Negroes are peculiarly gregarious and social by nature, and have an ungovernable propensity to congregate in villages and towns. It is mainly for these reasons that negro population, out of slavery, can never become dense. No necessity can drive them to the kind of Industry which is necessary to develop such crowded communities as those of China and India, or even of New England. The whole black population of the immense continent of Africa is not more than double that of the British Isles.

The reader need not be told that none but an agricultural nation can become densely populated, when unsupported by foreign commerce, and its capacity is in direct proportion to the extent and proportion of its agriculture. There is good reason to believe that the black population of Africa, like the population of China, was as

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dense one or two thousand years ago, as it now is. In the first case, where the population is about 400,000,000, the agricultural resources of the country have long since reached the maximum, and so with its population—all the surplus population must die of disease and starvation. In Africa, over a much larger territory, there are not more than 60,000,000 of blacks, which is probably its maximum as long as the population depends upon the natural products of a hot climate. They rely mainly on fruits, and not upon cereals. The same law of population applies to the American Indian hunters, to the grazing tartars, and to all nomadic races.

There is another striking peculiarity among the negroes, which must play an important part in the gradual extermination of the race in America. I allude to the want of care for each other in sickness, and the mortality among their children from neglect of their parents. Every experienced physician at the South will bear me witness in this assertion. Whether slaves or free, as a general rule, they will not attend to each other in this time of need. I have a thousand times been compelled to call the attention of owners of slaves to the fact, and to insist that the master should look to the wants of the sick. They will often see a fellow-laborer, and even a near relative, die for want of a cup of gruel, or of water, rather than lose a few hours' sleep in watching. What may seem still more remarkable to those not familiar with negro character, is the fact that they are untiring in their kindness and attentions to the members of their master's families in sickness. They watch night after night by the bedside of the whites, as if prompted by an instinct like the canine species. Their devotion in this respect is incredible to those who have not witnessed it; and their history shows that the race is a *dependent* one.

In an article of such limited extent it is impossible to discuss fully any one of the important points involved; but I have no hesitation in laying down the following conclusions as being easily and satisfactorily demonstrated to any unprejudiced mind, from the written and monumental history of the races, both civil and physical.

1st. The intellectual and physical characters of the different races of men were the same as now five thousand years ago, and no causes have existed or now exist that can transform one type of man into another.

2d. The physical laws which have governed the races of men during this period of time are precisely the same as those which govern the species, varieties or types of inferior animals.

3d. Without going back to the mooted question of *original unity or diversity of species*, the diversity of races as it exists can only be regarded as the work of the Almighty.

4th. The negro and other inferior races have never, under the most favored circumstances, shown any capacity for self-government or civilization.

5th. The negro attains his nearest approach to civilization among

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the whites, in a subordinate capacity; and when separated from them relapses into barbarism, as in Hayti and Jamaica.

6th. The brain of the negro is nine cubic inches less than that of the white man, and the large-headed races have always ruled the earth, and been the only repositories of true civilization.

7th. The idea that the brain of the negro or any other race can be enlarged and the intellect developed by education, continued through successive generations, has no foundation in truth, or any semblance of support from history.

8th. The races of men, like those of the canines and other animals, though modified by climates, are never transformed into each other. The white man, the negro, the Jew, the greyhound, the foxhound, the pointer, preserve their types and instincts in all climates.

9th. The blacks, like the American Indians, Tartars and other nomadic races, are instinctively opposed to agricultural labor, and no necessity can drive them to it.

10th. Slavery is the normal condition of the negro, the most advantageous to him, and the most ruinous, in the end, to a white nation.

Now, sir, I hope you will believe me sincere in the declaration, that in what I have above written I have been actuated by no sectional feeling or blind prejudice. I have asserted no fact which is not established by science and history; have uttered few thoughts peculiar to myself, and none that is not a legitimate deduction from the facts. I have merely given a brief *resumé* of ethnological history, representing the received opinions of the best informed naturalists of the day. I have done this simply in the hope that I might assist you in your labors, and enable you to shape, more understandingly, a course of action which may lead to the ultimate happiness and prosperity of the two races.

I acknowledge that it is much easier to find fault and start difficulties than to suggest remedies, and if you should call upon me for aid, I must say, that while I am willing to assist to the utmost of my ability, my advice can be comprised in very few words. It is this: *Remove your bureau and the United States troops (particularly blacks) as speedily as possible from our soil, and leave the relations between the races to regulate themselves.*

The white people of the South are of the same blood and flesh as those of the North—profess the same religion, and are actuated by the same feelings, impulses and interests—they, too, are a proud people, jealous of dictation and foreign interference. In due time the negroes will be educated, their poor will be provided for, and they will in every respect be as well cared for by us as by you—but never "on compulsion."

As long as your agents remain among us the negroes are buoyed up by false hopes, and deluded by the false promises of wicked and designing men, who create prejudices against their old masters, that never existed before, and thus prevent them from going back to honest labor for fair compensation. I say all this is done by

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bad men and under the cloak of your bureau, *without your knowledge.*

If the whites and blacks be left alone face to face, they will soon understand each other, and come to proper terms under the *law of necessity.* The planters of the South need labor for their fields, and must and will have it from some quarter. The negroes who are now free to make contracts want employment, and must work or starve. These are plain principles of political economy, which accord with humanity.

After removing your bureau and the troops, I see but one duty remaining for you to perform, and that is, to assist us in feeding and clothing colored paupers. The old, the infirm, the women and children, the worthless vagrants, will form a burthen that we are unable to carry. As long as women and children were property, and the unproductive child was one day to be a profitable producer, the owners could afford to feed women and children that constitute one-half of this population. All this is now changed, and the capital of the South is no longer adequate to provide for such an enormous charity. No large farmer in Ohio or Pennsylvania would consent to take ten or twenty negro families, or German peasants with their families, pay them wages, find them in houses, and feed and cloth them for their labor. Nor can we. Of all peasantry in the world, the blacks, on such terms, would make the hardest bargain.

I say, then, that you have brought this state of things upon the South, in spite of remonstrances, and you must "pay out" or see the victims of your policy starve.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. C. Nott, M. D.

ART. VIII.—OATHS, AMNESTIES AND REBELLION.

CHARACTERISTICS OF AN OATH—ITS OBLIGATION—AFFIRMATIONS—ANTIQUITY AND HISTORY OF OATHS—MODERN OATHS—OFFICIAL OATHS—POLITICAL OATHS—TEST OATH, IMPOSED BY CONGRESS—THE LATE STRUGGLE—THE PRESIDENT'S AMNESTY—REBELLION—WERE THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE REBELS?—SECESSION, ANCIENT AND MODERN—THE WISE POLICY—EXAMPLE FROM SPANISH HISTORY.

Characteristics of an Oath.—The late and the present course of events in the United States would make it extremely desirable to have a well written book on Oaths, Amnesties, Rebellion, and its consequences, but as we are compelled to keep within the bounds of an article, we can only present a few salient points on those important subjects. We have had oaths of all sorts, from the Iron-clad to the Amnesty oath, and from the Congressional Test oath which agitates the country, to those which perhaps are still in contemplation, and which threaten us from the political womb where they are

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hatching. "If no oath, no daily bread." This seems to be the motto of our National Government. No man can now be sure to remain long an American citizen, and to enjoy his right as such, unless he consents to be a sort of Hamlet, to whom, from his cradle to his grave, an inquisitorial ghost incessantly says, "Swear." Since we have become such a swearing people, so pertinaciously invoking God to witness our private and political sincerity, it may not be amiss to examine, as briefly as possible, the nature, the binding force, and the effects of an oath.

An oath, although administered by the civil authority, is a purely religious act, by which one calls upon God, not only to witness the truth of an assertion, or the sincerity of a promise, but also to punish imposture, violated faith, or perjury. Hence two things are necessary to constitute an oath: first, the *invocation*, by which we take God, who knows all, as a witness of the truth which comes from our lips. Next, the *imprecation*, by which we supplicate Him, as a just and almighty Being, to let fall His vengeance upon us, if we commit perjury.

These two things, which are in fact very distinct, have induced St. Thomas, and after him several celebrated canonists, to discriminate between two species of oaths: the *inchoate*, which consists in the mere invocation of God to witness the truth of an affirmation, or a promise; and the *complete*, which contains the tacit, or express imprecation by which Divine vengeance is invoked against perjury.

But the gravest authors, says Toullier, in his work on the "Droit Civil Français," maintain with a most powerful strain of argument, that the mere invocation of God to witness truth, does not, strictly speaking, constitute an oath. They hold it at least as certain that the main force of an oath lies in the imprecation, which is the sanction of that religious act. Hence it was expressly laid down in the ancient formula of swearing, as may be seen in the Pandects of Justinian.

It is also in the imprecation that French, as well as Roman authors, declare the essence of an oath to consist. Pothier says, that "an oath is a religious act by which one solemnly expresses that he willingly submits to the vengeance of God, or renounces His mercy, if he does not accomplish what he has promised. "It is," he adds, "what results from these words: *So guard me, or help me God; I wish that God may punish me, if I fail to keep my obligation.*" Domat teaches the same doctrine.

Binding Obligations of an Oath.—For this reason, it seems, all the nations of the earth, whether in the Pagan or the Christian world, have agreed to consider an oath as a guaranty, and have had recourse to it to strengthen an engagement, or to confirm a testimony, or declaration of the truth of a fact. That guaranty consists in the degree of trust or belief, entertained, that he, who swears in the name of God, will not dare, by committing perjury, to incur the punishment invoked. An oath, therefore, being a guaranty or security, is an accessory act to a principal one already pre-existing—

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such as the promise to fulfil an incumbent duty or obligation. It is established as a precaution against the inconstancy and the infidelity of men, and to supply, by the fear of the Divine vengeance, the guaranties, which he, on whom the oath is imposed, cannot furnish, or which it would not be just to exact of him. "Thus," says Toullier, p. 454, vol. X, "the only guaranty which can be taken as to the truthfulness of the declarations of a witness, is an oath, and the supposed apprehension existing in his breast, that God will punish him, should he be guilty of perjury."

Hence, an oath is of no significance whatever, or is rather an impious mockery, when he who takes it, does not sincerely believe in a God who remunerates or chastises. But a long and sad experience has demonstrated that, in days which are afflicted with an extreme depravity of morals, and a multiplicity of latitudinarian doctrines, when religious faith, although the incense may yet smoke profusely in gorgeous temples, is null in the great majority of individuals of all ranks, or is reduced to the tenuity of an almost invisible thread, the sacred force attributed in better times to an oath, is no longer a security. Under such circumstances, it is the moral character of a man which gives weight to his oath, and not the oath which gives weight to his word. *Dat fidem vir jure-jurando, non jus jurandum viro.*

The Affirmation.—In a condition, however, of ordinary social corruption, it is not inexpedient still to resort, without too much frequency or too implicit faith in the efficacy of the act, to the ceremony or formality of exacting oaths. In such a state of society, there may be men who are weak enough to compromise with their conscience in the common transactions or occurrences of their daily life, but who, still retaining some latent apprehension of an avenging God, will shrink from exposing themselves to the awful consequences of making a solemn appeal to Him to witness their fidelity, when He will only witness their falsehood. It is presumed, perhaps not without good grounds, that some men who lie and cheat as a habit in their usual avocations, will yet refrain from direct perjury before tribunals of justice. But the number of such exceptions must be limited. This supposition, however, gave rise to those terrible solemnities which were established among the ancients in the ages of paganism, and which so powerfully struck the senses and the imagination. Hence also among the Christians those oaths taken on the altar, on the Gospel, and on the crucifix. Hence those terror-inspiring forms of imprecation of which we find an example in Justinian. In the course of time, the old forms of imprecation were gradually withdrawn from the oath, and among the modern civilized nations, with a few exceptions, it is merely implied, in whatever terms the oath is conceived. Now its usual form amounts to no more than saying before a competent authority to receive it: "I swear, so help me God." The tribunals of France have considered that a judicial affirmation was equivalent to an oath, and would give good cause for a prosecution for perjury, if not true;

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provided that the person making it, understood at the time that it was, in the eye of the law, held as sacred and binding as an oath.

Antiquity and History of Oaths.—Man seems to have been born with a natural propensity to resort to oaths. The practice is universal and of the most remote antiquity. Among those ancient nations of which the history is best known to us, the Greeks were most addicted to swearing. Certain oaths were reserved for important circumstances. They were accompanied by terrific ceremonies in the supposed presence of the majesty of the gods, and the vengeance of the Eumenides in particular was invoked against the violation of such solemn oaths. But swearing, notwithstanding the evident impolicy of discrediting its sanctity, soon degenerated into a common habit, and was used on the most trivial occasions. It became a part of the daily transactions of life. Even in ordinary conversation the Greeks would swear, not only by every divinity of heaven and earth, but also by every animate and inanimate thing, as their peculiar habits or predelictions, or the fancy of the moment dictated. Achilles swears by his sceptre; Telemachus by the services, sorrows and trials of his much enduring father, the man of many woes. Aristophanes, in his comedies, ridicules this practice, and makes his personages take the most eccentric oaths. The experience of all nations has proved the danger of making oaths too common a commodity. The history of Athens, and of Greece in general, furnishes no exception to this observation. While in the popular belief and in common parlance, oaths continued, apparently at least, to be highly esteemed, they had ceased, in reality, to be of any weight and value. It is impossible to read the plays of the satirical author I have mentioned, and the works of the other writers of that period, without seeing that perjury had become a matter of ordinary occurrence in the glorious days of Pericles and Socrates, so that, in a later age, the Greeks had turned out to be a by-word among the Romans for false swearing and bad faith, notwithstanding the presumptive importance they attached to oaths by the too frequent use they made of them, and perhaps in consequence of that very fact. An oath had become too cheap to be worth anything. The superabundance of oaths had the same result which follows the inflation of paper money. It produced depreciation. Conscience also had its greenbacks, and tendered them in payment instead of the sterling coin of moral integrity and religious truthfulness. "To lie like a Greek," was a proverbial expression all over the earth. The Crusaders found him a wonderful liar in Constantinople; and his subsequent master, the Turk, declared him to be a most incorrigible teller of tales, be it under oath or otherwise. It is to be hoped that this propensity has now entirely departed from the descendants of the Argives.

As to the Carthaginians, if what is said of them is true, they swallowed all sorts of oaths with as much ease as soft-boiled eggs, and the words "Punic faith," have become as celebrated as the exploits of Hannibal and Scipio.

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With regard to the Romans, their theology borrowed from the Greeks had taught them the origin and sanctity of oaths, for Jupiter and the other inferior gods, according to the belief of their worshipers, used to swear to do, or not to do, a particular thing. As long as the Romans remained worthy of the name they had made famous for so many virtues, an oath was with them what it should always be, the most sacred of all obligations. Generally they compelled the nations which they conquered, to promise with a solemn oath (sacramentum) to observe all the conditions prescribed, and the documents regarding such promises were kept in the Capitol. But, as in more than one case it was discovered that the nations upon which those oaths had been imposed by force, did not consider them as binding as they were thought to be by the victor, the Romans, whenever they had any reason to mistrust, demanded hostages, as being a better security than an oath, and this was the practice which, in later days, they adopted most generally, in proportion as corruption, and what is called civilization, advanced hand in hand, and oaths became insignificant formalities. At first the Romans, when frugality, religion and stern morality reigned supreme under their thatched roofs, were very scrupulous in observing their oaths, either in contracts among themselves, or in treaties with foreigners and even with enemies. But when Rome became a city of marble, filled with the spoils of the world, and long before Cæsar had dared in full Senate to deny a state of reward and punishment after death, attempts had been made by individuals sophistically to interpret an oath and to explain away its binding character; so much so, that from the third of the Punic war to the end of the Republic, perjury was common among the Romans in all their dealings, either among themselves or with foreigners.

Perjury.—False swearing (perjurium) was not regarded by the Romans as it is by us. Swearing was merely a matter of conscience, and consequently the person who was guilty of false swearing was responsible to the Deity alone, and not to any human tribunal. Perjury does not appear to have been punished more severely than false witness in general without an oath, for testimony on oath was not required in all cases. The manner in which the Romans considered perjury is implied in an expression of Cicero, who says: *Perjurii pœna divina, exitium; humana, dedecus.* Hence every oath was accompanied by an execration, and perjury therefore was an act which belonged more to the jurisdiction of the Censors than to any ordinary court of justice. Witnesses convicted of having given false testimony, with or without oath, were punished by the civil authority, but not more severely in consequence of the oath. The practice of swearing, or calling upon some god, or upon all the gods, *per Joven*, or *per Deos Immortales*, as witnesses to the truth of assertions or promises made in common life, or in ordinary conversations, was as frequent among the Romans as among the Greeks. But oaths in the end were considered as of very little value, although the citizens of the Eternal City had been a

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highly religious people, and in the course of time, the oath of the grave and imperious Roman was no more regarded than that of the frivolous and supple Greek.

Among the Hebrews, whose government was theocratic, God himself had prohibited all false oaths and all useless and customary swearing in ordinary discourse, but when the necessity or importance of a matter required an oath, He allowed to swear by His name. (*See Calmet.*) As among the Greeks and Romans Jupiter was thought to bind himself by irrevocable oaths, so with the Hebrews the belief prevailed that Jehovah confirmed his promises by an oath, and thus conformed to what was practiced among men. In that nation an oath was administered by the Judge, who stood up, and adjured the party who was to be sworn. It seems that the High Priests had also this power, and forming as it were a sort of ecclesiastical court, might on occasion of some moment, and perhaps when the matter was specially within their jurisdiction and they deemed it necessary, administer the most solemn oath. Whoso was thus interrogated by the Judge, or by the High Priest, and did not "discover his knowledge of the matter," was guilty of perjury. In this manner Our Lord was adjured by Caiaphas. Jesus had remained silent under long examination, when the High Priest rose up, knowing he had a sure mode of obtaining an answer, and said: "I adjure thee by the Living God that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ." This, after the Jewish fashion, was an oath solemnly administered. Jesus, who had always taught regard to civil law and to established authority, could not but answer the interrogatory, although he thereby criminated himself before the tribunal, and made himself liable to a sentence of death. He told the truth, and the result was the Crucifixion.

Notwithstanding the express command of God to tell the truth, the Hebrews were not thought to be more truthful than the Greeks and Romans. There is more than one instance in the Bible of their compromising with veracity when found expedient. Abraham lied about his wife when he passed her for his sister in Egypt, and the sons of Jacob lied to their father and to their brother Joseph. Ananias and his wife, Sapphira, "lied to the Holy Ghost," according to Peter's own expression. The fact is, that the Hebrews were addicted, like the Gentiles, to the unthinking, hasty and vicious habit of indulging in oaths. They gradually introduced the custom of swearing, although not judicially, by sacred things, such as Heaven, the temple, the gold of the temple, the altar, all of which was strictly forbidden. As they had an irresistible propensity to run after strange gods, and to worship idols, even with Solomon at their head, the probability is that they also swore as profusely by those gods and those idols, and particularly by the Golden Calf, which was so dear to their hearts. We know that Joseph swore in Egypt by the life of Pharaoh. We certainly see no reason to believe that oaths were better observed among them than among the Romans and the Greeks. It is fair to suppose that the Pharisees attached

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more importance to the forms, or the shell of an oath, than to its substance. As to the Sadducees, considering that they asserted the soul to be mortal, and denied the rewards and punishments of another life, it is impossible to come to the conclusion that there was any binding force in any oath which they took. The Gentiles looked upon the whole Hebrew race as remarkably faithless, and for a long series of centuries the idea of swearing a Jew to tell the truth never entered the brain of any Christian, or Mohammedan, although we are disposed to presume that this was to be attributed more to prejudice, than to the existence of any moral obliquity, greater in that race than any other.

Modern Oaths.—Among modern nations oaths are as much in use as they were among the ancients, and are known under a variety of names. Those which are most frequently resorted to are the *promissory* and the *assertory*. Grotius thought that an oath contained a vow, or a promise made to God himself. He concludes that the oath which is the result of violence and fear is not less obligatory, because if he who extorted it by improper means has no right to demand its execution, it does not follow that God's expectation of its fulfilment is to be impaired by it. But this doctrine is palpably false, and contrary to what is taught by St. Thomas and most of the canonists and jurists. A vow is a simple promise to God, *simplex promissio*. It may be accompanied by an oath, which is then an accessory to it. This is what the doctors call *votum juratum*. When the oath is accessory to a promise, or to a convention, it is called *pactum juratum*. A vow is therefore very distinct from an oath, which is not necessarily contained in the vow, but which may, or may not be, annexed to it. He who calls upon God to witness the oath which he takes, and to punish him if he violate it, has no idea of making any promise to God, but only to the person who exacts that oath as an accessory to an assumed obligation, and as an additional security. Therefore he who makes a vow promises to God, whilst he who takes an oath promises to an individual, or to society. The distinction is obvious.

Formerly, as notaries and conveyancers of deeds belonged generally to the clerical order, they used when they passed any contract, to insert in it an oath by which the parties bound themselves to observe all the clauses of said contract, because if it gave rise to any contest, or to the necessity of any interpretation, jurisdiction vested in the Ecclesiastical Courts by virtue of the oaths which made the transaction a religious matter. But the Popes and the clergy having long been compelled to renounce such pretensions, there is no longer any inducement on their part to cause oaths to be introduced into those obligations which are contracted between individuals. Besides, it would evidently be of no moment whatever, for the obligation is valid, or not. If valid in law, the oath is superfluous; if not valid, the oath would not make it so. For instance, a gambling debt gives no cause of action, and should it be proved that the debtor has sworn to pay it, the creditor would have no better right to enforce

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the payment. The reason is, says Pothier, that the oath, being an accessory to the obligation, if the obligation is null, so is the oath, in consequence of a well-known principle of law: *cûm principalis causa non consistit, ne ea quidem quæ sequuntur locum habent.* It would not be judicious, nor moral, to leave to individuals the faculty to render valid, by means of an oath, engagements which the law reprobates, otherwise it would be useless for the Legislative power to prescribe regulations and conditions for the validity of conventions, if they could be eluded by the intervention of an oath. According to the Roman law, an oath superadded to an illicit obligation was null and void, and could give it no effect. There was an exception, however, made to this rule in relation to the contracts of minors. For a minor having promised under oath not to attempt after his majority to invalidate a contract to which he had subscribed during his minority, the Emperor Alexander Severus decided that he was bound by it. *Nec perfidiæ, nec perjurii me autorem tibi futurum sperare debuisti.*

Official Oaths.—The official oath is that which an individual takes on his being appointed to some office under a government. It is that sacred seal which completes the appointment, and it has been decided in France that any act done by an officer as such, from the highest to the lowest, before he is sworn, is null and void. It is very doubtful, however, whether this oath has ever produced effects commensurate to the importance attached to it, in relation to the more strict and rigid performance of legislative, judicial and executive duties.

There is a kind of oath which, in our courts, parties litigant may tender to each other in connection with the matter in dispute. In France this may be done ex-officio by the Judge, and branches into two oaths, the one called *decisory* and the other *suppletory*, which are administered when deemed necessary. But the great magistrate Lamoignon declared it to be a very dangerous experiment. "For," says he, "I never knew a party to a suit to lose it in consequence of interrogatories being put to him." Pothier, when commenting on this practice, expresses the opinion that its only effect is that of producing "an infinite number of perjuries." He adds: "If a man is honest, it is not necessary to bind him by the religious obligation of an oath; if not honest, he will not fear to perjure himself. In the exercise of my profession for more than forty years, I never knew but two occasions where a party failed in his case in consequence of being sworn." Hence follows the inevitable deduction, that an oath is but a sort of gossamer texture which will not bind a man's conscience very tightly when his interest is at stake.

No oath is binding and exposes the person violating it to be found guilty of perjury by a human tribunal, unless that oath is imposed by a competent authority, and about a lawful subject. (See Blackstone's Commentaries.) As to the moral obligation on the conscience, resulting from an oath, and how far the appeal to God is one which, from its nature, will, or will not, be received and sanc-

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tioned by Him, it is wonderful to see how casuists have differed. According to some, there are hardly any oaths which are not obligatory before God. For instance, they maintain that a man who, to save his life, promises under oath to a robber to pay him a certain sum of money, must keep that promise, or be guilty of perjury before the tribunal of God. The reason given is, because of two penal evils he voluntarily made choice of the lesser, which was, to part with his money rather than his life. They quote in support of this doctrine the declaration of the Psalmist: "The righteous man sweareth to his own *hurt*, and changeth not." But many pronounce themselves in favor of the contrary doctrine on several grounds, among which is the following: "That an oath is only an accessory, in ethics as well as in law, and that if a court of justice repudiates as null and void an oath when in opposition to human laws, with much more reason must it be expected that the higher and purer court of God will, on the same principle, refuse to admit the validity of an oath, when its observance would be a violation of those eternal laws established by the divine legislator for the government of the moral world. The prevailing opinion among the majority of casuists is, that no one is bound by his oath to do an immoral thing—for instance, that if a man swears to prostitute his daughter, he must abstain from the engagement, and that he will be punished by God, not for perjury, but for the wickedness of his original intention, and for the impiousness of the appeal. Others go further, and assert that an oath imposed even by a lawfully established government is null and void if extorted by irresistible authority and by the intimidation of coercive measures, particularly if its fulfillment should constitute an infringement of those rights of man which are considered inalienable. The fact is that, as he who consults many physicians is kept in a bewildering state of uncertainty as to the nature of his ailment, as he who submits his case to more than one lawyer is often perplexed by conflicting opinions, thus he who resorts to casuists finds it hard to reconcile their antagonistic views, their strictness and their laxity, and is so puzzled by their subtleties and nice discriminations, that in the matter of oaths, for instance, he would hardly know which is binding, or not binding, on his conscience. On one point the moral sense of the world has agreed: it is that a high-minded man must be cautious how he takes an engagement, be it under oath, or otherwise, because there is that in his breast which tells him that he must be true to his plighted word.

Modern nations have made as great an abuse of oaths as the ancient, and this evil is daily becoming worse. It is the universal complaint of moralists, jurists and publicists, and yet it is in vain that they recommend to reserve the sanctity of oaths for occasions worthy of it. In proportion as these solemn appeals to the Deity are degenerating into unmeaning utterances, the legislative power seems to multiply them, and almost to shower them upon the people. Are juries very observant of their obligations to decide according to

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law and evidence? Are the other judicial oaths much respected? What of the oath which attends the marriage contract at the foot of the altar? What of the oath under which tax-payers answer the assessor? What of the custom-house oaths? Is it true that some commercial houses have conceived the novel idea of keeping what is called an *oath clerk?* Indeed, when we reflect on those endless oaths which grow in our path like briars, we cannot but feel some alarm on being reminded of the numerous scratches to which the conscience is constantly exposed. Thus a man of business—a large importing merchant—who, besides the usual ramifications of his mercantile avocations, may frequently be called upon to fulfill many of the civil, judicial and political positions which society imposes upon him, may well be supposed, when three-score years have whitened his hair, to have taken a bushel of oaths. If to this very heavy stock of sworn asseverations, we add those common place appeals to the Deity which are so habitual to us, and which, as thick as autumnal leaves, fall from inconsiderate lips in the daily intercourse of life, we must arrive at the unwelcome conclusion that, if there are oaths among us which may be held sacred, there are many which are looked upon as trifles, and as light as the breath of air which passes by.

Political Oaths.—If so sad is the record which experience has kept in relation to the kind of oaths which I have mentioned, much sadder is it in reference to all political oaths, and particularly to test oaths. It is sufficient to open the pages of history to see that of all oaths these are the least observed. Indeed, there are very few among those men who have wielded to the destinies of nations, and whose glory dazzles to this day through the intervening space of centuries, who have not committed the grossest perjury. Even among the most admired of those who now figure on the stage of the world, more than one have not considered themselves bound by those political obligations to which they were sworn. Organic laws, constitutions, and more than one magna charta are violated before the ink which recorded the oath of fidelity to them has had time to dry. There is a higher law, openly proclaimed, or secretly registered in some dark corner of his conscience by every politician and public man. Such a hero as Ney swears allegiance to Louis the Eighteenth, only to become a traitor on the first opportunity. Such a chivalrous character as Larochejaquelin among the Legitimists, and such conspicuous and respected men as Garnier Pagès, Ledru Rollin, and others among the Republicans, swear allegiance to Louis Philippe in the morning, in the House of Deputies, and in the evening do not disguise, in the saloons where they make their appearance, that they are conspiring to upset the throne they had promised to uphold. The value of political oaths is strikingly exemplified by the words addressed to the same monarch by Talleyrand, when he came to pay him the homage of a faithful subject. "Sire," said he, speaking of his new oath, "it is the fourteenth. May it, for your Majesty's sake, be the last." Unfortunately we

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have but to turn our eyes toward our own Capitol in the city to which the most virtuous of men has given his name, if we wish to see that God does not always choose to punish, at least in this world, those who violate their political oaths. Nobody believes in them, and, by a strange anomaly, they are strictly exacted on all occasions as if they were worth anything.

TEST OATHS, AND ESPECIALLY THE RECENT ONES IMPOSED BY CONGRESS.—Of all political oaths that which is the most odious, and which has the least answered the aim proposed, is a test oath. I venture boldly to say that there is not to be found in history a single oath of that kind which has not remained a cause of shame and of regret to those who had advocated it, after the passions of the hour had passed away, or which has not been pilloried as an object of execration when posterity sat in judgment. If this assertion be true, and I hardly believe that its correctness can be denied, or successfully controverted, is it not wonderfully strange that, in the nineteenth century, in these United States, which boast of being an example of enlightened progress to all the other nations of the world, such a test oath as the one prescribed to all officers of the Federal Government, save the President, should have been established. There never was in any age and in any country a most objectionable test oath, either religious or political. The test oaths which we find in history generally refer to the present and to the future, but never to the past. Men were not called upon to swear to their past actions or past feelings. It was deemed sufficient for them to swear to the present condition of their mind or heart, and to give by the solemnity of an oath a guarantee as to the future. This oath, therefore, which is inflicted upon us ought to be repealed, before the desired reconstruction of the political edifice in which we are to assemble as brothers can honorably take place; because it is contrary, if not to the letter, at least to the spirit of the Constitution, because it is unprecedented, unjust, cruel, impolitic, unworthy of the age and of the American people. It reminds one of those inquisitorial oaths by which a man was compelled to purge himself of guilt in the Ecclesiastical Courts of England. "The canonical doctrine of purgation," says Blackstone in his Commentaries, "whereby the parties were obliged to answer upon oath to any matter, however criminal, that might be objected against, (though long ago overruled in the Court of Chancery, the genius of the English law having broken through the bondage imposed on it by its clerical chancellors, and asserted the doctrines of judicial as well as civil liberty), continued to the middle of the last century to be applied by the spiritual courts, when the Legislature was obliged to interpose to teach them a lesson of similar moderation. By the statute of 13. Car., 11. c. 12, it is enacted that it shall not be lawful for any Bishop or Ecclesiastical Judge to tender, or administer to any person whatsoever, the oath usually called *ex-officio*, or any other oath whereby he may be compelled to confess, accuse, or purge himself of any criminal matter or thing, whereby he may be liable

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to any censure or punishment." This practice, which was a remnant of the dark ages, was, as you see, abolished by an act of Parliament passed under the reign of Charles the Second. Will the Government of the United States persist in retrograding towards the days of purgation oaths, and show less liberality and enlightened policy than a narrow-minded, heart-contracted Stuart?

The tendency of that test oath is to establish categories of guilt and innocence among us, and to divide the South against itself; for let us not forget, that many of our late adversaries affect to believe what is a falsehood on the face of it. They choose to take it for granted that what they call the "rebellion" was the work of a few intriguing and designing leaders, and that the heart of the Southern people was not in it. They seek to demoralize us by introducing, with this test oath, distinctions in our ranks, and by offering rewards, offices of honor or profit to those who will declare under oath that they never gave aid, comfort, counsel or encouragement to the South in her late struggle. Fellow citizens, we appeal to your heads and to your hearts—what is the position which we ought to assume in regard to this test-oath? Shall we not command the admiration of the world, and perhaps produce a favorable impression on the prejudiced minds of those who doubt the sincerity of our reconciliation, if we say to Congress and to the President of the United States, who so magnanimously extends his protection over us: "We, of the South, were a unit in war; we are a unit in peace. We are all guilty, or we are all innocent. Our fate shall be alike; we perish or we live together." Would not this be the language of honor and of sound policy? Let us take lessons from little children. See if at school they do not scorn to denounce any one of their comrades to the severity of their rulers. Does not the whole class submit to punishment rather than that one of them be singled out to be whipped? Shall juvenile courage surpass that of manhood? Depend upon it, if we agree in rejecting from our lips this test oath, if we remain locked together arm in arm, we shall have no cause to repent of it. There is, thank God, a sort of magnetic electricity in everything that is noble and generous, which makes its influence felt even on stones. Let us proclaim, we repeat it, that we were a unit during the war, and that we continue to be so. Our late enemies will in the end thank us for it. For otherwise, what a cowardly and contemptible figure they would make in history! Would they, on sober reflection, like it to be recorded, that they had to arm three millions of men, build up immense fleets, spend billions of dollars, summon the whole world to their assistance, and fight four years to triumph over a disunited South? No. Truth and self-interest after reconstruction has taken place, will compel the North and West to be, or pretend to be, proud of us; and when passion shall have given way to cool judgment, they will deplore, for their own sake, our having consented to falsehood and degradation. Besides, if peace, prosperity and liberty are to be the issue of the voluntary and loving union of York and Lancaster, instead of such a

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bloody monstrosity as Henry VIII., why should the bridegroom distrust and disgrace the blushing bride?

THE LATE STRUGGLE.—If it be an axiomatic truth that there is no effect without an adequate cause, then the cause or causes producing the gigantic struggle which the world lately witnessed must also have been gigantic. History will tell them, and posterity will appreciate them impartially; but surely that posterity will not believe that it was the work of petty politicians. Ants could never have piled Ossa upon Pelion. The great Edmund Burke has said with undisputed truth that men are so fond of their ease, so wedded to their habits, so averse to changes, particularly when attended with risks, that there never was an attempt at a revolution of any magnitude without intolerable provocation. If such are not precisely his words, such at least is the substance of what he wrote. The late struggle was no exception to this general rule. The North, therefore, must have the magnanimity to admit that great provocation had been given to us. If denied, we ought still to contend for it, because it is the truth; and if we were wrong in the mode of redress which we chose, we must never cease to maintain that we thought at the time that we were right.

THE PRESIDENT'S AMNESTY.—But politically and judicially, if not historically, it is desirable that this question should no longer be agitated. The liberal amnesty which the President has granted, and which is expected to be soon followed by one still more comprehensive, will preclude, we hope, all discussions either in courts of justice or in Legislative halls on a subject of which for a long time it will be impossible to take a dispassionate view. This leads us to say a few words on the nature and exercise of that prerogative of sovereignty, or of the representative of sovereignty. Wharton, in his Law Dictionary, defines an amnesty to be: "An act of pardon, or oblivion, by which crimes against the Government to a certain time are so obliterated that they can never be brought again into charge." A French jurist, Chabrole Chameau, in his Dictionary of Annual Legislation, says: "That it is an act of the Sovereign by which he proclaims the oblivion of crimes and delinquencies." It ought to be solely dictated by public interest. All authors agree as to that. The too great number of persons to be punished, the advantages which may result to the State from treating with indulgence citizens who have been deceived or misled, the danger of keeping indefinitely alive animosities which would be undoubtedly prolonged by too much severity, the policy of reviving in the breast of discontented individuals the love which they had formerly entertained for their country and its government, and of dispensing with the application of penal law, when the circumstances are such that its strict enforcement would degenerate into cruelty and oppression, and would strip the penalty inflicted of its character and attributes of morality and usefulness, by throwing into society a greater degree of perturbation and a larger mass of evils than would result from impunity itself—these are the considerations which are ad-

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mitted not only to justify, but even to call for, an amnesty. Authors differ as to the nature and effects of amnesties, just as much as in relation to the essential requisites of oaths and their binding force upon the conscience. Some say that an amnesty is more than a pardon, others that it is less. "It is *more*," maintains one jurist, because it annihilates the very act or deed which gave jurisdiction to the law over the pretended culprit. "It is *less*," replies his opponent, because if the amnesty leaves no room or cause for that jurisdiction, the pardon prevents the law from executing its justice after it has assumed and exercised jurisdiction. The one anticipates the action of the law whilst respecting it, the other overpowers it and sets it aside. It is therefore a higher prerogative. The prevailing opinion is, however, that it clearly differs from pardon in one feature, which is that of being more extended and general in its character. A pardon is special, and applies to individualities; an amnesty to classes. A pardon confirms the fact of culpability already established. An amnesty implies only the supposition of criminality. The pardoned was guilty; the object of the amnesty might have been in the same condition.

Nature of Amnesty.—Among the Romans, amnesties were granted by the Senate or by the Prince for all offences against the law, with the exception of such crimes as high treason, treason, peculation and desertion. The amnesty warded off the incurred penalty, but did not efface the crime and allowed its infamy to subsist. In this respect it partook of the nature of pardon.

In England, the right of granting amnesties has always belonged to the Sovereign, and can be exercised in all cases except one, which is that of a prosecution by the Commons before the House of Lords. The power of pardoning and reprieving, with an exception of a similar nature, is vested in the Chief Magistrate of the United States. The Federal Constitution says: "The President shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment."

The Kings of France exercised the same privilege in its absolute sense. With regard to its effects, an amnesty was more complete according to French jurisprudence than according to the Roman; for it covered, as it were, with the mantle of oblivion, both the guilt and the deserved punishment. Since the revolution of 1789, the ancient privilege of granting amnesties is thought by some jurists to have been modified, and even taken away from the sovereign. It is maintained that, under the charter granted by Louis the Eighteenth, and under the one to which Louis Philippe subscribed in 1830, the French Chambers, and not the King, had the right to use the privilege of granting amnesties; but in fact, that privilege has not ceased to be exercised to this day by the Executive of that country, notwithstanding the weighty opinion of Mr. Dupin, the King's Attorney General, who stoutly asserted, in an address delivered on the 3d of November, 1834, before the Court of Cassation, that amnesties, it is true, could be granted by the sovereign for mere delinquencies, but

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not for crimes, which, in his opinion, could be effaced only by virtue of a special law. We confess that we do not understand the logic of this distinction, and regret that we had not the means of looking into his argument on the subject. According to this learned jurist and others, the power expressly delegated in an organic law to pardon crimes does not imply that of granting amnesties. As the same interpretation might have been put on the Constitution of the United States, it is perhaps to prevent all doubts on the subject, that in the act of Congress, approved July 17, 1862, and entitled, "An act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes," they inserted the following section: "Be it further enacted, that the President is hereby authorized, at any time hereafter, by proclamation to extend to persons who may have participated in the existing rebellion, in any State or part thereof, pardon and amnesty, with such exceptions, and at such time and on such conditions as he may deem expedient for the public welfare." The amnesty granted by the President is therefore an act of Congress as well as of the President, but it does not seem that Congress is aware that an amnesty is an act of oblivion.

France, to her honor be it said, has granted more amnesties, I believe, than any other nation. Therefore it is to her and to the decisions of her tribunals that one must turn to see the effects which, expressedly or constructively, amnesties have been permitted to have. There is some conflict in those decisions, but generally it has been admitted that an amnesty restores all those rights which were forfeited by condemnation, or suspended during the existence of the impending accusation. Some authors, and among them Mr. de Peyronnet, who was one of the Ministers of Charles the Tenth, when that prince fell from his throne, maintain that an amnesty cannot be conditional, but must be absolute, because a condition which is to be observed, and therefore to be kept in mind, revives the recollection of the offence which it is intended entirely to forget. Hence, they say, the incompatibility of an amnesty and of a condition. This mode of reasoning, however, has been held to be far-fetched and unsound.

"An amnesty," says Chabrolle Chameau, in his Dictionary of Annual Legislation, "being a kind of general pardon, leaves always on those who are the object of it, a certain blemish, or a sort of stain. Therefore, we think that there are circumstances when those to whom an amnesty is granted, ought to have the right to accept, or not to accept, that favor. He who has the consciousness of his innocence, may have a strong reason for choosing to appear before his judges to have that innocence proclaimed. A complete acquittal will always be better for him than an amnesty. Such was the decision of the Court of Cassation on the 25th of November, 1826." This doctrine seems to be in strict conformity with the dictates of common sense. It is certainly an act of injustice to compel a man to accept an amnesty, when he would have rejected it, if he had been

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given the opportunity to choose to be tried, and to prove that he was free from guilt in the eye of the law. The proclamation of amnesty issued by President Johnson is no doubt a manifestation of generous, statesman-like policy, for which we of the South ought to be grateful; and if it was not left to the option of every one of us to accept or reject it without incurring oppression and be denied the faculty of even working for bread, it was not the fault of the author of the amnesty, but that of the insane and ferocious legislation of Congress.

History demonstrates that amnesties are as little reliable as political oaths, and are as often violated. We see the like tendency in this case, for the maintenance of the Congressional Test Oath would partially defeat the amnesty of the President, and if that amnesty was respected by all as it should be, because it has been accepted in good faith, if it was remembered that amnesty means oblivion, we should not be so often reminded of a rebellion which is proclaimed to be forgotten; and then, a certain set of men ceasing to consider and treat us as rebels, there would be no difficulty in the work of reconstruction.

WERE THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH REBELS?—We avail ourselves of this opportunity to say that, if we are called rebels, we ought not to subscribe to this appellation. We hope that it is not inconsistent with the new allegiance to which we have consented, to remark that the late war was not a rebellion, in the ordinary sense of the word. The world had heard before of the rebellion of subjects against their governments, of provinces against the empire of which they were a part, of colonies against their metropolis, of the vanquished against the conqueror, but never of the rebellion of sovereign and independent States against the confederacy which they had created. This is something new under the sun, to which our minds cannot easily be reconciled. Besides, as republicans of the old, if not the black school, as democrats, we may be permitted to have some repugnance for the use of a word which we shall prove to be of monarchical origin. Let us go back to the first republics of which we have any history, to the Republics of Greece. They had also their intestine dissensions. One party would seize power and drive its opponents into exile, or put them to death and confiscate their property. We find them applying to each other the words, traitor, enemy, parricide, etc., but rebel, never. Between Greek and Greek there could be treason and enmity, but no rebellion. Rebellion implies inferiority on one side, and superiority on the other; allegiance on one side, and sovereignty on the other—which could not be among the Greeks, as they were all equals and sovereigns. It was the same with Rome. In the whole history of the Roman Republic, the word rebel is not once applied to a Roman citizen. When the first secession of which we have any knowledge took place among them, when the people—the plebeians—seceded from the patricians, and retired to Mount Aventine, they were not called rebels. When Coriolanus put himself at the head of the Volsci and marched against Rome, he

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was not outlawed as a rebel by the Roman Senate. They denounced him merely as an enemy. When he appeared before the walls of his native city, which he had doomed to destruction, when he had scornfully rejected the supplications of his patrician friends, and the submission of the repentant plebeians who had offended him, when he had treated in the same contemptuous manner the majesty of the Gods represented by the priests and by the Vestals, there came his mother. We have on record the speech which she addressed to him. She calls him *hostis*—enemy; she calls him parricide, but rebel, no; and let us not forget that, if he was a rebel, nevertheless the Roman matrons, when he died, went into mourning for a whole year. In the protracted struggles between Marius and Scylla, so celebrated for their tables of reciprocal proscription, the party who happened to represent the government for the time being, never dreamed that their opponents were rebels. Cicero exhausts against Catiline the vocabulary of epithets, but omits the word rebel, which is not even to be found in any of his many works. When Cæsar crossed the Rubicon, the Roman Senate declared that there was not rebellion, but *tumultus in urbum*—tumult. The fact is, that according to Roman ideas, a Roman could not be a rebel. He could be guilty of *seditio*, *tumultus*, *insurrectio*, but not *rebellio*. Romans were all equals. They did not owe allegiance to each other. There was no rebellion between Cassius and Brutus on one side, and Mark Anthony and Octavius on the other, nor subsequently between Octavius and Anthony, and when Octavius had become Augustus, the conspiracy of Cinna against the undisputed master of the world, if it had ripened into an open conflict of arms, would not have been deemed a rebellion, because respect for old republican ideas and forms was not yet entirely obliterated. • "*Rebellio*, among the Romans, was where those who had been overcome in battle, and had yielded to their subjection, made a second resistance." (See Encyclopedia Britannica.) The Gauls, the Spaniards, the Britons and other conquered nations could be rebellious against Rome, but not the Romans. All Romans thought that they were component parts of their government. That government could be divided into hostile fragments, but it was not understood in those days how a fraction of sovereignty could be rebellious against the other fractions. We hear of rebellious sons, because of the natural allegiance claimed by a father, but we never hear of rebellious brothers. The Italian republics of the Mediæval ages were as sparing of the word *rebel* as their illustrious predecessors. Well! When the Greeks could not be rebels against Greeks, Romans against Romans, Italians against Italians, we have precedents for saying that Americans pitted against Americans should not be so fond of stigmatizing their brothers as rebels. Of course, I do not mean to maintain that, legally speaking, Americans, in their individuality, cannot be rebels under our institutions, and ought not to be proclaimed and treated as such on proper occasions.

SECESSION, ANCIENT AND MODERN.—But under what circumstances

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is the word now used against us? It must be remembered that, since the formation of our Federal Government, the people of the United States were divided into two parties—one, advocating that allegiance was first due to each respective State by her citizens, and the other, that the allegiance to the General Government was paramount. A short time before this cruel war, if this great embarrassing question had been put to the vote, it is doubtful which way that vote would have gone, even perhaps in the State of Massachusetts. For let it be kept in mind that, when Louisiana applied for admission into the Union as a State, Josiah Quincy, one of the most distinguished sons of Massachusetts, who was then one of her representatives in Congress, and who has lately died full of years and honors, declared that her admission would be a violation of the organic compact; that, if such was the case, he would advise the New England States to secede, "peaceably, if possible, forcibly, if necessary." He was called to order by the Speaker, and on his appealing from the decision of the chair, he was supported by the vote of the House—upon which occasion, he made a splendid discourse in which he eloquently maintained what is now branded as an abominable political heresy, and which was, that his allegiance was due to his native State in preference to the United States.*

If from profane we turn to sacred history, we find a most striking anology between the secession of Southern States and the secession of the ten tribes of Israel—an anology which may well have led many pious people into an excusable error, which ought to excite compassion, instead of execration, from those who have a better claim to superior learning and understanding. When all Israel, that is, the ten tribes, saw that their king listened not to their grievances, and that all the benefits of their union with the tribes of Judah and Benjamin redounded exclusively to the profit of the latter, they exclaimed: "What portion have we in David? Neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse." Thus, the Southern people, being under an hallucination which made them think that the Federal Union was nothing but an engine of oppression by which they were converted into hewers of wood and drawers of water for the profit of the North, exclaimed in their turn: "What portion have we in the Federal Constitution framed by our fathers? Neither have we inheritance in a sectional President"—"To your tents, O, Israel," cried of yore the secessionists of Judea. "Now see to thine own house, David." Following this biblical example, the secessionists of the South cried also: "To your respective States, ye race of cavaliers. Now see to thine own house, thou Puritan of the North." We further read that the king Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, whose subjects had thus departed, "assembled all the house of Judah, with the tribe of Benjamin, an hundred and four-score thousand

* The question of *secession* the South regards as settled against her, and all argument upon the subject as closed so far as the future is concerned. Why not settle the question for *North and South* forever by an amendment to the Constitution? None can doubt that prior to the recent troubles it was a mooted question with public writers and statesmen from the earliest days of the republic.—*Editor.*

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chosen men, which were warriors, to fight against the house of Israel, to bring the kingdom again under his sway. No doubt the king entertained the conscientious conviction that his subjects had, for no cause whatever, committed the atrocious crime of revolting against the most paternal government in the world. Probably he came to the logical conclusion which no tyrant has ever repudiated, that the first duty of a government is to protect itself and to maintain the integrity of its existence. It is hardly to be questioned that, among the highly favored and dominant tribes of Judah and Benjamin, there was some such popular cry as: "The Union. It must be preserved." But the Lord spoke to them in this wise: "Ye shall not go up, nor fight against your brethren, the children of Israel. Return every man to his house, for this thing is from me." And they obeyed. We, Southern people, who are not sufficiently enlightened not to believe in the Bible in all its parts, seeing that God had inspired, acknowledged and protected secession on that occasion, thought that we could behave like the Israelites, and that the tribes of the North and the tribes of the West, like the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, hearkening to the word of the Lord which we expected to speak to their conscience, would in good faith have said to us: "Depart in peace, wayward sisters."

THE COURSE OF WISDOM.—Under such circumstances, with such precedents, with such beacon light before us, if we, of the South erred, have we not some justification to invoke in our favor? Therefore, we must be permitted respecfully to suggest to the President, and to our other friends in the North and in the West, that our assistance in coöperating with them for the restoration of the Union will be materially weakened, unless we are suffered to retain our self-esteem and command the respect of others, by demurring to a name, which in the eye of those who employ it, implies guilt on our part. Words must not be imprudently disregarded. They are potent for evil and for good. They are like the arrow of William Tell, which in unskillful hands, instead of striking the apple, might have quivered in the heart of a cherished object. We must hold ourselves ready for all the concessions and sacrifices which, in words and deeds, may be legitimately demanded of the vanquished, but we must take care to refuse to yield what would lower us in public opinion. There is danger in our being too impatient under our sufferings, and in running too fast towards the goal which we desire to reach. *Departed wealth may be recovered; honor, once lost, is lost for ever.* Much is frequently gained by the passive resistance of obstinate inertia.

We are glad to see that the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, in one of his recent political sermons, uses the following language: "Men at the North are disappointed because prominent men at the South are pardoned, where they do not give up their theory of secession. I should not respect them if they did. Let them accept the fact of Union from this time; and they can have their theories. A man who too readily gives up his theories and doctrines cannot make a

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desirable citizen. I expect them to retain their theories, but to accept the facts." He further observes: "It is said that the South should be humbled before it is received back. So far from that, I want to save the self-respect of the South, and he is the wisest statesman who can carry them through all this trouble without loss of self-respect." When we read these words, we admitted that, "something good may come out of Nazareth." Henry Ward Beecher has certainly preached sound doctrine on this occasion, and we ought to profit by it, although we do not belong to his church. What is the interest, and what should be the policy of the North, West and South, if they are to unite once more in fraternal embrace. It is to be reciprocally kind and just. As to kindness and justice, we have something to hope from the National Democratic party, but nothing, we are afraid, from their adversaries. Should those adversaries be allowed to continue much longer the exercise of the unconstitutional power which they have assumed, the negro will become our superior politically. Insults and humiliations will not cease to be showered upon us; the word rebel will forever ring in our ears, and we shall ever be treated as such; the annesty will be legislated into a deceptive shadow; the test oath will remain an odious reality, whilst oaths to maintain the Constitution inviolate will be permitted to evaporate into nothingness; and the restored Union will become a thing of oppression to us, and of loathing to the lovers of liberty throughout the world. But to President Johnson and to the National Conservative party, we may confidently recommend a policy which, if persisted in, may in the end secure from the South to the Federal Government that allegiance of the heart which is so different from the illegiance of the lips. The policy, which, in our humble opinion should be adopted, we will exemplify by an anecdote which is drawn from Spanish history, and with which we shall conclude our article.

Example from Spanish History.–Some centuries ago, two kings were contending for the crown of Castile. We forget their names for the present, but to facilitate the telling of my story, shall call one Alfonso, and the other John. Alfonso proclaimed, of course, that John was a usurper and a rebel, and John returned the compliment. Well, John at last defeated his rival, horse and foot, and carried everything triumphantly before him, with the exception of a single town which Alfonso had intrusted to a stout old knight, called Aguilar, and which, after a long siege, still remained impregnable. "You have done enough for honor," said King John, one day to the knight, "surrender and you shall have the most liberal terms."—"If you had read the history of your country," answered Aguilar, "you would have known that none of my race ever capitulated."—"I will starve you, proud and obstinate fool."—"Starve the eagle, if you can."—"I will put you and the whole garrison to the sword."—"Try," was the laconic reply; and the siege went on. One morning, as the rising sun was beginning to gild with its rays the highest towers of the beleaguered city, a parley sounded from the camp of the enemy. The old knight appeared on the wall, and

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looked down on the King below. "Surrender," said John again.—"My rival, Alfonso, is dead, and the whole of Castile recognizes my sway, as that of its legitimate sovereign."—"Sire, I believe you, but I must see my dead master."—"Go then to Seville, where his body lies. You have my royal word that I shall attempt nothing against you on your way, nor against the city in your absence."—The knight came out with banner flying and a small escort of grim-visaged warriors. Behind him the gates closed; before him the dense battalions of the enemy opened their ranks, and as he passed along, slowly riding his noble war-horse, shouts of admiration burst wide and far from the whole host who had so often witnessed his deeds of valor, and the echoes of the loud and enthusiastic greeting accompanied him until the red plume which waved over his helmet was out of sight. He arrived at Seville. and went straight to the cathedral, where he found the tomb of his former sovereign. He had it opened, and after gazing awhile with moist eyes at the pale face which met his look, he thus addressed the dead monarch:—"Sire, I had sworn never to deliver to anybody but yourself the keys of the town which you had entrusted to my care. Here they are; I have kept my oath," and he deposited them on the breast of King Alfonso. Then, bestriding his good steed, he galloped back to his post. As soon as he approached, again the ranks of the enemy opened, and King John confronted him. "Well," said the King, "are you satisfied, and do you now give up the contest?" "Yes, sire." "Where are the keys of the town?" "On King Alfonso's breast. Go and get them. We meet no more."—"By heaven, we shall never part," exclaimed the King. "Get the keys back yourself, and remain in command of the town in my name." The followers of the King murmured, and complained of his rewarding a rebel. "He is no longer one," said King John. "Such rebels, when won, become the best of subjects." Had we the honor of approaching the President, we would take the liberty of saying to him: Follow this example, respected sir. Trust without fear those men who have fought to the last for the cause which they loved, and which claimed their fidelity. Trust those rebels who come to you with clean hands, and after having deposited the keys of their loyalty on the dead body of the Southern Confederacy.

ART. IX.—DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

1. THE COTTON INTERESTS OF THE SOUTH.

THE EDITOR of the REVIEW having recently made an extensive tour through the cotton States, is enabled to speak with some degree of confidence in regard to the prospects of the crop of 1866, which is now being put into the ground.

Under all the advantages of the old system of labor, and with the full agricultural force which existed in 1860, the crop of the cotton States, with a fair season, might reach five million bales; but taking the chances of such a season one year with another, it would be a reasonable estimate to say 4,500,000 bales.

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The *efficient* negro population of the South has been reduced by the war, on a liberal estimate, one-fourth. Upon the supposition that all now in existence are willing to work up to the standard of the past, a deduction of one-fourth must therefore be made from the above figures.

But would it not be an absurd hypothesis to suppose that in the inexperience, the ignorance and wild hopes of sudden freedom, that the negro will be so productive an agent as under the regulations and system of slavery, which existed two hundred years? No one familiar with the character of the black races would make such a mistake, and there are no results so far which would cause us to make it. A fair deduction of another quarter will therefore be very safe. Thus the 4,500,000 bales must submit to be divided by two.

Here, then, we have a probable crop of 2,250,000 bales, *with the whole cotton region under full cultivation.*

Is that an existing condition? Our observation, conversation and collected information from every source, leads to the belief that *not more than half of the cotton district will be cultivated*—that is, meaning by the district, the average lands of the country. More than half the number of acres may be put under cultivation; but it will not be of the richest and best lands—the prolific river bottoms. These, from the expense of working, and for other reasons, are left out. Any one who will examine the newspapers and land agencies of the South, will perceive the truth of this remark. To be on the safe side, however, assume that only one-third of the lands are uncultivated, and the crop is reduced to 1,500,000 bales.

This, in the opinion of the Editor of the REVIEW, is a very fair calculation, and is based, it will be noted, upon assumptions which experienced men know to be more liberal than will probably be realized.

The figures *are not likely to be increased* by anything that is *now* to happen, and *may be greatly reduced* by the ignorance, neglect or desertion of the laboring forces, which, judging from the experience of all other countries, is more likely to occur than not, and reduce the crop to 1,000,000 or 1,200,000 bales.

No account is taken in the calculation of the application of white labor to cotton, beyond what was applied to it before the war. The extensive mortality of the war has made white labor at the South very scarce, and so far it is absorbed in the necessary pursuits of the mechanic arts and trade, which have been furnishing most lucrative employment. The wear and tear, and frightful destruction caused by the war, opened other channels of employment besides agriculture.

The increase of white labor at the South, so far as the next crop is concerned, from *immigration*, is too trifling to be taken into account. The aggregate number of laborers introduced is insignificant, and so far is largely absorbed in the cities, etc.

These are our views, and we are willing to stand by them.

Future years of emancipation may, and doubtless will, produce vastly improved results. Certainly the field is a wide one, and is open to enterprise and capital. We are among the hopeful.

An experienced planter in Alabama corroborates the above views in a letter, from which we extract:

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"What are the facts in regard to a general cultivation of cotton and return of negroes to field labor?

"A large proportion of the field-hands are dead. Another large number have left the cotton growing States. The cotton-producing lands in the bottoms will not be in cultivation this year nor the next; to a great degree they are going back into the wilderness. In no part of the country is a large proportion of the lands likely to be planted in cotton much; even of the uplands in Alabama and Mississippi will not be planted at all.

"A great number of the negroes are about the towns and villages, with no sort of intention of returning to the plantations.

"Another fact known only to those who are making the effort to make cotton under the present aspect, is, the general opposition of the negro women to do field labor. The more sensible of the men see and feel the necessity of labor in the cotton field, but there is a settled opposition on the part of the women to go to the field again. They want to go into society and have a piano. The women are the main cotton-pickers.

"When the negroes made contracts to make cotton, it was very cold and wet; they had no houses to live in; no provisions to live on; they were disappointed about the division of lands and mules. They said, "Well, if we have to work we might as well make a contract." They were to a great degree compelled to make an engagement to work.

"But when the pressure of work in the heat of the spring and summer comes on, will he perform his contract? That is the question. The shade tree on the bank of a stream will afford house enough, and he can forage at large under the protecting wings of 'the bureau.'"

2. AGRICULTURAL WEALTH AND PRODUCTS OF THE UNITED STATES—1860.

THE following statistics are taken from the national census of 1860, and will be found to embody the facts in relation to the leading agricultural staples of the country in the most condensed form:

Improved Land in Farms, acres	163,261,389	Buckwheat, bushels	17,664,914
Unimproved " " "	246,508,244	Value of orchard products	19,759,861
Cash value of Farms	$6,650,872,567	Wine, gallons	1,860,008
Value of Farming implements and Machinery	$247,027,496	Val. of prod. of market gardens.	15,541,027
Horses	6,115,478	Butter, pounds	460,509,854
Asses and Mules	1,129,538	Cheese, pounds	105,875,185
Milch cows	8,728,802	Hay, tons	19,129,128
Working oxen	2,240,075	Clover seed, bushels	929,010
Other cattle	14,671,400	Other grass-seeds, bushels	900,386
Sheep	23,317,776	Hops, pounds	11,010,012
Swine	32,555,267	Dew-rotted hemp, tons	88,247
Value of live stock	$1,107,490,216	Water-rotted hemp, tons	8,948
Value of animals slaughtered	$212,871,638	Other prepared hemp, tons	17,300
Wheat, bushels	171,183,381	Flax, pounds	3,783,079
Rye, bushels	20,976,296	Flax-seed, bushels	611,927
Indian corn, bushels	830,451,707	Silk cocoons, pounds	6,562
Oats, bushels	172,554,688	Maple-sugar, pounds	38,868,884
Rice, pounds	187,140,113	Cane sugar, hhds. of 1,000 lbs	302,205
Tobacco, pounds	429,390,771	Molasses, gallons	26,516,699
Cotton, bales of 400 pounds each	*5,198,077	Maple molasses, gallons	1,944,594
Wool, pounds	60,511,343	Cane molasses, gallons	16,337,080
Peas and Beans, bushels	15,188,013	Sorghum molasses, gallons	7,235,025
Irish potatoes, bushels	110,571,201	Beeswax and honey, pounds	26,386,855
Sweet potatoes, bushels	41,606,302	Beeswax, pounds	1,357,864
Barley, bushels	15,635,119	Honey, pounds	25,028,991
		Value of home-made manufacture	$24,358,222

3.—COTTON AND ITS COST OF PRODUCTION.

More than ten years ago we were furnished by a practical and experienced Southern planter with the following views upon the important question of what

*At 10 cents a pound, amount to $207,823,080.

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it cost to grow cotton at the South, and the reader will do well to compare them with a later estimate, which we furnish, made by another planter whose figures have reference to the existing state of things:

It has often been observed that many, everywhere, both in Europe and America, have been ready at all times to raise the hue and cry about the high prices of cotton, whenever it bears a value at all *remunerating*, and when it becomes so low as to sink beneath the cost of production, to be ready to congratulate its growers upon the profits they are realizing.

We imagine two prominent reasons may be found sufficiently explanatory of this, and the first is *interest*. This article constitutes the *chief element* of clothing for the whole civilized world, and its cheapness and abundance is as necessary to the millions that consume it, as their bread. The second reason for this general warfare against the planter's interest, is, that most of those who have never produced the great staple, which clothes the world at so much less cost than any other good material, is, that they are not familiar with the costs of its production, and generally greatly underrate them.

Having so often observed the erroneous conclusions into which individuals and *communities* have been led, for the want of this knowledge and experience, we propose here to give a short and accurate summary of the *expenses and costs* of producing cotton, as deduced from our experience and observation for fifteen years. When we say *accurate*, we do not mean that standard that a merchant or mathematician observes, but *near enough* to show what is necessary; at least we will not make them greater than they are.

Take a plantation well-improved and properly organized, with good buildings, gins, mill, teams, &c., on which there are one hundred slaves, old and young negroes. Let this be cultivated, *free of rent or hire*, for one year, or a series of years, and left in as good order as it was received; it is a fair calculation that such places, upon rich bottom land, will produce annually seven bales, weighing four hundred pounds, to each hand; but not near so much on "up-lands." On such a plantation, with one hundred slaves, there would generally be found about fifty classified, *average* field-hands—the whole property being worth about *one hundred thousand dollars*.

Thus 50 hands will produce 350 bales, of 400 lbs.; this, sold at 5 cents per lb., will be $20 per bale—350 bales		$7,000
From which deduct, for sending to market and selling, $2 50 per bale—350 bales	$875 00	
To feed 100 servants, to furnish the hospital, overseer's table, &c	750 00	
Deduct bagging and rope per bale—350 bales	525 00	
To clothe 100 slaves, shoe them, furnish bedding, sacks for gathering cotton, &c	750 00	
Wages to competent overseer	700 00	
Such plantation requiring 35 or 40 mules, will need an annual addition of about four or five to sustain the teams	400 00	
Annual outlay to keep up farming tools of all descriptions, in wood and iron	250 00	
Taxes on the whole estate	300 00	
Annual repairs of gins, mill, press and purchasing new stands, &c	250 00	
Medicines, doctors' bills, &c	250 00	
Annual outlay for materials to keep in repair all the buildings needed; for nails, lime, plank and such materials as cannot be had on the place	200 00	
Total expenses above named		$5,250
Leaves		$1,750

It is to be borne in mind that there are hundreds of *small matters* not enumerated here, which must be annually purchased, and added to the list of ex-

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penses; also, that nothing has been allowed for the support of the planter and and his family, which should all be charged to the place, as his *supervision is indispensable.* Nor has anything been set down to meet those contingent and incidental losses and costs, to which all such estates are liable. As the loss of servants from epidemics, the loss of *whole teams* from diseases, the frequent accidents to gins and houses from fire, losses from overflows, breaking of levees, &c.; the cost of making *entirely new* all the buildings, gins, &c., on the premises, occur every fifteen or twenty years. If a reasonable charge is made for these things, it will be readily seen the balance of $1,750 will fail to meet them. Thus it appears that it will cost five cents to produce cotton, and if the land is given, clear of rent, and the labor without hire, a judicious economy only could save the manager of such an estate from debt, if he be required to surrender the property to the owner, at the end of the year, in good condition.

Nearly half the time, in the last ten years, cotton has been sold for the planters on the *low* lands, for about five cents per pound, which the most superficial observer must see has been ruinous; for it would appear, those immense estates not only pay no *interest* on the large investments, at those rates, but scarcely do the revenues support the charges of cultivating and sustaining them. It would require an extraordinary coincidence of favorable circumstances, to leave the smallest margin of profit to the planters. Their profits begin only when cotton advances above five cents, or the crop reaches beyond the ordinary average of seven bales to the hand; the latter, no one ought to presume on, for he will as often fall below as rise above the average.

We dislike, for those who are utterly unacquainted with the details of its production, to be constantly laboring to produce wrong impressions in the commercial circles, both in Europe and America, and stimulating, under false views, individuals and *nations* to embark in a business, ruinous to themselves and to those already engaged in it. Why should our material be said to be too high, when no other can be found to clothe the world half so cheap, combining the same comfort and utility? Why do people complain of the high prices of cotton, when even at ten cents it will clothe them cheaper and better than anything else by half—and yet only leave 25 or 30 cents per day compensation to the producer of the raw material?

From such calculations as these, it might be easy to show, that all the efforts England is making to succeed in the cultivation of cotton must prove abortive; for her labor is greatly inferior to ours. Her lands and climate have been found to be still more so. (The writer is personally acquainted with some of the planters employed from this country by the English, to try the experiment in India.) The distance from the places of consumption is another impediment to their success; as also, the marked inferiority of the staple. The West Indies, South America and Egypt, have all failed in the race of competition against us, and have been yearly sinking lower in the amount of product.

4.—COST OF COTTON PLANTING IN 1866.

I have made a detailed estimate of the amount of cash capital necessary to starting and stocking a plantation of 500 acres of plowable land:

25 good mules	$150 each	$3,200
25 sets harness gear	7 "	175
25 plows	10 "	250
3 yoke of oxen	60 per pair	180
5 carts or wagons	85 each	425
1 saddle horse	125	125
Spades, hoes, axes, and farming utensils	200	200
Cotton seed, first year	500	500
Corn for stock	800	800
Extras—cows, hogs, etc	250	250
		$6,105

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Rent of 500 acres of cultivable plantation, from $3 to $10 per acre—say $6	$3,000
20 laborers—men, per month, $10	2,400
15 laborers—women, $6	1,080
1 blacksmith, per year	200
1 carpenter, per year	200
Clothing for 37 laborers, $30 each	1,100
Five pounds pork per week, each hand	1,900
One peck corn meal per laborer, each week	1,275
One manager and overseer	800
One book-keeper	400
Doctor's bills and medicine	200
	$12,555

Total outlay is, in round numbers, $19,000 for 500 acres of tilled land, or $38 per acre, and if well tilled and managed ought to produce as follows:

Reserve one-fourth of the land for clover and food crops, leaves 375 acres to be planted with cotton, which ought, and will yield on the Mississippi River and tributaries, at least one bale of clean cotton of 450 pounds to each acre, or 168,750 pounds of clean cotton for crop. It cannot be worth less than thirty-five cents per pound, probably nearly seventy-five cents, unless thousands of mules, millions of greenbacks, and thousands upon thousands of laborers more than are engaged in the business at present, direct their attention and energies to this most important interest. Those who are wise can make out the almost certain profits; but time flies—sixty days later the golden opportunity is lost, the planting season will be over for 1866, and Mr. McCulloch will not have over 760,000 to 1,000,000 of bales to raise his 200,000,000 of revenue of ten cents per pound from.

AN OLD PLANTER.

5.—COTTON STATISTICS—CROP 1865.

The New York *Times* furnishes in its financial column the following figures:

"The receipts at this port have been 154,414 bales since Jan. 1, 1866, and 577,831 bales since the commencement of the current Cotton year, Sept. 1, 1865. The week's exports of Cotton from this port have been 10,738 bales. The estimated stock on hand here is 250,000 bales. Regarding the receipts at the shipping ports, Mr. Wm. P. Wright, in his circular for the *Australasian* says: "The weekly receipts are watched with much anxiety, and the decrease for the week ending last Saturday, at New Orleans and Mobile, though slight, is not lost sight of, as the beginning, possibly, of a marked and rapid decline. In Mobile the actual fallingoff proves nothing, as the receipts by the two minor rivers are not delivered with the regularity of those by the main river and the railroad. This is true also of the receipts at New Orleans, which as being so large a proportion of the whole, claim the chief attention, and an analysis of them shows a very material falling in the main channels. The receipts from the mouth of Red River, and from other remote districts, are of cotton which can only be shipped at certain times, and which will be shipped whenever practicable, and no inference can be drawn from the weekly arrivals as to the amount left behind. It is therefore unwise to be led by free receipts under such conditions into exaggerated estimates of the probable total. The Atlantic reports, particularly Savannah, whence, from the number of inland markets, more accurate information might have been looked for, are receiving cotton to an extent which reflects anything but credit on the persistent assertions both of receivers and of buyers that there was no cotton in the country. No doubt an anomalous season like the present makes estimates liable to great error, but a couple of weeks more will probably settle the question of supply for this year." The following is a statement of the movement in cotton at all the shipping ports since the 1st of September last: Receipts at the ports in the United States, 1,295,000 bales; exports to Great Britain, 590,000 bales; exports to France, 72,000 bales; ex-

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ports to other foreign ports, 24,000 bales; total exports, 686,000 bales; stock on hand, 592,000 bales. Of which during the past week included in the above: Receipts at the ports, 57,000 bales; exports to Great Britain, 27,000 bales; exports to France, 6,000 bales; exports to other foreign ports, 2,000 bales; total exports, 35,000 bales.

ART. X.—DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

1.—COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, 1840 to 1864.

The following tables are taken from the reports of the United States Treasury. The Imports are of course given in Specie valuations, and since 1862 the Exports in currency, which will be an important consideration in estimating the balances of trade:

	Exports Domestic Produce.	Foreign Produce.	Total Exports.	Imports	Excess Exports.	Excess Imports.
1845.	99,299,776	15,346,830	114,646,606	117,254,564	.....	2,607,958
1846.	102,841,893	11,346,623	113,488,516	121,691,797	.....	8,203,281
1847.	150,637,464	8,011,158	158,648,622	146,545,638	12,102,984	.....
1848.	132,904,121	21,128,010	154,032,131	154,998,928	.....	966,797
1849.	132,666,955	13,088,865	145,755,820	147,857,439	.....	2,101,619
1850.	136,946,912	14,951,808	151,898,720	178,138,318	.....	26,239,598
1851.	196,689,718	21,698,293	218,388,011	216,224,932	2,163,079	.....
1852.	192,368,984	17,289,382	209,658,366	212,945,442	.....	3,287,076
1853.	213,417,697	17,558,460	230,976,157	267,978,647	.....	37,002,490
1854.	253,390,870	24,850,194	278,241,064	304,562,381	.....	26,321,317
1855.	246,708,553	28,448,293	275,156,846	261,468,520	13,688,326	.....
1856.	310,586,330	16,378,578	326,964,908	314,639,942	12,324,966	.....
1857.	338,985,065	23,975,617	362,960,682	360,890,141	2,070,541	.....
1858.	293,758,279	30,886,142	324,644,421	282,613,150	42,031,271	.....
1859.	335,894,385	20,895,077	356,789,462	338,768,130	18,021,332	.....
1860.	373,189,274	26,933,022	400,122,296	362,162,541	37,959,755	.....
1861.	389,711,391	21,145,427	410,856,818	352,075,535	58,781,283	.....
1862.	213,069,519	16,869,466	229,938.975	205,819,823	24,119,152	.....
1863.	324,092,877	25,959,248	350,052,125	252,187,587	97,864,538	.....
1864.	320,292,171	20,373,409	340,665,580	328,514,559	12,151,521	.....

2.—ST. LOUIS A PORT OF ENTRY.

The St. Louis *Democrat* of the 15th has the following:

"We have already expressed our views in relation to the justice and propriety of making St. Louis a port of entry. The amount of customs on her importations for the eleven months ending with the 1st instant, is full six hundred thousand dollars. This is the largest sum assessed on foreign commodities for this port since 1858, and it shows so rapid a recuperation after the retarding influences of the war, as to justify the belief that a large increase will immediately be effected. The heavy enhancement of population which has already resulted to this section of country, and the steady flow which must continue, will necessarily require greater amounts of imports, and it is highly probable the ensuing twelve months will yield duties to the amount of a million. Our importers should not be subjected to the delays and expenses incident to a mere distributing point. Goods are now retained for weeks and even months at New York and New Orleans in consequence of the requisite force and attention needed at those ports to give them earlier dispatch, to the detriment of interested parties, and the commercial character of the city. Besides this, heavy bills of expenses, in the way of drayage, storage, wastage and otherwise, attend these delays, and place our dealers under disadvantages of no ordinary character.

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Government need not be under any additional expense to carry this desirable object into operation, as the buildings requisite, and all other appliances, are ready for the purpose.

"At this time the Mississippi river is a very interesting commercial thoroughfare. The agriculturists are looking to it as a relief from the monopoly and incapacity of the railroads, and as the natural and, therefore, the cheapest and best outlet for their produce. If grain, flour and pork can be shipped from New Orleans to Liverpool and Havre, farmers and operators generally are in possession of new and very advantageous facilities; and if return articles can reach this market with the liberties of the bond system and the celerity of movement and light expenses afforded by a port of entry, the merchant and all others will be benefited to a still greater degree."

3.—EXPORTS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The following figures show the total value of the exportations of Great Britain during the first six months of the years 1864 and 1865:—

	Value of Exports.	
Countries	1864	1865
Brit. Poss..	£23,506,836..	£24,481,243
Germany...	6,886,042..	7,492,040
Unit. States	12,027,483..	6,214,937
France.....	3,624,840..	4,374,619
Holland ...	3,295,684..	3,198,650
Turkey	3,995,144..	2,844,494
Egypt	3,031,297..	2,782,160
Brazil.....	2,806,536..	2,645,756
Italy.....	2,777,944..	2,617,570
China.....	1,435,531..	1,718,225
Belgium....	1,194,049..	1,316,052
N. Granada.	889,870..	1,220,790
Mexico	720,615..	1,173,312
Cuba.	1,133,678..	1,132,366
Spain.....	1,695,240..	1,131,180
Portugal. ..	1,116,245..	1,078,859
Argent.Rep.	744,806..	1,026,461
Russia.....	1,099,478..	991,468
Chile.....	808,906..	889,421
Peru.....	689,712..	714,629
Japan.....	162,554..	704,713
Swed.&Nor.	610,272..	614,173
For.W. Ind..	403,521..	525,231
Philip. Isla's	430,984..	524,358

	Value of Exports.	
Countries	1864	1865
Denmark...	574,443..	496,384
Java, &c....	518,747..	455,190
Greece.....	210,708..	399,447
Austr'n Terr	442,686..	374,706
Uruguay...	478,035..	334,683
West. Africa	241,857..	269,136
Venezuela..	186,745..	188,917
Morocco ...	73,108..	80,526
Isla's Pacific	44,265..	26,287
Cent'l Amer.	102,700..	19,710
Siam	11,493..	15,204
East'n Africa	8,386..	13,035
Cape Verd Isl	12,068..	11,161
Tunis.....	512..	10,858
Ecuador....	2,171..	8,526
Papal Ports.	45,148..	5,950
Algeria	5,546..	5,390
Bolivia	—..	350
Arabia.....	—..	305
Patagonia...	—..	65
Whale fish'y	1,191..	—
Persia	510..	—
Total Exp.	£78,047,586..	£74,128,638

4.—NEW YORK BANKERS.

By a recent report of the Internal Revenue Bureau, it will be perceived what an immense amount of business is conducted by leading financial houses in New York. We have classified a few of these houses who are mainly engaged in stock operations:

Those whose annual operations exceed One Hundred Millions.

	Amount.		Amount.
Halgarten & Herzfeldt..	$169,232,939	Ernstein, Rosenfeldt & Co.	$129,767,401
Gentel & Phipps.....	160,901,851	David Groesbeck & Co..	119,788,962
E. Morrison & Co.....	153,163,670	H. A Stone & Son.....	118,011,290
Lockwood & Co.....	140,503,163	Chas. Graham.....	114,946,205
H. I. Lyons & Co.....	130,824,401		

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Those between Forty and One Hundred Millions.

W. H. Marston & Co....	$99,329,210	Stuckle & Becker.....	$50,612,302
S. H. Benoist.....	94,612,753	Meyer & Greve.....	47,874,114
Ketchum, Son & Co.....	69,751,410	Stinson, Fronk & Co....	47,472,823
Albert Speyers	68,676,443	E. Whitehouse, Son & Morrison.....	45,579,332
Clarke, Dodge & Co....	68,101,900	Mills, Knickerbocker & Co.	44,656,020
Robinson, Cox & Co....	66,182,405	C. R. Marvin & Co.....	43,948,191
Colgate & Hoffman.....	65,474,724	J. M. Hartshorne & Bro.	42,181,122
Brockelman, Unger & Co.	54,037,867	Dibbler & Cambloss	42,083,100
H. A. Tucker & Co.....	53,591,440	Sexton & Raymond.....	40,368,723
Dexel, Winthrop & Co..	53,082,910		
Merriam & Bell.....	51,847,370		

Those between Thirty and Forty Millions.

Dupres & Kretz.....	$39,962,684	E. P. Sloan & Co.....	$33,076,672
Fearing & Dalton.....	36,320,740	Trevor & Colgate.....	33,024,012
Cohen, Moter & Co.....	35,814,366	E. A. Reid.....	30,490,794
Commann & Co.....	35,405,600	F. D. Wallner & Co.....	30,470,400
Van Scaaick & Massett..	33,124,240	Alex. Meyer.....	30,412,995

5.—COMMERCE WITH BRAZIL.

A memorial upon the subject of increasing the commerce of Brazil with the United States has been prepared in the former country, and is an interesting document. It advocates the immediate establishment of a line of steamers to connect the ports of the two countries. The memorial says:

" * * * In the year 1860 the total value of our exports to the United States amounted to nearly R.40.000,000$000, according to the official estimates. The imports from the United States into Brazil during the said year of 1860 amounted to nearly R.10.000$000, as given by the said official estimates. Therefore, the value of the exports and imports united shows that our commercial transactions with the United States during the year 1860, amounted to about R.50.000,000$000.

" The total value of our commerce, exports and imports, with France during the said year of 1860, did not reach that sum; yet during that year the French Government considered the relations between the two countries of sufficient importance to liberally subsidize a French mail steam-packet company; and the *Messageries Imperiales* line of steamers was established between Bordeaux and South America.

" If the existing commerce between Brazil and the United States is already of such importance, what may we expect it to reach after a line of regular steam-packets has been established between the two countries? The immense increase in our commerce with Great Britain and France since the establishment of the lines of mail steamers between those countries and Brazil is the most conclusive reply. With Great Britain, whose line of steamers has been in existence about fifteen years, the increase has been more than one hundred per cent., and with France, whose line dates back only about five years, it has been fully forty per cent.

" Side by side with the commercial advantages which Brazil would reap from this line of steam-packets between her ports and the United States—advantages which are patent and visible—will grow a great and beneficial influence, a moral one, which a close and intimate intercourse with the extraordinary people of that magnificent country cannot fail to have upon our manners and customs, our thoughts and mental culture.

" We cannot doubt that this intercourse will cause a salutary change in our obsolete manner of cultivating the soil.

" Who dares to deny the impulse it will give to our navigation and our inland communication?

" The magnificent spectacle which is presented by that laborious, bold, ener-

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getic, rich democracy, in which superabound all the resources of modern life, must produce great and beneficial impressions upon those who behold it.

"After the lapse of some time, the Brazilian youths, in place of being sent to Europe to study law and medicine, and to apply themselves exclusively to the culture of literature—which tastes are fostered and encouraged by the sweet and pernicious *far niente* of Paris, and which completely unfit them for industrial careers—will be sent to the United States, there to study the useful arts and sciences, of daily use and application; there to learn practically agriculture, the trades and the arts—how to construct canals and railroads, and how to improve their time by employing it constantly in useful pursuits.

"Such are, august and honorable gentlemen, the representatives of the nation, the two urgent necessities which have brought the undersigned this day before you, and to satisfy which they beg of you in the name of the most vital and dearest interests of Brazil. They are confident that your patriotism will surmount all the difficulties which are invariably encountered when great ideas strive to realize themselves in facts.

"They believe and hope that you will not be deterred by the financial difficulties which surround us, neither permit yourselves to be exclusively carried away by the necessity of concentrating all the efforts and resources of Brazil in the maintenance of the national honor so vilely outraged by the ungrateful Republic of Paraguay.

"Our financial difficulties require and demand the suppression of all useless, unnecessary, and unproductive outlay, but they should never be made pretexts for omitting to carry useful and productive improvements, which are as seed sown in a good soil, soon to bear their fruit, increasing the national prosperity.

"The war with Paraguay should be an additional incentive for inducing us to increase, by every means in our power, and as quickly as possible, the fountains of our production, whence must flow the resources which are to bear the increasing burden which this war is imposing on Brazil.

"RIO DE JANEIRO, May 2, 1864."

6.—FLUCTUATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN THE LATE CONFEDERATE STATES

The following table which shows the fluctuation of gold during the war, at New York, will be interesting in comparison with the similar table which is annexed, showing the fluctuation in the value of confederate money.

	1862.		1863.		1864.	
Date	Lowest.	Highest.	Lowest.	Highest.	Lowest.	Highest.
January	par	105	134	160	151	160
February	102	104	153	172	157	160
March	101	102	139	171	159	169
April	101	102	146	159	166	187
May	102	104	143	155	168	190
June	103	109	140	148	189	251
July	109	120	123	145	222	285
August	112	116	122	129	231	261
September	116	124	127	143	185	255
October	122	137	140	156	189	229
November	129	133	143	154	209	260
December	130	134	147	52	211	244

1865.	Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.
January	226	234½	197½	203½
February	202½	216¾	196⅜	204¼
March	200½	201	148½	151½
April	151	160	144	146⅜
May	145	145½	128½	137⅜
June	138½	147⅜	135½	141⅜

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Confederate Quotations.

	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.
January	——	$1.25	$3.00@—	$20 @20½	$45@60
February	——	1.25	4.00@—	22½@23	45@65
March	——	1.30	5.00@—	23 @24½	70@60
April	——	1.40	5.50@—	22 @23	60@—
May	1.10	1.50	5.50@—	18 @21	——
June	1.10	1.50	7.00@8	17 @19	——
July	1.10	1.50	9.00@—	20 @23	——
August	1.10	1.50	12.00@18	22½@25	——
September	1.10	2.50	12.00@18	22½@27½	——
October	1.15	2.50	14.00@—	26 @27	——
November	1.15	3.00	15.00@17	27½@33½	——
December	1.20	3.00	18.00@20	34 @49	——

7.—TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.

The importance of our trade with British North America, although its population is only about 4,000,000, is second only to that with Great Britain itself, as the following totals of our import and export trade for the year ending on June 30, 1864, (*vide* the official report on commerce and navigation) will show:

England, Ireland and America	$316,747,182
British North America	67,909,162
Spanish West Indies	57,431,184
Hamburg and Bremen	29,639,657
France	28,971,220
Mexico	20,665,945
Brazil	19,978,757
China	18,898,340
All other countries	109,712,987
Total	$669,855,634

The navigation tables show that the trade of the provinces employs more American tonnage than any other trade, and about half our foreign tonnage. Of course much of the trade with Canada is by small vessels, making several trips monthly, but the tonnage and the trade remain. The total United States tonnage entered from and cleared for the various foreign countries in the years 1861-'3-'4 was as follows:

	Tons.
Canada	2,841,260
British Provinces east	441,658
British Columbia	152,524
Total British America	3,435,442
Great Britain	710,245
Spanish West Indies	771,878
New Granada	424,539
British West Indies	82,121
France	49,504
China	47,307
All other countries	626,346
Total	6,157,382

8.—INTERNAL REVENUE RECEIPTS.

The tables prepared for the Report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue show the receipts for Internal Revenue for the year ending 30th June last, to have been $211,129,529.

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The receipts from Manufactures and Productions were mainly as follows. From

Boots and Shoes	$3,280,627 29
Segars	3,072,476 56
Clothing	6,820,936 65
Manufactures of Cotton	6,747,923 18
Raw Cotton	1,772,983 48
Distilled Spirits	15,995,701 66
Fermented Liquors	3,657,181 06
Furniture	2,733,247 93
Gas	1,348,324 55
Leather	4,367,266 77
Petroleum	2,951,213 87
Paper	1,082,475 82
Sugar	2,144,403 15
Tobacco	7,927,020 62
Woolen Fabrics	7,917,034 21

The total cost of collecting, &c., was $4,769,666. Of the total amount more than half was contributed by New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Ohio; nearly one-eighth from New York alone.

The States which contribute the largest amount of Internal Revenue are:

New York	$48,940,556 60
Pennsylvania	27,811,537 63
Massachusetts	23,250,866 96
Ohio	15,296,123 44

None of the other States amounts to the sum of ten millions, Illinois coming very near it, her tax amounting to $9,174,370 81. The above amounts are for the year ending June 30, 1865.—*Journal of Commerce.*

9.—FAILURES IN 1865.

The annual circular of R. G. Dunn & Co.'s Mercantile Agency shows that, during the past year there have been in the Northern States, 530 failures, involving $17,625,000 of liabilities. The following statement shows how these figures compare with those of previous years:

FAILURES IN NORTHERN STATES FROM 1857 TO 1865.

	Number.	Liabilities.
1857	4,257	$265,818,000
1858	3,113	73,608,747
1859	2,959	51,314,000
1860	2,733	61,739,474
1861	5,935	178,632,170
1862	1,652	23,049,300
1863	495	7,899,000
1864	610	8,579,700
1865	530	17,625,000

Average from 1857 to 1865, $76,473,000.

The number of failures during the year is nearly the same as in 1864, but the aggregate liabilities is double—a circumstance which is explained from the fact that an unusually large proportion of the failures have occurred in the large cities, where the liabilities of firms are apt to be large.

The smallness of the amount of failures during the last three years is remarkable, and especially so when it is considered that the figures represent inflated values, and consequently a much less amount of actual capital than when all values were measured in specie. The total liabilities of the failures of the last three years, reduced to gold valuation, would not exceed one-third of the total failures of 1860, and would only be one-eighth the amount of those

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of 1861. This remarkable falling off is due to the fact that credit has been almost abolished during the war; for where there is no credit there can be no failures. It would be false reasoning to conclude, from the smallness of the number of failures, that the trade of the country has been prosperous, or, as Dunn & Co. express it, that the fact "indicates a degree of solidity and capacity in the mercantile community most gratifying for the present and promising for the future. The diminution of failures reflects the contraction of credits and nothing more. If the writer of this annual circular considers that a period of cash trading is likely to be a time of commercial prosperity, then his conclusion may have an intelligent basis; but to us the contraction of credits means the limitation of production and the idleness of capital, a condition of affairs by no means either "gratifying for the present or promising for the future." While, therefore, it is satisfactory to find that few have suffered from failures, it is yet unsatisfactory to reflect that this immunity has arisen from causes which imply a contraction of business and a decline from the average prosperity of the country.

To speak of prosperity, during the last three years, is sheer folly. What prosperity can there have been while two and a half millions of the population has been withdrawn from industry into the destructive pursuit of war? What prosperity can there have been while we have been scattering three thousand millions of our wealth in desolating warfare? We may appear to have now a larger wealth than in 1860; but let our estimates be reduced one-third to reduce them to gold valuation, and our resources will shrink into much humbler dimensions than we are wont to boast. It can do no good to attempt to conceal from ourselves the fact that we have immensely damaged ourselves by the war. The process may have demonstrated our great strength; but it has left us much weaker, and that we must discover so soon as the return to the specie basis undeceives us of the glittering delusion imposed by the prevailing inflation. We have lost irrevocably one-fifth of the wealth of the country; and the more fully we acknowledge the fact, the more likely we shall be to apply ourselves diligently to repairing the loss. Commerce has to carry this huge national burden upon its back, and cannot, therefore, in future, be so prosperous as in the past. Let this fact be practically acknowledged by the people at large; for it is no more healthy for a community than for an individual to forget its debts.—*United States Economist.*

10.—THE COMMERCE OF PHILADELPHIA.

STEADILY and rapidly Philadelphia has grown in wealth and population, despite her comparative neglect of foreign commerce and internal trade, it is to be regretted that more earnest and vigorous efforts are not made to reap all the advantages that should be derived from her superior geographical position and magnificent system of railway connections. We are entering upon an important era of our municipal history. The close of the war will probably render unprofitable some branches of manufactures, from which large revenues have heretofore been derived; and there is an additional necessity for extending our commercial relations with the West and South. The Pennsylvania Railroad, by a new connection which went into operation on the first of December, materially shortened the route to Cincinnati, and we have the advantage of ninety miles in distance and a charge of from $1 to $3 per ton in freights over New York in our transactions with the merchants of all the Western States. The Philadelphia and Erie railway, looked forward to for many years as an important link to turn toward our city the rich trade of the commerce of the lakes, is now in successful operation. Lines of steamships, for which subscriptions have long been solicited, seem now on the point of being established, and every inducement exists necessary to encourage the development of that ambitious and restless commercial spirit which forms the distinguishing feature of many American cities. In our past history numerous brilliant successes have been achieved on the one hand, and many rich houses ruined in the terrible financial storms that have convulsed our country on the other. But while we cannot

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doubt the general wisdom of the policy which has induced the investment of a large proportion of Philadelphia capital in manufacturing and mining enterprises, our wealthy citizens should be more keenly alive to the unusual inducements which now, more than at any former period, seem to await investments in commercial enterprises. No place on the continent possesses greater natural advantages, and it would require but a slight effort to secure a marked increase of our trade.—*Philadelphia Press.*

11.—COMMERCE OF NEW YORK.

The New York *Journal of Commerce* has prepared with great care the following valuable statistics:

FOREIGN IMPORTS AT NEW YORK.

Year.	Dutiable.	Free Goods.	Specie.	Total.
1851.....	$119,592,264	$9,719,771	$2,049,543	$131,361,578
1852.....	115,336,052	12,105,342	2,408,225	129,849,619
1853.....	179,512,412	12,156,387	2,429,983	194,097,652
1854.....	163,494,984	15,768,916	2,107,572	181,371,472
1855.....	142,900,661	14,103,946	1855,631	157,860,238
1856.....	193,839,646	17,902,578	1,814,425	213,556,649
1857.....	196,279,362	21,440,734	12,898,033	230,618,129
1858.....	128,578,256	22,024,691	2,264,120	152,867,067
1859.....	213,640,363	28,708,732	2,816,421	245,165,516
1860.....	201,401,683	28,006,447	8,852,330	238,260,460
1861	95,326,459	30,353,918	37,088,413	162,768,790
1862.....	149,970,415	23,291,625	1,390,277	174,652,317
1863.....	174,521,766	11,567,000	1,525,811	187,614,577
1864.....	204,128,236	11,731,902	2,265,622	218,125,760
1865.....	212,208,301	10,410,837	2,123,281	224,742,419

Under the head of dutiable, in the above table, we have given both the amount entered directly for consumption and that entered for warehousing, to show the total of duty-paying goods landed at the port. The total receipts of free goods are each year decreasing, nearly all of the imports now being chargeable with duty.

TOTAL IMPORTS.

Months.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.
January....	$12,620,829	$15,739,576	$18,977,394,	$10,620,117
February...	13,872,140	12,027,846	21,643,937	11,473,668
March.....	18,719,866	18,930,895	23,667,119	16,012,373
April	13,252,882	17,385,315	26,168,631	14,147,464
May	14,248,521	14,324,923	23,975,144	12,876,109
June	12,336,195	12,597,516	23,926,314	46,855,321
July	20,353,202	16,003,677	22,383,299	19,161,838
August.....	14,304,843	15,038,129	18,223,463	24,475,608
September..	18,147,917	15,499,940	10,539,459	22,674,496
October	13,413,906	16,894,967	10,088,308	23,134,675
November ..	10,309,398	16,045,695	8,597,594	27,235,651
December...	13,072,618	17,126,098	9,935,098	26,048,099
Total.....	$174,652,317	$187,614,577	$218,125,760	$224,742,419

CLASSIFICATION OF IMPORTS AT NEW YORK.

	1863.	1864.	1865.
Dry goods.....	$67,274,547	$71,589,752	$91,965,138
General merchandise.....	118,814,219	144,270,386	130,654,000
Specie.....	1,525,811	2,265,622	2,123,281
Total imports.....	$187,614,577	$218,125,760	$224,742,419

We have heretofore given a summary of the receipts for duties, but repeat the statement in tabular form for the convenience of our readers:

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RECEIPTS OF CUSTOMS AT NEW YORK.

Months.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.
January	$3,351,657 22	$4,127,906 82	$6,180,536 09	$4,231,737 47
February	3,565,063 83	3,590,713 97	7,474,027 93	4,791,247 10
March	4,626,862 86	4,554,460 13	7,659,770 47	5,392,099 26
April	4,149,952 36	3,957,197 57	13,982,555 60	6,309,994 34
May	4,704,924 62	3,873,865 42	3,855,186 46	8,133,423 00
June	4,664,927 19	3,738,934 06	3,311,148 43	7,837,075 84
July	7,211,817 68	4,912,718 49	3,585,848 44	9,778,276 65
August	4,762,581 54	6,296,735 58	6,237,364 17	13,113,689 50
September	5,239,045 50	7,270,543 65	4,084,492 54	12,929,615 64
October	4,309,419 87	6,238,943 46	3,670,188 38	10,973,513 01
November	3,003,270 23	5,075,846 24	3,455,156 53	9,933,483 76
December	2,664,593 82	5,248,189 03	3,440,852 67	8,348,750 31
Total	$52,254,116 72	$58,886,054 42	$66,937,127 71	$101,772,905 94

EXPORTS FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN PORTS EXCLUSIVE OF SPECIE.

Quarter	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.
First	$32,075,568	$50,614,908	$41,429,756	$46,710,118
Second	29,798,344	41,146,726	48,446,686	24,216,567
Third	45,313,299	38,825,587	79,519,134	40,621,493
Fourth	49,747,611	40,223,747	52,426,966	67,178,421
Total	$156,934,822	$170,718,968	$221,822,542	$178,626,600

TOTAL EXPORTS.

Months	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.
January	$14,888,437	$19,695,358	$17,609,749	$19,746,451
February	14,112,843	22,400,148	17,211,776	16,774,008
March	11,980,714	23,695,082	16,883,236	14,779,626
April	12,703,797	14,004,940	19,754,062	8,582,897
May	15,832,097	16,002,780	21,682,209	15,513,346
June	20,332,375	16,495,293	25,887,531	13,446,116
July	23,684,915	21,092,787	33,585,866	13,536,061
August	17,433,701	14,454,809	29,977,982	16,235,475
September	19,061,471	15,492,518	21,739,826	15,523,314
October	26,797,936	21,219,549	20,431,789	23,788,469
November	20,603,942	17,292,436	20,473,699	25,126,753
December	18,939,615	18,619,334	27,410,438	25,577,766
Total	$216,371,843	$220,465,034	$272,648,163	$208,630,282

ART. XI.—DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

1.—THE RAILROAD SYSTEM OF AMERICA.

The recent war, whilst it taxed to the utmost, the capacities of the railroads in the United States, interposed obstructions very naturally to the opening of new routes, and suspended action upon many that were in course of construction. According to the *Banker's Magazine*, which is our authority for the statistics which follow, the mileage of railroads in the Union was as follows:

	Miles.		Miles.
1835	1,098	1860	30,635
1840	2,818	1861	31,286
1845	4,633	1862	32,120
1850	9,021	1863	33,169
1855	18,374	1864	33,908

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RAILROADS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Statement exhibiting the Mileage of Railroads in its relation to Area, Population, and Wealth, for each State and cluster of States, deduced from the official returns for the year 1860 *; also, the Average Dividends on Stock in* 1860.

States	Area in square miles.	Population: Census 1860.	Wealth: Census 1860.	Mileage of Railr'ds.	One mile of Railroad to			Average Div.
					Square Miles.	Population.	Wealth.	
Maine	31,765	628,279	$190,211,600	471.9	67.3	1,331	$403,076	2.7
New Hampshire	9,280	326,073	156,310,860	661.0	14.0	493	236,476	2.3
Vermont	10,212	315,098	122,477,170	554.0	18.4	569	221,078	0.5
Massachusetts	7,800	1,231,066	815,237,433	1,264.2	6 1	964	644,864	5.1
Rhode Island	1,306	174,620	135,337,588	107.9	12.1	1,619	1,254,287	3.4
Connecticut	4,674	460,147	444,274,114	600.8	7.7	766	739,471	2 8
New Eng. States	65,038	3,135,283	$1,868,448,765	3,659.8	17.9	857	$509,276	....
New York	47,000	3,880,735	1,843,338,517	2,682.3	17.5	1,447	687,223	4.1
New Jersey	8,320	672,035	467,918,325	560.3	14.9	1,199	835,121	6.7
Pennsylvania	46,000	2,906,215	1,416,501,818	2,598.4	17.7	1,118	545,144	3.9
Delaware	2,120	112,216	46,242,181	126.8	16.7	885	364,656	5.1
Maryland & D. C.	11,184	762,129	417,204,889	886.3	29.0	1,973	1,080,000	2.4
Mid. Atl'tic States	114,624	8,333,330	$4,191,205,729	6,854.1	18 0	1,311	659,606	....
West Virginia*	20,541	392,079	198,312,420	352.5	58.3	1,132	562,588	2.0
Kentucky	87,680	1,155,684	666,048,112	533.7	70.8	2,165	1,247,973	0.4
Ohio	39,964	2,339,511	1,198,898,422	2,945.5	13·6	709	405,329	2.9
Michigan	56 243	749,113	257,163,988	779.2	72.2	961	330,036	....
Indiana	34,809	1,350,428	528,835,371	2,163.2	15.6	624	244,469	0 8
Illinois	55,405	1,711,951	871,860,282	2,799.2	19.8	612	311,468	2.7
Wisconsin	53,924	775,881	273,671,668	904.6	59.6	857	302,588	....
Minnesota	88,531	172,023	52 234,413	.....	.....	....	.....	....
Iowa	55,045	674,918	247,338,265	654.8	84.1	1,031	377,781	....
Kansas	78,418	107,206	31 327,895	.....	.....	....	.....	....
Missouri	67,380	1,182,012	501,214,398	817.5	82.4	1.445	613,106	....
Arkansas	52 198	435,450	219,256,473	88.5	1,355.7	11,310	5,694,978	....
Tennessee	45,000	1,109,801	93,903,592	1,252.6	35.9	886	294,303	1.2
Interior States	679,138	12,163,052	$5,535,120,594	13,241.3	51.3	919	$418,034	....
Virginia	40,816	1,197,239	594,287,261	1,378.7	29.6	868	431,521	1.3
North Carolina	50,704	992,622	358,739,399	987.4	54.1	1,059	382,698	2.8
South Carolina	29,385	703,708	345,138,754	973.0	30.2	723	568,849	2.8
Georgia	52,009	1,057,286	645,895,237	1,419.8	36.6	731	454,920	3.7
Florida	59,268	140,424	78,701,500	401.5	147.6	349	182,079	....
Alabama	50,722	964,201	495,287,078	742.7	68.3	1,298	666,806	1.4
Mississippi	47,156	791,305	607,324,911	862 5	54.6	917	704 029	....
Louisiana	46 431	708,002	602,118,568	334.8	138 7	2,115	1,798,442	0.9
Texas	237,506	604,215	365,200,614	306.5	774.8	1,971	1,191,519	....
Southern States	613,995	7,159,002	$4,290,693,322	7,356.9	83.4	973	$583,220	....
California	188,982	379,994	207,874,613	22.5	8,390.3	16,888	9,238,871	....
Oregon	95.274	52,465	28,930,637	.....	.....	.....	.....	....
Pacific States	284,256	432,459	$236,805,250	22.5	12,633.8	19,220	$10,524,677	....
North-East'n States	65,038	3,135,283	1,868,448,765	3,659.8	17.9	857	509,276	....
Mid. Atl'tic States	114,624	8,333,330	4,191,205,729	6,854.1	18.0	1,311	659,606	....
Interior States	679 138	12,163,052	5,535,120,594	13,241.3	51 3	919	418,034	....
Southern States	613,995	7,159,002	4,290,693,322	7,356.9	83.4	973	583,220	....
Pacific States	284,256	432,459	236,805,250	22.5	12,633.8	19,220	10,524,677	....
Grand Total	1,757,051	31,223,126	$16,117,673,660	30,634.6	57.3	1,019	$526,126	....

* Embraces one-third the area, and one-fourth the population and wealth of Virginia as it was in 1860.

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The Southern roads were worked with prodigious energy, and without them the war, on the scale that it was conducted, would have been impracticable. But two or three short routes were opened during the pressure of hostilities, and, in the conflict of the armies, most of the roads were more or less torn up or destroyed, and all of them came out of the struggle with greatly impaired means, with deficient tracks and worn out iron, with exhaustion of locomotives and cars. The wonder is, that the roads were enabled to work so long, cut off as the country was from all external means of repair and supply. The energy which kept them at work amid the Herculean discouragements that existed, is one of the miracles of the times. That energy was not exhausted with the war It is manifesting itself in a thousand forms to-day, and from Virginia to Texas every road is being rapidly restored, and repaying the efforts of the Companies with the most splendid results. Among the most conspicuous of these are, the Mobile and Ohio, the New Orleans and Great Northern, and the Memphis and Charleston. Their bonds and stocks must rapidly reach, and will, no doubt, go beyond their previous values. Capital should seek these channels of investment, and never before was a greater and more inviting field opened to it.

2.—NEW ORLEANS AND GREAT NORTHERN RAILROAD.

We are indebted to the President of the Company, C. C. Shackelford, for a copy of the Report for 1866. He shows a gratifying increase of business since the return of peace. The receipts were in July $28,548; in August $37,174, in Sep. $54,442, October $80,459, November $114,799.

The total indebtedness of the road (exclusive of the Bonded debt) is $1,579,-015. The President says:

Of the above amount $669,823 98 is for debts made prior to May, 1862, and the sum of $909,171 85 is for overdue coupons on the first mortgage bonds. None on the second mortgage bonds have been definitely disposed of, though some have been pledged as security for the obligations of the Company. Of the $669,843 98, $220,000 is due the State of Mississippi for loans which, without doubt, can be extended to such time as will meet the ability of the Company to pay. The $909,171 85, interest on the first mortgage bonds of the Company, it is expected to fund, and a sinking fund created to ensure their liquidation. Such an arrangement, we are assured, will receive the assent of the foreign bondholders, as well as that of the coupon creditors of our own country. After deducting the debts due on account of coupons and to the State of Mississippi, the Company will have to provide for the balance of the floating debt, say $449,000, which can, no doubt, be arranged on terms equally satisfactory as those for the overdue coupons.

The operations of the road have far exceeded the expectations of the most sanguine, and, should a proper and judicious policy hereafter mark its administration, there can be no doubt the great interest which the two States and the city have in this corporation can be preserved to them intact, and the views and hopes of the originators and founders of this great enterprise be fully realized.

3.—RAILROAD CONNECTIONS BETWEEN TEXAS AND MISSOURI.

The Texas papers are now discussing the propriety of opening an early communication by railroad with Missouri and the Northwest, and there is every indication that Texas is speedily to become the greatest State in the South. The proposition is to extend her Central Railroad to Red River, where it will be met by the road now being constructed from Kansas City to that point. The Dallas *Herald* speaks with confidence of the rapid prosecution of this great work, and remarks as follows upon it:

The completion of a railroad connecting the waters of the Upper Missouri

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with the Gulf of Mexico, will be an epoch in the history of the Southwest—will be a starting point from which will date the beginning of an era of prosperity now not anticipated or dreamed of by those who most hopefully and sanguinely look forward to the ushering in of that "better day coming," that we have so long heard of. The road from Kansas City to Galveston will pass through the largest belt of rich and productive land on the American Continent.

For six hundred and forty miles, the distance between Galveston, on the Gulf of Mexico, and Kansas City, on the Missouri river, the road will pass through eight degrees of latitude, over a country unsurpassed for fertility of soil, or salubrity of climate, and abounding in rich mines of valuable minerals. No railroad in the United States will traverse a country capable of producing the cereals in such abundance, with such certainty, and so little labor, as the road from Kansas City to Galveston. No road will have such a large amount of valuable freight furnished it for transportation, nor will any other road compete with this in the passenger list. In a word, this road will become the great highway of travel, for all the produce of the great West which seeks a direct outlet through the Gulf of Mexico to Europe and the West India Islands. And in less than two years after the completion of the road it will require a double track to carry the freight that will await transportation. It will make Galveston the largest grain market in America, and increase the business of Kansas City to such an extent as to make it, in a few years, rival St. Louis in population and wealth.

The amount of produce that would be raised in Northern Texas, and sent to market on this road is beyond the conception of any man, it would increase our wealth and population more than a hundred fold; it would beget a spirit of industry and enterprise among our people rarely ever before equalled in any country.

We can raise on an average, one year with another, twenty bushels of wheat to the acre, seventy-five bushels of barley, and fifty bushels each, of oats and rye per acre. Wheat, at this time, can he purchased in Dallas for 75 cents per bushel, and barley usually sells here for 30 cents per bushel. The same article of wheat will command to-day in Kansas City $1 90, specie; and barley very rarely if ever sells in Kansas City for less than $1 50 per bushel; the same rate of increase applies to oats, rye and potatoes. All the articles we have enumerated can be raised in Northern Texas in great abundance and with less labor than in any other State except California.

4.—NEW RAILROAD LINK CONNECTING THE NORTH AND SOUTH.

We acknowledge the receipt of a pamphlet prepared by J. W. Lapsley, Esq., which develops to the capitalists of the country a new enterprise, to wit: the opening of a railroad between Dalton, Georgia and Blue Mountain, Alabama. The road will form the shortest and most complete route of travel from Portland, Maine, to New Orleans and Pensacola, Florida, and also with the great lines connecting with California. Its connections will be through Lynchburg, Knoxville, Dalton, Selma, Meridian, Jackson and New Orleans, and the total length from Portland will be 1,815 miles, from New York 1,468 miles.

It commences at Portland, in the State of Maine, and proceeds thence by way of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, to Washington City, and is now in operation; thence by Alexandria, Gordonsville, Charlottesville, Lynchburg, Wytheville, Abington and other towns in Virginia, and Bristol and Knoxville and Cleveland in Tennessee, to Dalton in Georgia; thence by Jacksonville, Talladega, Columbiana, and Montivallo to Selma, Alabama; thence by Uniontown and Demopolis in Alabama to Meridian in Mississippi, where a junction is formed with the Mobile and Ohio road; thence to Jackson, Mississippi, where a junction is made with the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern road; and by the latter road from Jackson to New Orleans. From Jackson, the line proceeds directly forward to Vicksburg on the Mississippi river. From

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Vicksburg the line proceeds still directly forward, by way of Monroe and Shreveport, Louisiana, into Texas, where it is to connect with an important line in that State. A considerable portion of the road between Vicksburg and Shreveport was constructed before the war, which caused a suspension of the work. This will doubtless be resumed before a great while, and carried forward to completion, and will enable the road from Vicksburg, eastward, to command a large amount of travel from Louisiana and Texas, northward and eastward, and thence into these States, and the central and western portion of Mississippi. But for the present let the line westward from Jackson be left out of view, and confine attention to the line as traced from Portland to New Orleans. This line (the link hereinafter referred to being supplied) presents the shortest route in existence between the commercial cities of the north and the great southern mart at the mouth of the Mississippi. The route may be shortened, as it is confidently expected it will be, by improvements projected southward from Selma, and partly constructed, to which attention will hereinafter be directed. In view of this simple, but potent statement, there can be no room for doubting that the roads comprising this great central through line will have a very large and regular, and of course profitable through business both ways. In addition to the marked advantage possessed of being the most direct and shortest route, it embraces other commanding advantages and attractions, some of which will hereinafter be pointed out. This route must command, in addition to the great bulk of the through travel between the northern cities and New Orleans, and other important points on or near the Gulf of Mexico, the great through mails and express business, which must be highly remunerative; to say nothing of the local business which, as it will be shown, must be very large and profitable on that portion of the line to which special attention will be presently directed.

This line, with collateral, auxiliary and tributary lines, is marked out and exhibited on the map hereto attached, affording at a view, striking evidence of its great, and may it not be added, unequalled advantages. The roads composing this line from Portland to New Orleans, covering a distance of eighteen hundred and fifteen miles, are named in an exhibit hereto attached. It is a fact which will probably be surprising to those who have not looked into the subject, that of this great line, only about *one hundred miles* over an almost unbroken plain, remain uncompleted. With this short link supplied, and some five miles on another portion of the line to be finished, passengers might enter the cars at Portland, and not quit them except at New York, (the crossing of the Potomac at Washington being provided for as proposed,) until reaching New Orleans in about seventy-two hours (three days) from Portland; and this, without exceeding or hardly coming up to the speed practiced on some of the leading roads of the North. The distance from New York to New Orleans by this route being a little under fourteen hundred and seventy miles, trains proceeding at the rate of twenty-five miles per hour, including the stoppages, would reach New Orleans from New York in fifty-nine hours; or in seventy hours, if the speed be reduced to the comparative low rate of only twenty-one miles per hour.

The line from the north is completed to Dalton, in Georgia. From there to Blue Mountain the terminus of the completed portion of the Alabama and Tennessee River Road, the distance is about one hundred and two miles over the route which has been surveyed, and graded in part, the work remaining to be done being generally very light. The entire work for completing this link could, without great effort, be finished in from twelve to fifteen months. Abundant labor for the work could be obtained on and near the line of the road, and if desired, the track laying could be commenced at both ends, and prosecuted steadily, so soon as the iron should be provided. The timber required for cross-ties and other purposes, abounds along the line. The sum estimated and deemed ample for the completion of this work, is *seventeen hundred and forty thousand dollars*. It is proposed to make this a portion of the Alabama and Tennessee Road, which would give that road a length of two hundred and thirty-seven miles.

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ART. XIII.—DEPARTMENT OF THE FREEDMEN.

1. FREEDMAN'S BUREAU BILL.

THE following is the bill which was passed by nearly a two-thirds vote in both Houses of Congress, and which was happily vetoed by the President of the United States. It is important to be preserved in our pages:

SECTION 1. That the act to establish a Bureau for the relief of Freedmen and Refugees, approved March 3, 1865, shall continue in force until otherwise provided by law; shall extend to refugees and freedmen in certain parts of the United States; and the President may divide the section of country, containing such refugees and freedmen into districts, each containing one or more States not to exceed twelve in number; and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate appoint an Assistant Commissioner for each of said districts, who shall give the same bonds, and receive the same compensation and perform the same duties prescribed by this and the act to which this is an amendment; or said bureau may, in the discretion of the President, be placed under a Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner, to be detailed from the army, in which event each officer so assigned to duty shall serve without increase of pay or allowance.

SEC. 2. That the Commissioner, with the approval of the President, shall divide each district into a number of sub-districts, not to exceed the number of counties or parishes in each State, and shall assign to each sub-district at least one agent, either a citizen, an officer of the army or enlisted man, who, if an officer, shall serve without additional compensation or allowance: and if a citizen or enlisted man, shall receive a salary not exceeding $1,500 per annum; and such agent shall, before entering on the duties of his office, take the oath prescribed in the first section of the act to which this is an amendment. Each Assistant Commissioner may employ not exceeding six clerks; one of the third class and five of the first-class; and each agent of a sub-district may employ two clerks of the first-class. And the President of the United States, through the War Department and the Commissioner, shall extend military jurisdiction over all the employees, agents and officers of this bureau, in the exercise of the duties imposed or authorized by this act, or the act to which this act is supplementary.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of War may direct such issues of provisions, clothing, fuel and other supplies, including medical stores and transportation, and afford such aid, medical or otherwise, as he may deem needful for the immediate and temporary shelter and supply of destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen and their wives and children, under such rules and regulations as he may direct.

SEC. 4. That the President be authorized to reserve from sale or from settlement under the Homestead or Pre-emption laws, and to set apart for the use of freedmen and loyal refugees, unoccupied lands in Florida, Mississippi and Arkansas, not exceeding in all three millions of acres of good land; and the Commissioner, under the direction of the President, shall cause the same, from time to time, to be allotted and consigned, in parcels not exceeding forty acres each, to the loyal refugees and freedmen, who shall be protected in the use and enjoyment thereof, for such term of time and at such annual rent as may be agreed upon by the Commissioner and such refugees and freedmen. The rental shall be based upon a valuation of the land, to be ascertained in such manner as the Commissioner may, under the direction of the President, by regulation, prescribe at the end of such term, or sooner, if the Commissioner shall assent thereto. The occupants of any parcels assigned may purchase land and receive the title thereto from the United States in fee, upon paying therefor the value of the land ascertained as aforesaid.

SEC. 5. That the occupants of Lands under Major-General Sherman's Special Field Order, dated at Savannah, January 16, 1865, are hereby confirmed in their possessions for the period of three years from the date of said order, and no per-

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ART. XIV.—MISCELLANY.

1.—IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES.

The following statistics are more recent than those which appeared in the January number of the REVIEW:

The following is a statement of the number of emigrants who have arrived in New York from the 1st of January to the 31st of October, 1865, and their destination:

Destination.	No.	Destination.	No.
Arkansas	5	Missouri	3,657
Alabama	9	Mexico	33
British Columbia	14	Mississippi	21
Canada	1,448	New Hampshire	187
California	969	Nova Scotia	38
Connecticut	2,254	New York State	73,426
Colorado	9	New Jersey	4,994
Cuba	33	Nebraska	92
Delaware	152	North Carolina	19
District of Columbia	1,137	New Brunswick	45
Florida	4	Oregon	14
Georgia	13	Ohio	8,892
Illinois	14,878	Pennsylvania	20,923
Iowa	3,076	Rhode Island	1,115
Indiana	2,181	South Carolina	45
Kentucky	1,008	South America	30
Kansas	327	Texas	21
Louisiana	259	Tennessee	350
Massachusetts	8,573	Vermont	289
Maryland	1,725	Utah	1,080
Maine	314	Virginia	465
Michigan	2,751	West Indies	11
Minnesota	1,314	Wisconsin	4,744
Total			162,918

2.—INTERNAL REVENUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

The following tables taken from the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, show that the receipts of internal revenue for the year ending June 30, 1865, were $211,129,529 17, of which the amount collected through the collectors and assessors, was $183,113,884 69. The expense of collecting this sum was $4,769,666 31, and the several States contributed to the following amounts:

Maine	$2,408,367 11	Indiana	$4 571,521 89
New Hampshire	2,424,917 71	Illinois	9,174,370 81
Vermont	773,668 27	Michigan	2,544,025 01
Massachusetts	23,250,866 96	Wisconsin	1,175,200 19
Rhode Island	3,946,846 68	Minnesota	245,948 73
Connecticut	6,009,998 84	Iowa	1,659,161 64
New York	48,940,556 60	Missouri	5,243,549 39
New Jersey	7,157,012 52	Kansas	209,573 52
Pennsylvania	27,811,537 63	California	3,840,876 95
Delaware	765,208 13	Oregon	158,191 14
Maryland	4,966,085 36	Nevada	285,278 27
Virginia	219,833 36	Colorado	130,052 01
West Virginia	523,276 51	Nebraska	56,054 50
Kentucky	4,591,346 32	New Mexico	49,042 93
Tennessee	1,516,957 73	Utah	41,525 93
Louisiana	1,616,188 54	Washington	76,740 63
Ohio	15,296,123 44	Montana	86,022 93

The sources of these amounts have been as follows:

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Manufactures and productions	$104,379,609 53	Schedule A	780,266 52
Slaughtered animal	1,261,357 09	Passports	29,538 29
Gross receipts	8,891,871 13	Special income	28,929,312 03
Sales	4,062,243 54	Penalties	517,627 41
Licenses	12,613,478 67	Dividends	14,385,606 63
Income	20,740,451 33	Salaries	2,826,233 81
Legacies	546,703 17	Stamps	11,162,392 14
		United States Marshals	2,735 29
Total			$211,129,529 17

The large sum of $104,000,000, derived from manufactures and productions, is principally obtained from the following sources:

Boots and shoes	$3,280,627 20	Gas	1,348,324 55
Cigars	3,072,476 56	Leather	4,837,266 77
Clothing	6,820,926 65	Petroleum	2,951,213 87
Manufactures of cotton	6,747,923 18	Paper	1,052,475 82
Raw cotton	1,772,983 48	Sugar	2,144,403 15
Distilled spirits	15,995,701 66	Tobacco	7,927,020 62
Fermented liquors	3,657,181 06	Woollen fabrics	7,947,074 21
Furniture	2,733,246 93		

8.—FEDERAL QUARTER-MASTER'S WAR STATISTICS.

Those of us who were familiar with, and shared the fortunes of the late Confederate States from the earliest to the latest hours of its existence, will not fail to be impressed by the contrast of its statistical data with that which is furnished in the following, taken from the New York *Tribune*. To think of the woollen blankets, the boots and shoes, the drawers, flannel shirts and stockings, the inexhaustible provisions, the telegraphs and the railroads! Look upon this picture and then on that!

"We learn, then, that our Government, during the war, had at its command over 40,000 miles of railroad. Of this, 1769 miles were exclusively military, and managed by the Quartermaster's Department. During the last year of the war, there were 6228 miles of telegraph; but as an illustration of how the armies swayed backward and forward —never, however, swaying beyond the grasp of the electric wire—he tells us that there were 15,000 miles abandoned, torn down and reconstructed during hostilities. The facility with which these roads were put down and wires put up, may be learned from the fact, which General Meigs mentions with natural pride, that the Etowah bridge, 625 feet long and 75 feet high, was built in six days, while the Chattahoochee bridge, 740 feet long and 90 feet high, was built in four days. During the last year we used 214,102 horses and 58,818 mules. These poor, dear creatures were hardly ridden, especially when the merciless genius of Sheridan controlled the cavalry of the Potomac. How fearfully he rode his men will be appreciated when it is known that a horse did not last a man more than four months, and that his army had to be remounted three times a year.

"To feed these horses, when in Grant's army, cost $1,000,000 a month. Fifty years ago, the whole Government did not cost more than what was last year paid for forage for the horses of one of its armies. If our readers are anxious to know how much the horses of an army eat, Gen. Meigs will inform them. During the war we gave them nearly 23,000,000 bushels of corn, about 79,000,000 bushels of oats, more than 1,500,000 tons of hay, and 21,000 tons of straw. This does not include what was gathered from the country. It was enough, Heaven knows, for it cost us over $155,000,000. Horrible life and blood exhauster—war! How many schools this would have built—how many miles of railroad to the Pacific! It was eaten up by slavery in its vain struggle to live.

"During the last year $105,019,406 was paid for clothing and equipage. The boys were well clad and shod. They had about 400,000 jackets, but, being much on their feet, insisted upon having over 3,000,000 each of trowsers, drawers and flannel shirts. They were well protected, too, as Uncle Sam gave them 1,746,034 woolen blankets, to keep off the dew and rain and snow. Nor were they allowed to be thirsty, for over 1,000,000 of canteens were strapped to their knapsacks. Between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 of boots and shoes kept the stones from cutting their feet, while at least 6,000,000 of stockings kept their ever-tramping feet easy and warm. About 2,000,000 of knapsacks and haversacks held their food and clothing. As they marched, their country's glory was reflected from 10,000 flags, while their hearts were made merry by the music of 1400 fifes, the shrill call of 4000 bugles, and the rolling of nearly 16,000 drums."

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EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANIES.

We are now fairly launched and in sailing trim for the conduct of the Review. The encouragement is so far gratifying. There were difficulties to be encountered —Herculean! These have been met and are being met. They can be overcome. Say the Northern radicals "we cannot forgive your past offences; say certain and not a few of our old friends and associates of the South, you have departed from the faith, are not among us and, of us, and talk of *nationality!* Let us be judged by our deeds! Radicals North, and over sensitive critics of the South, three numbers of the new issue of the Review are before you, and after a fair examination of them we ask your judgment. Are we not in the path of reconstruction and order, peace and sound government; and will not the matter we are publishing instruct and improve you, and when weighed in the scale with other magazines are we not entitled to liberal support? If you do not agree with us, we are independent enough to act upon our own judgment; and having lead public opinion, as friends and enemies alike intimate, in the past, are not too old and have not too much experience to attempt to lead it again. This we say with respectful deference.

In our opinion, the battle for the South is hereafter *to be fought at the North;* and if we can modify the action of the radicals and strengthen and sustain the arms of the Conservatives, then we shall have the consciousness of having performed a great service to those with whom our whole past life has been associated, and with whom and *among whom our lot is likely to be cast in all the future!*

It is comfortable, at least, to have the God-speed in our labors, of such a man as the writer of the annexed letter;

Lexington, Va., 20th Jan., 1866.

My Dear Sir:

I am happy to learn by your letter of the 29th ult., from New Orleans, that you have re-established your valuable Review upon a large and liberal basis, and trust that you will be able, by your ability, to aid in the restoration of the South.

You will have my hearty co-operation in my individual capacity.

I am with great respect,
Your obedient servant,
R. E. LEE.

To J. D. B. DeBow, Esq.

In regard to the position occupied in the past by the Editor of the Review, the following will be a fair statement:

1. In his advocacy of State rights and States remedies, he but followed the political teachers of his youth and early manhood. Reared in the school of Jefferson, Calhoun, Madison, McDuffie, he never desired the dissolution of the Union, *per se*, but earnestly and openly combatted for the rights of all sections, believing this to be necessary to the preservation of the Union as our fathers framed it, and devoted, at the same time, all of his energies to the development of the national wealth and resources.

2. It was his prayer that by the exercise of wise counsels, and by a just regard to the rights, interest and institutions of all sections, the United States Government might be made perpetual.

3. Assenting to the doctrine (now forever overthrown by the results of the war) that the right of secession was involved in our theory of government, he advocated it as a remedy for evils which seemed to be imminent, without regarding it in its nature essentially permanent. It might lead to new understandings and new compacts, in which the rights of all sections would be observed and respected. He did not believe in the eventuality of war, but when it occurred, never doubted as to the path of duty. Even in the event of the success of the Confederacy, of which he did not doubt, he conceived that the common interests of the sections would have induced an international

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compact, which would maintain alliance and affiliation between them in all the future. In the temper which prevailed he favored the vigorous prosecution of the war. Several months before its termination he was convinced of its hopelessness, and favored the best adjustment which could be had when the Commissioners met at Old Point Comfort. It was evident that the cause was lost long before the surrender of the armies of General Lee.

In the February number of the REVIEW we referred to our travels in the Southern States, and promised to continue the subject. The results of our experience and observations are detailed in the following letter which we addressed to a friend at Nashville:

"Everywhere in the interior of the country, as well as in the towns, there are evidences of activity, and people, who were reduced to the greatest extremity, show a spirit and determination in grappling with the situation which is truly astonishing, and every branch of business or employment is already crowded. The planters, however, struggle against a thousand difficulties. The ruin of estates is but a small part. They are perplexed and worried by the labor question, and until a few days it seemed as if the freedmen had abandoned all thought of further occupation. More recently they are contractors, and on favorable terms, but it must be admitted that the greatest distrust prevails of their future. The planters find it impossible to procure advances to work the estates. Capital is too cautious to seek such adventures. Thousands of estates are in the market for sale at half or quarter their former values, or for rent; but there are few transactions. Agents offer the most inviting lists, but offer in vain. The capital and labor which was to have come from the North or Europe have not yet appeared, and the evidence, so far, is complete, that the Southern crops for another year will be very short.

"There is an intense feeling of disappointment and chagrin prevailing, and the people who a few months ago accepted the situation, and were endeavoring to perform its duties in good faith, express themselves with bitterness. They perceive a disposition in the national councils to humble and degrade them. They are required to make sacrifices from which their manhood shrinks. Their honest professions are mistrusted and the magnanimity which might have been expected from a generous foe has not been shown. This remark does not apply to the President, whose noble course is universally lauded. Even those who were called Union men in the past, and those who were reconstructionists during the war, speak with indignation. It was not for this they bargained. They predicted a generous policy on the part of the North, and are twitted by their associates with their over confidence. Certainly a great change has taken place in public sentiment, and the radical party may take credit to themselves for engendering feelings of alienation and hostility greater than would have resulted from another year of war.

Ninety-nine in the hundred of the Southern people were devoted to the Confederacy, gloried in its achievements, doubted not an instant of its just cause and its eventual triumph, and sacrificed, or were willing to sacrifice for it, all they possessed or expected to possess of life or property. When the crash came they were overwhelmed. The path of duty, however, soon opened to them. The conqueror was entitled to their allegiance. They would give it freely, openly, unreservedly, and the fidelity which they had shown to the extinct government proves them to be a faithful and true and loyal people, wherever their allegiance was given. Never in history was there a more generous effort upon the part of the conquered to submit themselves with propriety and decorum. No repining, no sullenness, no covert hostility. Their work was done—the cause had failed—hopelessly, and they acquiesced! It was practicable to have worked with the existing elements, and produced an early restoration of good feelings and a return of the better days of the republic. It was the alternative left, and the best men of the South, hoped for such a result. The majority of the North had it in their power to heal up all the old wounds, and so to reconstruct society as to make one homogeneous mass out of our people. Have they acted with wisdom and prudence, moderation and justice, or from prejudice and passion? Let them answer.

"For one I had confidence that there was a sentiment in the North which would become the dominant one, and which would sustain the generous efforts of the President in the direction of reconciliation and reconstruction, and so declared myself openly and publicly. I argued it from history and from a knowledge of human nature. It was the clear dictate of interest as well as of reason, I thought. No one desired more than I did to perpetuate the old Union upon the basis of equal rights to all sections and

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the inviolability of the Constitution. I felt with Mr. Calhoun, that under the Constitution it was a Government to love honor and serve. I deplored though I admitted the necessity under which the South felt herself constrained to move. Her fortunes were mine, and I was the last to yield them. I gloried in them. But that is all in the past. I am again a citizen of the United States, and it is due to that Government, to which I had the option of allegiance or not (for I might have emigrated) that I give faithful and true service. It is my Government and my country, and I should do all in my power to promote her prosperity, her honor and her name. I have entered upon that work already in connection with the restoration of the South. There is no other power to divide allegiance with. I give it wholly and freely or not at all, and this I believe would have been the sentiment of our entire people, and will yet be their sentiment if wisdom and prudence rule the national councils. God grant that the era of good feeling may return and that speedily."

A new work upon *Political Economy* is laid upon our table by Charles Scribner. It is from the pen of A. L. Perry, who is professor of History and Political Economy in Williams College. It is the first work of the kind which we have met with which discusses practical and contemporary questions of legislation, such as the various tariffs of the United States down to that which is known as the Morrell tariff, and the various tax acts and their effects. The chapter on the currency of the United States includes a full exposition of the national banking system of 1863. The work is certainly a desideratum at the present time.

H. S. Foote, formerly of the United States Senate, and recently of the Confederate Congress, has very promptly issued the volume which he promised upon (as he expresses it) *The War of the Rebellion or Scylla and Charybdis*, published by Harper & Brothers. It is prefaced by a very accurate portrait of the Ex-Governor. We have only had time to glance over it and discover the peculiar idiosyncracies of the writer. His course of observation embraces the cause, course and consequences of the late civil war. He makes some very interesting notes upon the Erlanger Loan, the Confiscation Act, Southern finances, the Dahlgren affair and treatment of prisoners. In the last chapter he discusses the executive character of Mr. Davis—peace movements in the Confederate Congress, and the cause of failure—informal efforts of the author and others to make peace in spite of Mr. Davis, and if need be a counter revolution—failure of the movement—close of the war and remarks upon it. The volume is very readable, whether we agree or not with the author in his speculations and details.

The same publishers send us *A Text Book of Anatomy, Physiology and Hygiene*, for the use of Schools and Families; by John C. Draper, M. D., with 170 illustrations.

Dr. Draper occupies a chair in these branches of study both in the Free Academy and the University of New York. Some of the most interesting subjects discussed are the laws of reproduction—the laws of human life, food, drink, alcoholic stimulants, and tobacco, the respiratory system, malaria and disinfectants, hygiene of the skin, &c. The writer is evidently a man of great ability in this department of science, and his treatise is calculated for the general reader as well as the student. It is issued in neat style.

A very pretty little volume, which forms one of a series of *American Histories*, and is devoted to the life and character of George Washington, is handed us by Gould & Lincoln, Boston. The editor, Jacob Abbott, is well-known to the whole American public for such popular biographies and histories. The other volumes of the series are: Aboriginal America; Discovery of America; Southern Colonies; Northern Colonies; Wars of the Colonies; Revolt of the Colonies; the Revolution.

From Ivison, Phinney & Co., whose card appears in our advertising columns, we have

1. *First Lessons in Botany and Vegetable Physiology.* By Asa Gray, M. D.

2. *Botany for Young People and Common Schools.* By Asa Gray, M. D.

In these works, the author who has a

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wide reputation in such studies, condenses all that is valuable for the younger or the more advanced student. In the large work there are over 300 wood engravings and a copious glossary. The smaller shows how plants grow, and makes a popular arrangement of common plants, both wild and cultivated. It has 500 wood illustrations.

From Sheldon & Company we have the following works:

1. *Esperance.* By Meta Lander, author of "Light in the Dark River," "Marion Graham," etc.

2. *Analytical and Practical Grammar.* By Rev. Peter Bullions, D.D.

3. *Common School Grammar.* By Rev. Peter Bullions, D.D.

These works are very highly recommended by the leading teachers of the country, as appears in the circular of the publishers. Mrs. Sarah Willard, a very high authority North and South, says:

"In reply to your inquiries, I am happy to assure you that we find Dr. Bullions' English Grammar an admirable text book. We have used it for many years with increasing satisfaction. We deem it superior to any other in the treatment of the subject, and the accuracy and fullness of the detail."

Messrs. HARPER & BROTHERS place us under further obligations.

1. *Wives and Daughters.* A Novel, by Mrs. Gaskill, with illustrations.

2. *Half a Million of Money,* by Amelia Edwards, author of Barbara's History.

3. *Guy Deverell,* by J. Sheridan Le Faun, author of Uncle Silas.

4. *The Belton Estate,* by Anthony Trollope, author of Can You Forgive Her, &c.

5. *A Novel Life,* by the author of John Halifax (Miss Mulock).

These are all by popular and well known writers, and constitute a part of the series of popular novels by Harper & Brothers.

W. B. Smith & Co., Raleigh, N. C., send us a work which they publish, entitled *Nameless*, a novel by Fanny M. Downing. Second edition. These gentlemen publish also, Lee's Last Campaign, The Deserter's Daughter, Castine, and several standard school books. It pleases us to notice the enterprise of a Southern publishing house.

Sanford Howard, Secretary of the Michigan Board of Agriculture, will receive our thanks for the volume which comprises the *Third Annual Report of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Michigan.* It will be of much use to us.

The admirable message of the PRESIDENT, defining the status of the Southern States, and refusing to give his sanction to the provisions of the Freedmen's Bureau bill, has given new confidence to the people of the South, and strengthened the hopes of conservative men in every part of the country. It is the beginning of a new and better era, and the effect upon the general interests of the States will soon be manifest. Violent and angry passions must give way, and that speedily. The dictates of patriotism as well as of interest require it. Certainly, no enemy of the freedmen or of the entire country could have desired a greater mishap to either than must have resulted from the measure which the President so fearlessly vetoed, placing himself thus in the rank of the first statesman of the age. We do not say that no action should be had by Congress in reference to this class of men, but the action should be as limited as possible.

The sentiment of the South, with regard to the freedman, is kindly and lenient. It is no fault of his that ruin has come upon the country. He performed faithfully his obligations as a slave, when not interfered with, and will faithfully perform those of the freedman, without interference, left to the operations of the laws which regulate the supply and demand for labor all over the world. The interest of the employers will dictate kindness and ample compensation, if his services are to be retained, and the operations of natural laws will give to him civil and political rights as fast as he is enabled to enjoy them. We may trust society for this at the South, where slavery lately existed, as well as at the North where it existed at an earlier period. Rome was not built in a day. Utopia may be!

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We were the friend of the negro in slavery, and are his friend now, and would see his physical and moral condition ameliorated, would open to him the channels of education, advance his intellect, guard sacredly his rights, and do everything practicable to make him a sober, orderly, useful and happy member of the community. This will be the feeling of the entire South.

It is the intention of the editor of the REVIEW, to issue from the press as soon as arrangements can be completed with a large publishing house, the following work:

THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY;

BEING

An Exposition of the Arguments and Doctrines relied upon by Southern Leaders to establish a Separate Government, and showing the gradual formation of opinion in the Southern people leading to that event. With interesting statistical and other documents relating to Slavery as it existed, the Slave Trade, Southern Population and Pursuits, Agriculture, Lands, Staples, Improvements, etc.

With steel portraits of leading Writers in the interest of the movement from the earliest days of the Republic.

3 vols., 800 pages each, octavo.

BY J. D. B. DEBOW.

The work will condense, in a compact form, all the material embraced in the 32 volumes of the REVIEW, which have been published; and showing the grounds of the recent great conflict, will be valuable for the study of the historian, the scholar and the statesman in future times, in our own country and abroad.

It will be a necessary companion to those voluminous works which are in course of publication at the North, and which minutely detail all of the events of the war, (emanating from Southern sources) and furnish all of the documents, reports and archives of the States engaged in conflict with the Union.

A fourth volume will also be added on the *Events of the War*, for which the material has been prepared by the editor in the form of an extended diary. For this he had abundant sources of information at command, having been engaged in the service of the Confederacy in positions of responsibility and trust, and in almost all of the States, enjoying the confidence of the Government from the beginning to the close of the war.

The Editor will spend a portion of the present month at Washington city, and will then return to his office at Nashville. Notes upon his trip to New Orleans appeared in the February number. He returned by the New Orleans and Great Northern Railroad, which was in excellent working condition. Found Jackson improving rapidly since the war, but could not say as much for Meridian. Conversed with the President of the Southern road, who furnished an interesting account of his trip to Europe in the service of the road, in which he met with such success as must put the enterprise upon the most satisfactory basis. Took the cars for Nashville via Corinth. The Mobile and Ohio Railroad now runs daily trains, and has an abundance of the most improved cars. Passed on the cars to Louisville and Cincinnati, and thence by the Atlantic and Great Western Road to New York; making the trip from Nashville to that city in fifty-six hours.

WE are pleased to announce the formation of a *Virginia Land and Immigration Company*, under a charter from the legislature, which proposes, on a large scale, to remedy the agricultural deficiencies of that State. We wish success to the movement, and hope to see it imitated in the other States. Major Tochman is agent for the company and will visit Europe in its service.

A COMPANY has been formed in *Nashville*, which is a step in the right direction in aiding Southern progress. It has a large capital, and proposes to erect buildings and furnish steam power, which it will lease out to Mechanics with limited means. Such a movement will retain as well as invite population.

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We are in receipt of a thick pamphlet, published monthly, entitled "*Morgan's British Trade Journal and Export Prices Current*," being a complete monthly review of all items of interest to traders resident out of England. Subscription £1 per annum, postage paid. The work is invaluable, and should be in the hands of every dealer in our country operating in foreign goods. It is complete in every particular and furnishes an immense number of facts and details.

☞ The sound conservative character of the *National Intelligencer*, published at Washington city, should recommend it to the support of the Southern people. It is one of the oldest journals in America, and has always been marked by a high moral tone. The letter which we publish in our present number from Dr. J. C. Nott, of Mobile, first appeared in this journal.

☞ We are requested to offer for sale *eighty thousand acres of Mississippi bottom lands*, all above overflow and suitable for settlement and cultivation. Lands were carefully selected by the owner, who will sell the whole at $5 per acre, or in bodies of 5, 10 or 20,000 acres at a little higher figure. Parties will address on the subject, B. F. De Bow, 40 Broadway, New York.

☞ R. G. Barnwell, Esq., associated with us in the conduct of the Review, will make a tour through the Southern States during the present spring, visiting all of the cities and large towns. He will prepare notes upon the condition and prosperity of the country, and will devote himself to the increase of the subscription and advertising departments of the Review. All who are indebted to the work, will please make payment to him.

☞ Subscribers and others will please refer to the Editor's notes on the fourth page of the cover. It will be perceived that the headquarters of the Review will be at Nashville, Tenn., and that great inducements are offered to clubs.

DEBOW'S REVIEW AND ADVERTISING INDEX.

All advertisements in the Review will be regularly noted in this index. Our terms are the same as before the war, and considering the large circulation of the Review in every part of the Union, and especially in the Southern States, its limits should be occupied. Merchants and manufacturers of the South, and those having lands for sale, would do well to imitate in advertising the enterprise of the Northern cities. Our pages are open to all, and it is from this source only that the Review can be made remunerative.

Agricultural Implements—Machinery—Fertilisers—Seed, etc.—R. H. Allen & Co.; D. Landreth & Son; Baugh & Sons; H. A. Dreer; Graham, Emlen & Passmore; Elwanger & Barry; John B. Sardy; C. H. Slocomb, New Orleans; John S. Reede & Co.

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MONTHLY.

AGRICULTURAL COMMERCIAL INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS & RESOURCES.

April, 1866.

J. D. B. DE BOW, Editor and Proprietor.

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DE BOW'S REVIEW.

ESTABLISHED JANUARY, 1846.

APRIL, 1866.

ART. I.—INFLUENCES OF COMMERCE AND FINANCE IN DETERMINING THE REVOLUTIONS OF FORTUNE IN THE HISTORY OF NATIONS.

THAT Commerce and Manufactures add to the wealth, and that an abundance of gold and silver, or their equivalents in circulation, favors Commerce and Manufactures, and all other branches of national industry, and increases the prosperity of the State, are propositions so obvious and self-evident, that they have met with almost universal acquiescence. But plain as they are, and necessarily applicable as they must be, if true, to all the phases of social change, it is only within very recent times that any diligent consideration has been given to them in explaining the condition of nations, and in interpreting their historical fortunes. They have been passed by with little or no notice, under the supposition that they rather affected the welfare of individuals, and the transitory functions of the commonwealth, than constituted important elements in the development of national vigor and superiority. They were left to the care of the student of such special branches of inquiry, and these students were never numerous; and they were deemed scarcely worthy of admission into the grand series of mighty forces which expanded feeble communities into prosperous nations, and afterwards into conquering powers and lordly civilizations. More attention was paid to the discovery of the nearly obliterated impressions, and to decyphering the time-corroded inscriptions on the coins and medals of antiquity; more persevering ingenuity was devoted to the determination of their dates, their intrinsic values, and the occasions of their utterance, than were bestowed upon those great movements of society which had been favored or impeded, stimulated, arrested, or turned backwards by the fluctuating tides of commerce, or by the flow of the general currency of the world.

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So far as these subjects have yet engaged the researches of historical inquirers, their labors have been usually confined to tracing the influences exercised by them in developing the internal prosperity of individual States. Little regard has been paid to the mode in which they affected, or were affected by the internal or external condition of nations in the periods of their decline. Still less consideration has been given to the effects produced by the shifting tides of commerce, and the mutations of financial phenomena in elevating or depressing successive nationalities. Yet a glance over the Tables of the Census of the United States, and an inspection of the vicissitudes of rank which have accompanied the growth of the several component States, at once displays the eminent function discharged by commercial and financial impulses in regulating the precedence of diverse communities. Yet, only in the most signal and startling instances, or by rare historical inquirers, have the currents of trade, the channels of mercantile intercourse, and the agencies of finance been studied, in order to discover an explanation of the rise and fall of States, the succession of dynasties and policies, the transfer of dominion from one region to another, and the vicissitudes of civilization. The Historical Researches of Heeren constitute the only notable exception to this general neglect; and even his investigations are prosecuted in too narrow a spirit, and without the luminous guidance which have been obtained from a comprehensive view of the whole order of society, and from a large appreciation of the successive advancements of society. Yet, if Commerce and Finance exercise a predominant influence in deciding the present prosperity of each community, they must have exercised a correspondent, though unequal, influence in all anterior times. If they have vitally affected each nation in the several phases of its individual existence, they must have similarly affected the community of nations in their reciprocal relations. And, if they have affected all nations at all times, they must have even been active powers in regulating the economy of the world. The truth of these propositions is so manifest that they scarcely seem to merit any formal statement. The dependence of the several propositions on each other is so patent, that the presentation of the argument appears almost a needless display of reasoning. Nevertheless, both the propositions and the conclusions to which they tend, have been habitually disregarded in the general treatment of history. To this day we are without any explanation of the various and vast effects produced in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries by the augmentation of the precious metals, due to the Mexican and Peruvian Mines. The rapid expansion of the

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wealth and industry of England in the Eighteenth Century has been often commented on, and, after the middle of the Century, is frequently ascribed to her Indian Empire; but the stimulation given to trade and manufactures, and the strength given to the Government by the establishment of the Bank of England, and by the definite institution of the National Debt, have never been duly estimated. A few rhetorical flourishes in Macaulay's History of England, a few naked statements of fact, and a few vapid superficialities by way of comment on the facts, constitute nearly all the information afforded to us in regular histories, with relation to one of the most potent agencies in the multiplication of British wealth, and in the aggrandizement of the British Empire.

The disordered finances of France are always indicated as one of the immediate causes of the French Revolution. Here it was impossible to overlook or mistake the connection. The disorder of the royal revenues is explained by the follies of Louis XV., by the extravagant tastes and expensive wars of Louis XIV., by the stagnation of industry caused by feudal restrictions, and aggravated by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; by the mercantile policy of Colbert, and by other agencies. In all of these explanations, financial and commercial considerations are involved; and any of them might, therefore, justify our anxiety to see topics of this character regularly introduced into historical compositions. But there were other unnoted influences of a similar kind concerned in the generation of that financial embarrassment which precipitated the French Revolution. We remember no allusion to the crippling of French commerce, and thereby of French industry, and of French finance, by the loss of the American possessions of France, and of most of her connections with the East Indies in the Seven Years' War.

The splendor and military triumphs of the Empire of Napoleon fascinated, and continue to fascinate, all eyes. There are not many, however, who have stopped to inquire how far that sudden outburst of French conquest was due to causes which seem rather to regulate the ordinary transactions of private business than the great concerns of national existence. The embarrassments to which commerce was subjected during the Napoleonic rule, with its embargoes, its Berlin and Milan Decrees, its British Orders in Council; the long succession of victories which emblazoned the banners of the French armies under the direction of Napoleon; the personal glory which forms a halo round Napoleon himself during the whole of his dazzling career; blind our vision to the fact that the wondrous energy then displayed by France, which achieved those

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victories and won that glory, was, to a great extent, occasioned by the liberation of the internal industry and commerce of the country from mediæval restraints; by the appliance of all its resources in a uniform manner to the purposes of the State; by the equalization of taxation, and by the removal of the superincumbent class of *fainéant* nobles — results recently obtained by the exactions, sequestrations, and massacres of the French Revolution. These results are not aduced in exculpation of either the course or the conduct of that frightful Revolution. They are presented merely as important elements to be considered in the interpretation of the career of Napoleon, and in the explanation of the tremendous supremacy acquired by France under his imperial sway. The injustices, the agonies, the atrocities, the follies, the excesses of the Revolutionary *régime* are not defended or approved by the exhibition of their unforeseen effects. Those effects and the causes coöperating in their production, are only indicated as neglected elements necessary for the complete solution of the problem presented to the historian by the sudden and long-sustained grandeur of the French Republic and Empire.

Another example of mighty effects resulting, in part at least, from commercial and financial impulses, and one which most nearly concerns us in the passing years, might be introduced here, but sufficient time must elapse after the statistical information is gathered, to allow for a careful estimation of all concurrent influences, and an equally careful exclusion of prejudices before any reliable inferences can be drawn. The instances already cited have been employed solely to illustrate the design of the present speculation, by showing how requisite is the due appreciation of commercial and financial phenomena to an adequate comprehension of the mighty evolutions of historical change. They have been brought forward to justify the declaration that it is a grave oversight, and explicable only by the hypothesis of chronic blindness on such topics, to omit habitual reference to these characteristics in the systematic treatment of History.

It will be the object of the ensuing remarks to show what an important enlargement of historical comprehension, what increased accuracy of historical criticism, and what a vast augmentation of historical illumination, would result from the methodical contemplation of commercial and financial movements in studying those revolutions of national fortune with which the annals of mankind are filled. Of course, these extensive topics can only be presented and illustrated in a brief paper. They cannot hope for any full and satisfactory discussion. The illustrations themselves must also, necessarily,

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be few, and derived entirely from the most notable examples. As these influences operate at all times, though with varying force, and among all nations, though in diverse forms, fullness of investigation would necessitate the recomposition of the whole volume of history, from the commencement of authentic records. It would, furthermore, demand a minute investigation of all the details of change in every important alteration in the fortunes of each particular State, and in every transfer of supremacy and dominant civilization from one community to another. Such a task is as far from our design as it is from our capacities; and it is not more foreign to our inclinations than it would be unsuited to the brevity of these pages.

Although the neglect, or imperfect appreciation, of these great agencies of human progress has provoked this essay, it is not written with any purpose of ascribing to them singly, or in combination, the controlling action in regulating the ascendancy of nations. It is an old observation, repeated and enforced in many ways, that men with arms in their hands, resolute of will and fearless of danger, command the accumulations of wealth resulting from generations of industry and acquisition, and may conquer from their timid, luxurious, or discordant possessors the gold and silver and other wealth in their possession. The overthrow of the Persian Empire by Alexander, the extending conquests of the Roman Republic, the sweeping appropriations of the Saracenic Caliphate, the occupancy of the provinces of Imperial Rome by Huns and Vandals, Franks, Goths, and other wild populations of the North; the kingdoms won by the Normans in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries; the amazing career of Genghiz Khan and of Tamerlane, would be sufficient to preclude the adoption of any such fantasy as that wealth or the sources of wealth would ensure continuous prosperity, or alone suffice to determine the distinctive fortunes of different communities.

All the lines of national development proceed concurrently, and maintain themselves in continual interdependence. All are conjoined and correlated in the vital energy of national growth. None can claim to be either exclusive or permanently supreme. None is sufficient, without the concordant action of the others, to preserve the multitudinous activity and sustain the wondrous harmony of social existence. The old fable of the belly and the rebellious members, which quieted the seditions of the Roman populace when they seceded to the Sacred Mountain, is as applicable here as in any other case of the union of forces for the production of a joint result. Changes of circumstances and alterations of condition do, indeed, give a temporary and local pre-eminence to some of the functions in

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the general economy of nations. But this superiority is only transient; and, transient as it is, it becomes legitimate only so far as it subserves the connected interests of all the other forces, present or prospective, regenerating and revivifying each, and renovating the complex harmony, so as to adapt it for a higher career, or a more complex manifestation.

It might be shown, if time and the demands of the question immediately under consideration permitted, that all the forces of social existence reciprocally limit and determine each other in their character, in their degree, and in their mode of operation. It might be demonstrated that so intimate is the connection, and also the correlation between all the manifold currents, forces, and phenomena of national existence, that the accurate determination and appreciation of any one of these might afford an equally accurate anticipation or scientific conjecture of each of the others, in their relative degrees and in their several manifestations. The subjects to be estimated are, indeed, so intricate, so manifold in their possible combinations, and often so obscure in their action, that they elude observation in the present state of our knowledge, and baffle every attempt at precise and exhaustive estimation. But enough may be discovered and displayed to prove that so strict is the interdependence of the forces and of the consequent phenomena among each other, that the known may always be employed as the exponents and approximative admeasurements of the unknown. The processes of Comparative Anatomy, and Comparative Physiology, and of the Comparative Sciences in general, are applicable, theoretically at least, to the elucidation of the several processes of society. Marvellous results of prevision may be achieved by the employment of these logical procedures in the more complicated as in the less complicated departments of such science. The complication does, indeed, by its wondrous extension in the case of political, social, and historical inquiry, increase enormously the delicacy and difficulty of rendering this mode of reasoning available; but it renders it, at the same time, indispensable, because there is no other instrumentality, or *Organon*, competent to deal with the involved multitude of varying and connected phenomena. If our knowledge of the combined forces, simultaneously operating upon society, of their mutual relations and interactions, of the genetic constitution and susceptibility of the particular society at any particular time, were sufficiently accurate and comprehensive to permit the reduction of all these elements under precise laws, then, and only then, would we be able to realize in practice the theoretical possibility of determining from any one clearly ascertained and rigidly admeasured phe-

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nomenon of a given society, all its antecedent, contemporaneous, and prospective manifestations. The mere conception, however, of such a theoretic possibility renders it absurd to attribute to any single influence an absolute or permanently exclusive empire over the development of States. Numerous forces act concurrently. Sometimes many of them are nearly equiponderant. Sometimes one set obscures or overrides the operation of the rest. Sometimes one, and sometimes another, is in the ascendant. The multiplicity, the relative energy, the comparative superiority of these influences are in all cases due to the particular phase attained by the social body on which they act, considered in connection with the surrounding circumstances. It would, therefore, produce nothing but error and delusion to ascribe to commercial and financial impulses the sole, or even the principal direction, except in rare contingencies, of international or of national changes. Their respective potency varies with the degree and form of the civilization, being almost unapparent in the low vitality of savage existence; feeble in the rudimentary stages of social advancement; efficient instrumentalities in the progressive elevation of communities; predominant in the later periods of highly organized and highly artificial systems of mature and of declining States, and controlling in those critical eras, when a sudden augmentation or a sudden diminution of capital and of the commerce and industry dependent upon it, swells or alternates the volume and the current of national activity. It is a just observation of Lord Bacon's that arms flourish in the rise, and the trade flourishes in the decay of States. Commerce and Finance are thus entitled to more diligent consideration at certain periods of social growth than they are at others. But if they can rarely, if ever, be regarded as sole agencies, they cannot be omitted from the factors of national change in the contemplation of any society, which has achieved a complex, harmonious, and settled order of existence. Indeed, commerce penetrates into the life and action of extremely rude and primitive communities. It stimulates the enterprise of the Ivory-hunters of Ashantee and of the barbarous tribes of Dahomey; and questions of finance are involved in the condition of the populations of Asben, Daghirmy, and Sokatoo, although the currency of the interior of Africa consists almost entirely of shells. But, whether leather or paper-cowries, or fur-skins, beads, or gold and silver, be the medium of exchange, the means of interchanging commodities, the facility and rapidity of the interchange, and the amount, importance, and value of the articles interchanged, must obviously determine the well-being or the ill-being of all the members of the com-

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munity, and thereby materially affect the welfare and action of the whole State, which is the aggregate of these individuals.

The character and value of the aid to be derived from the systematic study of commercial and financial movements in estimating the causes of historical change, and in rendering reasons for the fluctuation of national prosperity, external and internal, may be best exhibited by a few additional exemplifications. Some hurried allusions to the agency of these motive powers have already been hazarded, but they were designed rather to show that they were powers worthy of consideration, than to display the manner and extent of their action. What is now contemplated is, to reveal the flood of new light which is diffused over the whole course of human progress—the illumination which is shed upon the apparently resistless expansion of certain States, and the helpless decline of others, by an industrious examination of the coincident relations of such States to the commerce and monetary circulation of the world. In bringing forward these examples, we hope to indicate in a brief and rapid manner some of the suggestive views which present themseves in multitudes along the path of such an investigation.

As far as the testimonies of History, or the indications of tradition, which is broken and imperfect History, enable us to judge, the first distinct communities with a definite, social, and political organization, arose in the rich sub-tropical regions, where the bounteous liberality of an exuberant soil, stimulated by powerful atmospheric and solar influences, afforded an abundant return of nutritious, agreeable, and varied subsistence to moderate and easy labor. The primeval wealth of India, China, and Egypt, may be mainly ascribed to these and similar favoring circumstances. But another set of influences was combined with these, before these countries attained their ultimate elevation, and before other countries rivalled or surpassed them by an independent development, and a more diversified range of industrial action.

The cities, which became the seats of early Empire and the centres of a diffusive and ascending civilization, such as Bactra, and Babylon, and Nineveh, and Sidon, and Tyre, and Carthage, were favorably situated on the great lines of trade—terrestrial, fluviatile, or marine—and were mainly indebted to their advantageous locations for the great and brilliant expansion of industry, population, and wealth which they displayed. It is only necessary to look over a map of the ancient world, noting the situation of imperial cities, and of the empires which condensed around them, each in their due order and succession, noting also the contemporaneous course of trade by land and

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water, to be assured that their prosperity and domination were originally stimulated, and were long maintained, by the attraction of the then existent commerce to their harbors or markets. They either presented a convenient *entrepôt* for the collection, distribution, or exchange of merchandize; or they themselves created an enlarging demand for the various fruits of commerce, and provided means of payment for their transmission from the distant regions where they were produced.

The external menace and pressure of barbarous nomadic tribes, or their violent intrusion—dynastic contentions, internal discords, and the disintegrating effects of wealth and luxury—international wars, and the energetic enterprise of rising and rival States, occasioned, in the lapse of time, interruptions of the prevalent commerce and consequent deviations, more or less serious, from the accustomed routes of trade. Such influences combined with others to produce the decay of older cities and empires, and to promote the prosperous growth of new claimants of superiority and dominion. With each change of supremacy among the early nations of the world, there was a transference of commerce and of the wealth and the command of money, which flow in the same channels with commerce. Frequently the stream which, for a time, rolled on in a single united current, is divided into many branches; but several of these branches are again reunited as the prosperity and dominion of the new State expand, while some of the separate branches are swelled to more than the original volume of the parent tide. In this manner the trade of the far East and of Central Asia, first concentrated at Bactra, pursues its course with greater or less deflection, according to circumstances, through Persia, and rises again in more than pristine splendor at Babylon and Nineveh. When wars, internal disturbances, or other convulsions undiscoverable in the dark recesses of a remote antiquity impede this course, a portion of this trade and of all "the wealth of Ormus and of Ind" besides, drifts to the shores of Arabia, the waters of the Red Sea, and the valley of the sacred river Nile. Thebes, with its hundred gates, its marvellous temples, its splendid and populous Necropolis; Memphis, with its Pyramids; and the twenty thousand cities which studded Egypt under the reign of Amasis, rose in power, in magnificence, and in prosperity along the narrow pathway of the Nile. Sidon and Tyre, and the other wealthy cities of the Phœnician coast, stretched with one hand to the Arabian and Persian Gulf, and with the other to the Isles of Javan, and across the length and breadth of the Mediterranean Sea. Revolutions in Persia, and throughout the interior of Asia; revolutionary mutations in Egypt, disturbed these lines

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of exchange. The course of traffic was thrown northward towards the Caspian and Euxine Seas; and to the remotest days of the latter, Greek traders, the fore-runners of Greek Colonies, flocked to appropriate the enriching current. The Phœnicians had already worked with profit, and had perhaps by this time nearly exhausted the gold mines in the Isles of the Ægæan. The golden sands of Pactolus had built up the Lydian Empire, and had augmented the wealth of the Greek settlers in the fertile plains of the Hermus and the Mæander. But a region more abundant in the precious ore was opened to Hellenic adventurers when they penetrated the distant harbors of the Inhospitable Sea, and reached the fabled land of Colchos, and the countries lying behind the mighty range of Caucasus. The Gold Mines of the Urals, which have added enormously to the revenues of Russia during the present century, and which contributed a timely addition to the general treasure of the civilized world, were revealed to the Greeks, and were worked by them or in their interest long before the Persian Wars, which apparently destroyed their access for several generations to these distant regions. They constituted the California of the early Hellenic populations. The Argonautic Expedition is only a mythical representation of the attempt of the primitive adventurers to open this route to the newly discovered realms of the precious ore. The treasure thence derived by exchanging Hellenic products for the gold dust, and for the other commodities of Asia which were then transported to the shores of the Caspian and the Black Seas, perhaps induced, and certainly built up, in population, industry, wealth, and splendor, the Ionian Cities, and occasioned the active colonization which spread Greek towns, and especially the multitudinous offshoots of Miletus along the coasts of the Euxine; while their operations and influences extended far into the provinces of Southern Russia. It is to these causes that must be ascribed the singular fact that those distant and uncivilized regions appear to have been better known to Herodotus and his contemporaries than they were to the learned of Western Europe previous to the commencement of the present century.

When Tyre and the Phœnician coast were overwhelmed by Assyrian and Babylonian violence; when Assyria, and Babylon, and Egypt were conquered by the Persians; when the Hellenic cities throughout Asia Minor were subjugated, first by the Lydian monarchy, and afterwards by the arms of Cyrus and by those of Darius; a portion of this stimulating trade flowed or returned to Corinth, Athens, and other cities of the mainland of Greece. Thus the course of commerce, and the movement of the precious metals preceded or attended the

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star of Empire in its westward path, bringing life, and vigor, and prosperity, and power, and dominion to the regions which they visited, and leaving feeble, apathetic, and disorganized those which they abandoned.

It would be tedious and inappropriate to extend these illustrations throughout the whole chain of History. Brief allusions to the most critical phenomena in other periods of change must suffice for the further confirmation of the importance which we would assign to commercial and financial considerations in the explanation of the vicissitudes of national fortune.

The amazing and almost instantaneous outburst of Athenian greatness and glory, concurrently with the heroic resistance to Persian aggression, has always excited the admiration of subsequent ages. This sudden splendor of achievement has been attributed to the then recent extension of the liberties of the Athenian people. To this impulse it was referred in the generation succeeding the victories of Marathon, and Salamis, and Platæa, and Mycale. It has also been ascribed to the elevation of sentiment engendered by the first victories of the war. This would seem to be the interpretation adopted by Thucydides and the Attic Orators. Both causes were unquestionably operative, but their operation would have been arrested and their legitimate fruits denied them if the improvement and management of the silver mines had not simultaneously increased the revenues of Athens, and augmented its receipts at the same time that its expenditures were enormously enhanced by the demands of the struggle. Men, animated by the most heroic spirit, do not alone constitute efficient means for the successful prosecution of war. Money and supplies of all sorts, especially in the Commissariat and Quartermaster's Departments, are equally indispensable. The most gallant armies may be paralysed and dissipated; the most consummate generalship and the most sagacious policy may be both frustrated, if the means to feed, and clothe, and arm, and otherwise equip the fighting men are not abundantly provided.

When Athens, after a brief career of dazzling achievement, and after a long and agonizing decline, sunk with her jealous sisters beneath the arms of Philip and of Alexander, the overthrow of Greek independence was not wholly due to the invincible momentum and rigid discipline of the Macedonian Phalanx; but at least equally to the ample revenues by means of which the Macedonian armies were set in motion and permanently maintained. These revenues were derived from the acquisition and more effectual operation of the gold mines of Mount Pangæus; and it was philosophically as well as satiri-

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cally true, that Philip conquered more cities with his gold than with his sword. How far commerce and commercial prosperity were involved in the Macedonian successes may be conjectured from the earnestness and zeal with which the sagacious sovereign of Macedon directed his first enterprises against the maritime Hellenic cities on the border of his kingdom. Until these were annexed to his domain, he neither attempted nor did he achieve any considerable successes against the independent States of Greece. But all the commerce and commercial resources which he thus gained for himself counted twice in the struggle which ensued, for they were so much withdrawn from the sources of the power arrayed against him. Olynthus, and Potidæa, Amphipolis, and Pydna transferred to Philip's hand the supremacy of Ægæan, and, in great measure, the control of its trade. At the same time the subjection of these States to Macedonian rule deprived Athens and the other communities of Greece of more even than Philip directly gained. It is a proof of the far-seeing policy of Demosthenes that he commenced his political career and his denunciation of Philip's menacing projects by his Olynthiac Orations, and by other speeches designed to warn his countrymen of the perils to themselves portended by Philip's operations about Amphipolis, about Olynthus, about Halonnesus, and Thrace, and the coasts of the Greek settlements along the Northern Ægæan. The event justified the prevision of the Statesman and the eloquence of the Orator.

The overthrow of the Persian Empire, and the widely extended conquests of Alexander, liberated and dispersed the hoarded treasures of Asia, and thus afforded a new stimulus to all departments of active industry. Penetrating to India by an overland route, he opened the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges, and the whole intermediate country to mercantile enterprise; and brought the regions beyond within the range of progressive adventure. By substituting an Hellenic monarchy, and the stimulus of Hellenic civilization for the luxurious lethargy, the barbaric magnificence, and the feeble government of Persian despotism, he reinvigorated production, and reopened the main lines of traffic through south-western Asia. These advantages, it is true, were soon disturbed by Parthian encroachments; but the immediate effect was great, and the prospects revealed to the future almost boundless. The rapid waters of the Tigris again saw trade, and wealth, and luxury, and population wooed to her banks. Under the successors of Alexander, Seleucia arose as the heiress and representative of Babylon and Nineveh; and at the Mediterranean extremity of this grand internal route for renovated trade, the City of Antioch was established on the

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Orontes, where it maintained its brilliant pre-eminence till it was shattered by an earthquake after a career of nearly a thousand years. History affords only one example of larger results ensuing from the extension of geographical knowledge, and the consequent expansion of trade. That example is furnished in the discovery of the American Continent, by Columbus. All these fruits of Alexander's rapid conquests await historical appreciation; and cannot receive it in any satisfactory form until Commerce and Finance are admitted within the habitual contemplation of the student of History. We do not remember to have met with any diligent estimation of the commercial and financial influences of the Macedonian conquests, and of the Macedonian Empire in Asia. Humboldt, in his Cosmos, notices some of their consequences; but he soon drops the subject, without displaying or detecting its more important characteristics. And yet, even the fragmentary statements of Megasthenes are full of suggestion; and he is but one of a multitude of Greek writers whose compositions were inspired by the recent revelation of the wondrous East.

Almost every historian of Greece has enlarged upon the happy selection of Alexandria as the site of a great and thriving commercial city; and has pointed, more or less distinctly, to the change in the currents of trade, and to the transfer of commerce to Hellenic hands in consequence of its foundation and sudden prosperity. But how rarely has there been any thought of inaugurating a diligent and methodical investigation of the precise alteration in the lines of commerce, and of the phenomena of financial change, occasioned by the establishment of that great city, which continues to this day to affect the movement of the world's traffic!

When Hannibal prepared the means for his splendid campaigns in Italy, how much was he and the city of Carthage, for which he fought, indebted to the acquisition and long previous enjoyment of the silver mines of Spain, during the rule of his father and of his brother-in-law! And how much of the impotence of Hannibal in Lower Italy and of the Carthagenian government at home, was due to the conquest of Spain and the capture of the Spanish mines by Scipio Africanus! When that youthful conqueror stormed New Carthage, in the tenth year of the Second Punic war, he found in it "276 golden dishes, each weighing a pound; of silver bars and coin, 18,300 pounds, and a vast quantity of plate." This was after the drains, the losses, the expenditures of long warfare in the Iberic and Italic peninsulas, in Sicily, and on the waters of the Mediterranean. The relations which were borne by the products of these mines to the course of Hannibal's military fortunes, have

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scarcely attracted any attention, as yet; although, in all the principal fluctuations of empire, some important change in the financial or commercial systems of the respective States, will be found to have preceded or accompanied the mutation, and to have been vitally connected with it.

Again, when Carthage was crushed, and the Spains were annexed to the dominions of the Roman Republic, the possession of the Spanish mines ministered effectually to those growing resources which enabled the Romans to carry their Eagles in a flight of unbroken conquest to the waters of the Euphrates. This victorious career translated in turn the wealth and the treasure of Western Asia to the plains and valleys of Italy, relieved the sovereign people of the burthens of taxation, inflamed the lust of dominion, invited to further conquests, enriched the occupants of power, presented the hopes of plunder to the military ardour and cupidity of all classes, sustained the idle populace of the Imperial City, entertained with gorgeous spectacles and public festivals, drained away the rural population to foreign wars, or to the excitements of the Roman Forum and of the Roman Amphitheatres, and spread the contagion of luxury and indolence, of sensuality and license, throughout the mass of the Roman citizens, and throughout the Italic populations, envious of Roman indulgences, even more than of Roman power. From Livy, and from Velleius Paterculus, we learn that the thoughtful men of the nascent Empire, as well as the more sagacious statesmen contemporary with the event, ascribed the corruption of the citizens, the loss of public and private virtue, the overthrow of the spirit of republican liberty, and the ruin of the Republic itself, to the introduction of the wealth of Asia, and the consequences of the first Asiatic victory. Livy puts into the mouth of the Elder Cato the declaration that "the state was afflicted with the two diverse vices of luxury and avarice, by which plagues all great empires had been overturned." He afterwards informs us that "foreign luxury was originally imported into Rome by the army of Asia"—that army with which the Scipios—"*Scipiadæ gemini, duo fulmina belli*"—vanquished Antiochus the Great, at Magnesia. Velleius Paterculus epigrammatically declares, that "the Elder Scipio opened the way for Roman dominion; the Younger, for Roman luxury;" that, in consequence, "the ancient discipline was abandoned, and a novel order introduced: that the State was perverted from vigilance to slumber, from arms to pleasures, from energetic industry to idleness!" The sudden access to the valuable and enervating products of Greece and of the East, the rapid appropriation of the precious hoards of Asiatic treasure, corroded all the simpler habitudes of

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the Roman people, and demoralized the State, while expanding vastly the resources, the triumphs, the wealth, the magnificence and the domination of Rome.

We are vainly endeavoring to condense into a brief essay inquiries which it would require volumes to explore. We indicate, we suggest, we illustrate; but this is all that we can do. Even the little that we profess to do, can be done only very imperfectly within our narrow arena. We cannot stop to point out the manner in which commercial and financial disturbances, with the political and private immorality which they always occasion, were implicated with the conspiracy of Catiline—an abortive revolution which remains still unintelligible. The Emperor Louis Napoleon, has discerned more clearly than any historian the significance of that portentous insurrection; as his uncle, the Great Napoleon, was the first to appreciate the real meaning of that oligarchical faction which assassinated Julius Cæsar, and pretended to restore the Republic. It is worthy of note that the year which terminated with the explosion of the Catilinarian Rebellion, was inaugurated with the orations of the Consul Cicero against popular schemes of Agrarian innovation. We cannot, however, arrest our course to show how the Conspiracy of Catiline was itself crushed out by the antagonism of the capital, and the capitalists, of the vested interests and of the *classe bourgeoise* of Rome, as it was sustained by those to whom the increasing tyranny of hereditary and corporate wealth and power was becoming unendurable. But the memorable phenomena of those anxious years, when ancient patrician families conspired with dissipated young men and a Red Republican mob, to overturn the constituted government, which was only saved by the energy and prudence of "a new man from Arpuium," will never be rendered intelligible, till a solution is sought in the financial and industrial confusion of the times. Nor can we dwell upon the action of like forces in the establishment of what is erroneously designated The First Triumvirate; though the inclusion of Crassus in that alliance, on account of his wealth, and the preponderating influence which his wealth had secured for him, and on account of the services which had been rendered and might be rendered by that wealth to Julius Cæsar, sufficiently demonstrate the importance of the financial considerations involved in that furious and chronic strife which provoked and finally inaugurated the Empire. The value of money and the scale of prices, and with these the whole order of trade and industry, had been unsettled by the rapid increase of the circulating medium through Asiatic conquest and universal spoliation. Indulgences and the taste for indulgences, had been multiplied by the

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same causes. Commodities had also multiplied; but then prices had been enhanced and deranged. The currents of both production and trade had been violently altered by the all-absorbing annexations of Rome. The relations of the different classes of society had been entirely changed by the vast and rapid fortunes acquired by the rich and powerful, and by the ever deepening degradation of the hopeless poor. The gulf between Dives (*M. Licinius Crassus Dives—Dives* for four generations), and Lazarus, yawned fearfully and impassably, and widened every day. Beneath all the turbulence and anarchy of that period lay the angry and sweltering fires of a financial volcano, which had inflamed that turbulence and anarchy, and whose eruptions generated the Civil Wars of Pompey and Cæsar, and a continuance of those wars under the Triumvirate of Octavius, Antony and Lepidus.

All these significances are suggested by the fragments of a remarkable poem on the Civil Wars of Rome, found in the Satyrica of Petronius Arbiter: but we have never seen these fragments employed by any historian.

> Nec minor in campo furor est, emtique Quirites
> Ad prædam strepitumque lucri suffragia vertunt.
> Venalis populus, venalis curia Patrum
> Est favor in pretio senibus quoque libera virtus
> Exciderat, sparsisque opibus conversa potestas,
> Ipsaque majestas auro corrupta jacebat.
> . . . . . Quare tam perdita Roma
> Ipsa sui merces erat, et sine vindice præda
> Præterea gemino deprensam gurgite prædam,
> Fœneris ingluvies, ususque exederat æris
> Nulla est certa domus, nullum sine pignore corpus;
> Sed veluti tabes, tacitis concepta medullis,
> Intra membra furens, curis latrantibus errat.
> Arma placent miseris, detritaque commoda luxu
> Vulneribus reparantur. Inops audacia tuta est.
>
> . . . . . .

ART. II.—EQUATORIAL REGIONS OF AMERICA.*

WITHIN some ten days' sail of the port of New York, lies a region of country rich in all that tempts the cupidity of man—the sands of whose rivers gleam with scales of gold and of platina—among whose mountain crevices sparkle the diamond and the emerald—in whose vast forests the rubber, the mahogany and the far-famed peruvian bark-bearing tree predominates,

* This paper was prepared by the Writer at the instance of the New York Statistical Society, and the manuscripts are furnished for the pages of the REVIEW by request of the EDITOR.

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and, along whose bottom lands the sugar-cane, the coffee and the tobacco plant grow spontaneously.

To this narrow strip of country, (a very *terra incognita*,) lying between the equator and six degrees north latitude, hemmed in on the one side by the lofty Andes, and washed on the other, by the waters of the Pacific ocean, unexplored by Baron Humboldt and undescribed by subsequent travellers, I venture to direct your attention this evening.

In the years 1858 and '59, the speaker was engaged in making a *reconnoissance* of this district, the which involved as far as was practicable, the examination of the more important rivers with the view of their adaptability to navigation by small steamboats; the investigation of the mineral and agricultural resources of the adjacent country, and the probability of their being made subservient to commercial purposes.

We also had in view the inshore soundings on the coast line, and the survey of the many little bays and indentations of the coast, which might be made available for vessels of light draught of water.

We had the advantage of being accompanied on our survey by Don Manuel Q——, a former member of the New Granadian Cabinet, whose personal influence, varied attainments and *bonhommie*, largely contributed to the interest and success of the expedition.

As our survey may be said to have begun at the mouth of the Guayaquil river, I shall ask you to accompany me there, and leaving behind you the piercing winds of the North Atlantic, to glide with me across the Bahamas, skirting the eastern end of the Island of Cuba, with the blue mountains of St. Domingo in the distance; to run down the Caribbean sea before the Northeast trade-winds; to glance for a moment at the pretty little port of Aspinwall (but a few years ago a malarious swamp); to note its fine warehouses and its commodious wharves; to whiz over the monument of human genius and energy, the Panama railroad, conceived by the lamented Stephens, and carried out, despite the sneers of London and New York, by our Aspinwalls, our Bartletts, and our Chaunceys; to pause a moment at the famous old city of Panama, whose cathedral walls, dilapidated monasteries and convents, recall the days of Spanish prowess and of chivalry, as eloquently as do those of old Granada! ruins, however, which unlike those of the Alhambra, have a future as well as a past, for modern enterprise is fast converting them into dépôts and official residences for her employées.

I shall ask you to dwell but for a moment on the enormous traffic over this narrow Isthmus, with its forty steamships ar-

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riving at, and departing monthly, from its shores, and upon the vast increase of freight and passengers, consequent upon every increased facility for its transportation;* and to imagine how mammoth its proportions must inevitably be ten years hence, when, in all human probability nine-tenths of the freight now carried around Cape Horn will be diverted to this transit; and when, as most certianly will be the case, a larger part of the trade between Great Britain and Australia will seek this route.† Imagination indeed, can scarce set a limit to the future importance, political and commercial, of this great National Causeway.

I shall ask you again to embark with me aboard of one of the fine British steamers bound South from Panama, and having skimmed over its noble bay, and skirted its famous pear islands, to imagine yourselves about entering the mouth of the Guayaquil river.

The day has scarcely dawned! To our right towers the heights of Chanduy, till lost in the morning's mist, while straight before us stretches the placid surface of the grand old river, faintly radiated by the first gleaming of the breaking day. On our port-bow lays Santa Clara, or the dead man (as it is more commonly called, from a singular resemblance to a corpse laid out for burial), while the faint glimmer of the lighthouse perched upon the supposed dead warrior's breast, one might have fancied the spirit taking leave of its earthly tenement.

Gradually, as the sun rises and bathes the Islet with its rays, it seems a gilded sarcophagus; nor would it require a great effort of the imagination to make the hallucination completes and to picture it the tomb of Atahualpa! fit resting-place for the mighty Inca at the very portal of his dominions. As the sun dissipates the haze, the view becomes more and more extended—as far as eye can reach, stretches the mighty river, while far over, across its mouth, lay the barren coasts of Peru, and to our left, the green shores of Ecuador.

The river at its mouth, though very broad, thirty miles or more, is very shallow in some parts of it, and the channel tortuous. Nevertheless, onward we steam, generally keeping the Ecuadorian shore close aboard, though occasionally stretching far enough over to the Peruvian coast to catch a glimpse of the tall spars of the whalers recruiting in the little port of Tumbez, inland from which, are some very productive cotton plantations, producing a long and silky staple. There are also

* At the present time, the Panama Railroad has twice the amount of freight offered than it can possibly transport, even at their very exorbitant rates; but on the renewal of their charter, they will, probably, at once lay down a double track, and increase their rolling-stock sufficiently to take all the freight offering at very much less than the present rates.

† "The Panama, New Zealand and Australian Steamship Co.," will, in a very short time commence making semi-monthly voyages from England to the East, via Panama, and will, doubtless, in a very brief space of time, absorb all the travel and most of the freight.

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some very peculiar sands upon being buried to the neck in which, the most distressing cases of scrofula are radically cured. At noon we find ourselves abreast the fishing town of Puna; here we take a river pilot, as the river suddenly contracts—the main channel which we follow, not being over three-quarters of a mile wide, and greatly resembling in its general characteristics the Mississippi river. Its swampy banks are grown down to the very edge with thick jungle, inhabited by the alligator, while along them stalks the magnificent white and pink crane, and arising from them towers the lofty mangrove, amid whose foliage flit thousands of bright plumaged paroquets, and shrilly screaming toucans.

Twenty miles steaming brings us up with Puntapiedra; here the nature of the river's banks again changes, becoming higher and firmer, while stretching away are broad savannas on which herds of cattle are seen grazing. For the succeeding fifteen miles the view is beautiful indeed; in the distance, rise the blue heights of Chongon, at the foot of one of which, and hospital capped, Guayaquil lies nestling.

Away in the far distance, the horizon is bounded by lofty mountains bathed in every shade from deep, deep blue, to faintest purple, till lost among clouds; when lifting our straining eyes to the very zenith, we see bristling out from the very heavens, mighty, magnificent, old Chimborazo, apparently at no very great distance, but in reality a hundred miles away among the Cordillera. Awe-struck as we are at this wonderful manifestation of nature in her majesty, the sensation is a thousandfold increased as we listen to the boomings of heavy cannonading, and are told that it is but the convulsive throes of the mighty mountain before us. . . . . .

The river is navigable for sixty miles or more further into the interior, for a small class of vessels, to a point called Bodegas, the starting-point for all places into the interior; and persons going to Quito, here take mules, reaching their destination in from three to four days.

Persons bound down the Amazon select this point, from whence, to strike into the wilderness, and calculate upon reaching the headwaters of the Marañon (as the Amazon is here called), in about fifteen days.

Although crossing the continent at this point is so vast an undertaking, yet every year one or two peddlers with their packs of Panama hats, not only make the transit, but occasionally have been known to branch off into Central Brazil, and reach the Atlantic only at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata. Thus, a feat which no scientific expedition has been successful in performing, has been accomplished by ignorant men im-

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pelled by that greatest of human incentives "the love of gain." . . . . . This is no fiction! for the speaker knew personally a man who had accomplished this almost superhuman undertaking, of which he gave ample proof by letters and testimonials in his possession; nor did he claim any particular merit for it, so accustomed was he to these wild wanderings; indeed we often, in subsequent expeditions, had reason to congratulate ourselves on the acuteness of that instinct which was so miraculously developed in this man, who, strange to say, was not even a native, but born among the Pyrenees. The river bottoms and plateau land of Ecuador are peculiarly adapted to the cultivation of the cotton plant, which is, indeed, sufficiently cultivated to supply the natives with a coarse clothing, and is manufactured by native mills; but, of course, both its cultivation and manufacture are carried on in a most primitive style. . .

Travellers have sighed mournful jeremiads over the undeveloped resources of Ecuador, mineral and agricultural, with good reason, but with little effect. Ton upon ton of silver lies hidden in her hills; gems sparkle in her mountain crevices; while her savannas, rich in the loamy accumulation of a thousand ages, lie but patiently awaiting the seed of the husbandman to yield a thousand fold. . .

The object of our visit to Guayaquil, being to procure a vessel of light draft, we succeeded in purchasing a little craft of twenty tons, which, although so small, had a cabin and three berths, and was as capacious as could be expected of a cockle shell of her size; but, having lain unused for a long time along the river bank, was rather uncomfortably infested with scorpions and an occasional snake, so that we were extremely cautious how we moved about after dark, and suspiciously inspected every article of clothing before putting it on in the morning. . . . . .

The first point of interest at which we touch is the Punta Santa Helena, the which, although only sixty miles north of Guayaquil, differs from it entirely in point of climate; for, whereas that of Guayaquil is wet and moist with continuous rains; that of St. Helena, is dry and arid; and, indeed, to this peculiarity it owed much of its commercial importance, as its chief export was the orchella weed, which would have no value in a wet climate. This orchella, of which many thousands of tons have been exported, is a moss or lichen which adheres to the branches of the trees; and is picked off by women and children, put in bags, pressed, and is then ready for shipment. It is used as a dye-stuff, giving a bright yellow hue.*

* Dyes made from Coal Oil (Petroleum), have entirely superseded that expressed from the orchella weed.

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As we coast along to the northward, the climate again changes and becomes moist, with much fog; the water shoals off a long way, and strong currents prevail, influenced by the wind.

Cruising in as close as practicable with the beach, we pass between the island of La Plata and the main. This island has some very valuable pearl fisheries, undeveloped, however, on account of the great depth of water; but this would offer no difficulty to submarine operators. We saw some very beautiful gems said to have been found here, perfect in form, and of that filmy hue so much prized. . . . . .

We occasionally run in to take soundings, to measure the altitude of a conspicuous headland, or to make a journey into the interior. During one of these journeys we saw some fine specimens of the chinchona, or Peruvian-bark tree, which never grows at a less elevation than 3,000 feet. The tree is majestic in size and beautiful in appearance, but is rapidly becoming scarce, which, added to the fact, that it grows in the most inaccessible regions, makes it the more valuable. There were exported from the port of Guayaquil alone, from 1857 to 1861, some two million pounds of this bark, valued at half a million dollars.

We here saw, also, some fine specimens of the rubber tree, and were shown lower down, near the coast, some fine mahogany and a peculiar tree having the characteristics of both the ebony and rosewood, singularly beautiful and susceptible of the highest polish.

We often, quite unexpectedly, entered little bays hidden by projecting headlands, the existence of which we had had no conception, but some of which were remarkably beautiful. . . . I will try to describe one into which we entered one bright Sunday morning.

A dazzling beach, on which a sparkling surf burst like frosted silver, fringed a little group of peaked huts, whose picturesque thatches, peeping from, and so intermingled with, the tropic foliage as hardly to be distinguishable, seemed to form a trellis for the broad-leafed banana and graceful orange branches, which lovingly embraced and protected them, throwing out cluster after cluster of glowing fruit, while most gorgeous flowers and blossoms seemed like sylvan chandeliers lighting up the denser shade.

Little streamlets trickled merrily adown the hillside, interlacing themselves among leaf and branches like diamond drops in a state of fusion, and over the whole scene the grave old cocoas, with feathery branch, preside.

. . . . . .

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Manta, lying in fifty-seven minutes south latitude, is the outlet of the rich district of Manavi. The road to the town Montecristi, leading over hills bristling with cactus, whose long upright branches closely resemble huge candelabra, and bear a fruit called the pittalo, which is enclosed in a burr, and is of the consistency and somewhat resembles in flavor spiritualized strawberries and cream.

This place is the dépôt for the famous Panama hat, and a curious custom here prevails—that of selling them only by twilight! and all these immense transactions, amounting annually to over half a million of dollars, are confined to this short and unseemly hour. The custom, doubtless, arose from the idea of the Indian maker, that in the obscurity of the evening he could palm off an inferior article; but we were informed by a large dealer that he had so accustomed himself to this sort of thing, as to be guided in his selections almost entirely by his sense of touch. The manufacture of the hammock also enters largely into the industry of this section, and, indeed, is an indispensable article here, entirely superseding the use of the bedstead; there being single hammocks and double hammocks, and hammocks for a whole brood of children, besides smaller hammocks in which to recline in windows and doorways to catch the breeze. . . . . From this district there is a large amount of cocoa shipped. Tobacco is also successfully cultivated, and a large amount of India-rubber exported. . . . . .

The cocoa plantations * of Ecuador are almost as lucrative as were the cotton plantations of the South, but infinitely easier of cultivation; the plant bearing within three years and bearing on with but little care for half a century—one harvest hardly gathered before the tree again blossoms.

We next enter the port of Esmeraldas, only a few miles north of the equator, and a most unpromising place it is too, with its foaming line of breakers (like a huge rampart of snow) across its entrance; but we rush our little schooner at them, and having a strong wind abeam, she, despite a few desperate lunges (as if she'd a wee drap too much), glides into smooth water.

Esmeraldas is situated at the mouth of the Esmeralda river, which rises in the Cordillera, and its valley forms the easiest route, and the most natural, to the far famed city of Quito; but its wretched harbor prevents its being taken advantage of.

What gives Esmeraldas a considerable importance, is the tobacco largely cultivated along its river banks and brought there for sale; it is largely used in Germany for segar wrappers, and greatly sought after as the crop matures.

* We know of no reason why the cocoa tree, which yields so large a revenue to the Ecuadorcans, should not be cultivated successfully in Southern Louisiana and in Texas.

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A peculiarly rich cocoa, too rich, indeed, for trans-atlantic shipment, is largely raised here for coast consumption.

We found access from here to the interior extremely difficult, and the weather very inclement. Ascending the river in canoes we inspected some fine cocoa plantations and tobacco farms contiguous to it, until, striking into the Cordillera, our mode of progression changed from a canoe to a chair on an Indian's back.

Now, this is the slowest of all slow ways of getting along; and we must say, the most uncomfortable, and indeed it behoves one to sit perfectly still, or, he and his bearer may go rolling down the precipice.

It is wonderful how these men will bear the traveller day after day without evincing the slightest fatigue, their diet consisting of a little parched corn, and a strip of jerked beef, gnawed at, once in twenty-four hours; but their main dependence is the "coca," which is to the Indian of the Sierra, what tobacco is to the white man. Give him his coca leaf to chew, and he can perform miracles of labor, and journeys of a speed and of a length unknown in any other part of the world; and this stimulant, unlike any other, is beneficial rather than prejudicial to health.

... We are now in the heart of a rubber forest, and almost every tree assimilates to the "heoe" specie (as the rubber, or caoutchouc, is here called.)

The heoe, from which the real caoutchouc is extracted, is a tall majestic tree, smooth of bark, with a waxen leaf. The bastard closely resembles it, and also gives a sap which, however, is worthless.

The gutta percha also exists, but does not abound, and it too, has its opposite, which although its sap coagulates, is worthless from being brittle, with no elasticity.

We observed a very considerable activity in gathering rubber, but it was imperfectly cured, owing to the inclemency of the climate.

One collector told us, that out of a camp of twenty men, he had lost in three months four from fever, and two from snake bite.

We saw some fine specimens of the cinnamon, a very ordinary looking medium-sized stripling; the bark is stripped without difficulty, and after being allowed to ferment, the inner skin is separated from it, which on being dried, rolls up, and is as we see it in commerce. The vanilla is also very plentiful hereabout.

Diverging from the main stream in a southerly direction, and rapidly ascending, we find ourselves in a cool and delight-

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ful climate; the night breezes, however, as they sweep down from the snow capped heights, being rather severely cold. Here we saw some very beautiful specimens of the "red barked cinchona," * which trees grow here to a remarkable height; as also the cascarilla, which attains a height of a hundred feet, and when we saw it, was covered with a fragrant white flower. Indeed, one of the loveliest sights we ever saw, was an extensive clump or grove of these trees in full flower, reminding us only, of the famous Chestnut grove, at Hampton Court, which is so beautiful an object, when in blossom.

. . . In travelling through these wildernesses, one is peculiarly impressed with the gigantic vegetation, and feels that he is repaid for the terrible hardships which he must necessarily endure in viewing nature so strangely, so beautifully exaggerated.

. . . Tumaco, the next point of interest, is located on the boundary line between the Republics of New Granada and Ecuador; belonging, however, to the former government, lying in 1° 47′ north latitude. It is delightfully situated on an islet, and built amid a very grove of fruit trees, with that charming irregularity which so puzzles and delights the stranger. Its gravelly soil is covered with a short turf which absorbs the rain, which falls in torrents, giving vegetation a most entrancing appearance. Almost every tree is fruit-bearing, and the mature and unripe fruit is, at the same time, pendant from its branches. The cocoa-nut, the guava, the fig, the date and the orange, may be seen side by side, all in full bearing, while the most brilliantly colored blossoms, everywhere light up the shade.

The interior towns, Barbacoas and Pasto, are of very considerable importance; the latter, however, more properly belonging to the trans-Andean district—the majority of its products finding a market in the Atlantic ports, *via* the Magdalena river.† The town of Barbacoas contains about 3,000 inhabitants, half breeds and negroes, and is reached by canoes in about five days. The canoes coast along the shore for some distance, (which, during bad weather, is uncomfortable, not to say dangerous,) and then enter the mouth of the river Patia, and are propelled by oars and poles against a very strong current, mid eternal rains, from which one is sheltered by a thatched roof, which, while it excludes the rain, also excludes the air, and almost stifles one, who also has to contend against a monstrous mosquito and sand-fly.

These rivers and branches of rivers which cross and intersect

* Specie—C. Succirubra.

† There are large quantities of the cinchona found on the slope of the Andes, in the Pasto district, principally of the specie known to botanists and chemists, as C. Lancifolia. Indeed at the time of our last expedition (during the Mosquera revolution), there were large quantities collected there, awaiting cessation of hostilities for shipment.

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this country at every possible angle, are all either branches or affluents of the rivers Patia and Maria, which are in their turn affluents of the rivers San Juan and the Atrato, and are all auriferous; and it would be impossible to analyze their sands or deposits without finding traces of gold. The main business of the people of Barbacoas is based upon gold dust, which is the circulating medium; and the people inhabiting these streams make gold washing their recreation.

There are placers where the gold washings are more remunerative, but these are usually private property, belonging to men who pay a regular wage to those who work for them; but the negro, averse to work even for his own benefit, can hardly be induced to toil for a lesser wage than the amount of his daily accumulation.

These places are of great value, and if systematic labor could be brought to bear upon them, they would doubtless yield as well as those of California ever did.

While in the Sierra we noticed the gneiss rock, rich in gold, disseminated through small veins of quartz. We also saw evidences of sulphureted silver, copper, and lead ore.

The streams tending westward towards the Pacific we caused to be examined very thoroughly, with a view to their navigation by stern-wheel boats, and found their channels generally clear from obstructions: and, where rapids did occur, or long necks of land barred the passage, canals of two or three feet deep through the soft soil could easily be cut, which the currents would speedily select and thus make them the permanent channel.

These rivers, or at least their banks, are peopled by small communities of blacks, who subsist almost entirely upon the plantain and the few fish that they can catch; but occasionally the floods come sweeping down and carry away their whole plantain patches. This leaves them destitute, and they then resort to the river's banks and wash out gold enough to buy from their more fortunate neighbors the necessaries of life. The gold dust thus obtained is very fine, about 21 carats, besides which is a large accompaniment of platina, which a few years ago was thrown away as dross, but which, of course, was almost as valuable as gold.

At Yscuande, still further to the northward, we saw some half-breeds (cross between negroes and Indians) who had floated down from the Sierra on their balsas, and who had several hundred dollars' worth of gold and platina in quills, the usual way of carrying it, and who showed us some remarkable brilliants,* which they had washed from the sands at the same

* These brilliants were pronounced by some of the first lapidaries of England to be equal in value to the Brazilian brilliants.

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time, but to which they attached no value, nor did we at that time. . . . . Still holding a northerly course, we keep close in along with the breakers, although it would not be at all prudent for larger vessels so to do, on account of strong currents and shoals not laid down correctly on the Admiralty Charts. The coast is here low and swampy, penetrated every few miles by rivers, whose turbid currents bear down *debris* of all sorts, and the sea about them is infested with hundreds of yellow snakes, most malicious and venomous in appearance. Wherever the surf would permit and we saw a settlement, we would always communicate with the shore, and invariably, among other explorations washed for gold, and never failed in finding traces, at least about the mouths of these rivers.

We are now approaching Buenaventura, lying in 3° 57′ north latitude, a place of considerable commercial importance.

On entering the harbor we were visited by the chief officials, who were shocked to find our travelling companion, Don Manuel, in a dying condition from an attack of yellow fever contracted probably at Tumaco, and developed and intensified by the patient's being shut up in the seething cabin of our little vessel, whose deck was exposed alternately to fierce suns and flooding rains.

The town is situated at the mouth of the Dagua, a mountain torrent, whose course is intercepted by rapids; and down these miniature Niagaras the whole products of a rich country are brought, and articles of European manufacture are likewise borne up against its rapid current.

From here large quantities of the cinchona, in its varieties of orange-colored, red, yellow and white,* are shipped; as also tobacco and hides, whilst cargoes of European goods are transported up this mountain torrent into the interior (an exceedingly rich and fertile country), of which Cali and Popayan are the chief, and very important commercial centres.

The town of Buenaventura is prettily situated; but as it never ceases raining there, it cannot be enjoyed by the traveller. The houses are thatched, and have no ceilings; and as one lies in one's hammock he may see the disgusting centipede (which is luminous in the dark) chasing the cockroach, of which he is very fond, and all of which is in no wise provocative of sleep. Snakes of course abound, and we had one or two unpleasant little experiences with them, they having established a pre-emption claim to our hammock, and once showed a disposition to dine with us. . . .

The most arduous part of our undertaking had still to be performed, and as the proper season was passing away, and

* C. lancefolia. C. cordifolia. C. oblongifolia. C. ovalifolia.

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feeling that even if poor Quijano did recover, he would not be able to stand the exposure, we resolved to undertake it alone.

Our parting was sad indeed. He, poor fellow, just sinking into the dark river, and we about passing into a wilderness seldom penetrated by the white man, unattended save by stranger Indians. . . .

Coasting along the swampy shores of Choco in a big bungo or canoe (which we had substituted for our little schooner), until, when abreast of the little port of Charambira, we pointed her in for the mouth of the San Juan, through a fearful surf, and soon found ourselves in a snug anchorage in two fathoms water.

We found the arm of the river San Juan, which we selected to ascend, to flow for many miles through a low swampy bottom, the deposit of many a century of inundation, covered with the mangrove and inhabited by myriads of alligators. This arm or caño as it is here called, varied in width from 150 to 200 yards, with a channel's depth of from 10 to 15 feet, and having a sluggish current.

Penetrating further, however, we find the river's banks to become firm, with a heavy growth of mammoth trees; the soil of a rich vegetable loam, and beneath, a strata of blue clay, followed by gravel.

Further along we come upon the mouths of smaller rivers emptying into the San Juan, one of which we penetrated by means of small canoes, and marching almost to its headwaters among the Sierra. Along the "Calirna" we find the India-rubber in great abundance, and also the gutta percha, and some magnificent growths of the mahogany; and the gold washings, if prosecuted with vigor, would doubtless prove very remunerative.

We were taken by the Indians to visit a great curiosity, which we found to be a swamp covered by what appeared to be asphaltum, and which they used to smear the seams of their canoes.

The average width of the San Juan from its mouth to San Pablo, some 300 miles, we should imagine to be one hundred yards, with an average depth of ten feet. There are some rapids, but none that would form any impediment to modern enterprise. The stratification of the river's banks beneath the top crust of mold is composed of clay, gravel, and a slaty strata, all of which bear traces of gold. Its vegetable productions are exceedingly valuable for medicinal purposes, not to mention the vast quantities of the rubber tree, the gum of which now so largely enters into commerce.

Another affluent, "the Sorruco," was also visited with great

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interest, and along its banks we found thin layers of carbonaceous strata and layers of slaty formations, also indicating the presence of coal. . . .

In spite of continuous rains and of a very high temperature, unrelieved by any cooling breeze, the climate did not appear to be unhealthy, but the confinement to canoes became very irksome, and the sand-fly was especially aggravating, and the loneliness and stillness of this primeval forest very wearisome, but still there was a variety in this very monotony. Every leaf was strange. Every buzzing insect and crawling reptile represented a phase of natural life unknown to us.

We seemed to have fallen into a different planet; and, as we tied up for the night and sat reflecting by our bivouac fire, with the sharp bark of the jackal, and the howling of the wild animals breaking the stillness, the gloom lit up by the wondrous beetle emitting its purple light, and the mammoth fire-fly, we thought that it would be difficult to separate ourselves more effectually from the outer world.

We were surprised to find the savage animals so very inferior in size. The lion being inferior in size to the North American panther, while the tiger is rather a large wild cat, and both excessively timid. Of the serpent tribe there were an endless variety; the larger ones, however, being all constrictors, one variety of which is tamed by the Indian and taught to chase the monkeys which devastate their maize patches.

Birds there are in endless variety also, and some as beautiful as those of the Eastern Archipelago. The parrot and paroquet, however, take precedence in number, and flit about in myriads. The monkeys, in some districts, are very plentiful, from the large black monkey to the beautiful little marmoset. Indeed, at times, travellers are obliged to depend upon the flesh of the monkey for subsistence, and which is really very palatable.*

The San Juan river has long attracted the attention of

* As we before remarked, notwithstanding the oppressive dampness of the atmosphere, with the midday average of the mercury at 90 Fahrenheit, there was but little sickness among the natives; and they spoke of no epidemics, with the exception of a scourge which had ravaged their tribes some years ago, and which we took to be, from the description, the Asiatic Cholera. They spoke of its approach as having been heralded by an utter absence of thunder and lightning, and attributed its disappearance to an unusually heavy electric storm. This called to our mind a somewhat similar fact in relation to the effect of electricity upon atmosphere charged with cholera poison.

In the year 1850, we were living in a town on the west coast of Mexico, when the cholera broke out with great violence. Previous to its appearance, and during its continuance, the atmosphere was murky and devoid of electricity to such an extent that even the Indians connected the disease with the absence of the usual thunder and lightning.

During all this time a large magnet hanging in our dwelling lost its power of attraction, and the steel fell to the ground. . . . . In a few weeks the sky was obscured and a furious thunder squall broke upon it—after which no case of cholera occurred. Previous to it, out of a small population, the deaths had reached ten per diem, but subsequent to it no case was reported, and, strange to say, the magnet regained its power of attraction!

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geographers and engineers as an element in the solution of the problem of an inter-oceanic canal, its headwaters, or in fact, the main river, running in close proximity to the waters of the grand old river Atrato, which is capable of floating large ships from its mouth in the Caribbean for some 250 miles inland. More recent surveys, however, have demonstrated that the rivers Jurador and Naipipi are more available, and present fewer engineering difficulties than does the San Juan. But whether or not taken in connection with that gigantic scheme, it and its affluents present a magnificent system of internal navigation through a virgin region teeming with nature's most valued productions, among which we may enumerate the rubber, the bark, the mahogany, the ivory nut and the cinnamon, as the spontaneous offerings of a virgin soil, and of whose mineral wealth we can afford evidence by specimens of gold in flake and nugget, of brilliants, of silver, lead and copper, and of cinnabar as fine as ever found in New Almaden. All this exists, and points to magnificent deposits of mineral wealth hidden among the dark recesses of the Cordillera, probably destined to be unearthed by Yankee enterprise. Mayhap the very El Dorado, in search of which Pizarro and his brave followers expended fruitlessly so much life and treasure.

Since the preparation of this paper, we have received news from the Isthmus to the effect that the placers to which I have briefly alluded, have attracted a large number of practical miners from California; and it also appears that these new diggings have awakened new interest here, and this being the case, I will briefly state the means of communication along this section of coast. . . .

Some twenty years ago, when the British steamers first commenced running South from Panama, the Company's vessels touched at the intermediate ports between Panama and Guayaquil, but drawing too much water they were taken off, and for ten years the trade languished for want of steam facilities.

In the year 1858, the speaker having, during previous explorations, obtained statistics of the trade, urged them upon the consideration of the then resident Director in Lima, Mr. Naylor, and the Board of Managers in Liverpool, who, fully aroused to its importance, took active steps, succeeded in getting a mail subsidy from the Government of New Granada and Ecuador, and finally, late in '59, despatched as a pioneer boat the *New Granada*, which, at their request, the speaker piloted down, touching at every indentation of the coast. The first voyage proved the feasibility of the project, and a monthly line of steamers has been since in successful operation; leaving Panama, we believe, on the arrival there of the steamer leaving

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this port on the eleventh of every month, and reaching the port of Tumaco in about 48 hours.

. . . . . .

Thus, as we remarked in early pages of this paper, we are actually within ten days' sail of the region which I have endeavored to describe.

ART. III.—BOYS.

SOME years ago, when we were housekeeping, and had horses, dogs, cats, fowls, a vegetable and flower garden, etc., we stood quite in awe of the boys, and would scarcely have dared to write freely about them. But it is one of the compensatory advantages of poverty, that it leaves some few vulnerable points, and relieves us of a thousand cares, apprehensions and fears. We are no longer afraid of the boys, mischievous and vindictive though they be. We never did admire or like them; and now, are not afraid to tell them so. The best of them remind us of green crab-apples; the worst, we can compare to nothing but green persimmons. Green fruit is altogether vile; and of all green fruit boys are the vilest. And then they are so long in maturing and mellowing into sober, kind, sympathetic, considerate and benevolent manhood. A single summer, or a few months, divests other green fruit of its bitter, acrid and disagreeable qualities; but it requires twenty-five years, at the least, to make a boy other than an intolerable bore,—or something far worse.

Up to puberty, "the pleasure of giving pain" seems to be the only pleasurable sensation of which boys are susceptible. After that period of life he becomes thoughtful and intensely selfish. He looks around and sees the world one grand theatre, in which all the good seats are occupied by men older than himself, and resolves, *per fas et nefas*, to occupy a good seat himself, no matter who shall be ejected. He is as impatient, and, at heart, as cruel as a hungry wolf; and by no means willing to wait for the old, in the course of nature, to die out and leave the young to take their places. Nor is he willing, by the sweat of his brow, by hard, common labor to earn a livelihood. He sees that head-work is better paid than hand-work; that cunning, caution, smooth and polished address, skillful bargain-making, and a hard and harsh dealing, make thousands, where honest labor makes a dollar. Our meritorious, aspiring, ambitious young man finds that, to succeed in life, he must enter the field of free competition, engage in the keen encounter and battle of the wits, make good

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bargains, that is, get more from others than he gives them in exchange; be punctual in performance of his contracts, even although to do so he have to oppress and wrong the widow and the orphan; and, in general, practise that degree of honesty which is consistent with policy—which is just none at all; for that man is universally most successful in life, most respected, and esteemed most meritorious, who exchanges the least possible amount of the results of his own labor for the largest possible amount of the results of other peoples' labor—no matter whether he be mechanic, or artist, or professional man, or tradesman, or whatever other calling he may pursue. Yet it is obviously true, and will be denied by none, that the man, in any community, who makes the largest gains and profits: that is, exchanges the least of the results of his own labor for the greatest amount of the results of other people's labor, is the most dishonest man in that community. Not a thief, not a robber, not a swindler, not even a cheat, but a grand exploitator, who deservedly stands at the topmost pinnacle of the scale of merit. Of merit, as it is measured by political economists and free-traders, but not exactly as it is measured in the Bible, which teaches us "to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us;" not grow rich and respectable by cheating or exploiting them.

But what other course of life would you have our highly respectable, virtuous, meritorious young man, just entering on active life, pursue? Should he become a common laborer, and, instead of cheating everybody, be cheated by everybody? Is he not the greatest of cheats who cheats himself, and thereby impoverishes his wife and children? Should he sacrifice himself to pure, abstract honesty and fair dealing, which, on close analysis is not honesty and fair dealing, and become a common laborer; be cheated, defrauded, or exploited by everybody, and lose all social standing, all respectability in pursuit of the abstract idea of pure and real honesty? No; this is to expect too much of human nature. Our meritorious young man, who resolves to live by his wits, by cheating, by exploiting, is right, because existing social arrangements necessitates his course. Yet he certainly is a very wicked, bad man, almost as bad and as wicked as the boys who practise mischief, wickedness and cruelty gratuitously, without any selfish object, but who do wrong for the mere pleasure of doing wrong.

Bad as our grown-up boys, our young men, are, they are all the while ripening, maturing and mellowing. They marry and have children, and gradually become less selfish, by loving others, and learning to live for them rather than for mere self. Finally, they often acquire wealth or independence,

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become satiated with human gore, and, like the satiated leech, let go their hold, retire from the field of competition, the battle of the wits, probably join a church, become charitable, and, like ripened and mellowed fruit, are best when fully matured and about to perish and to rot.

Old men live for others; young men live for self, regardless of the interests or well-being of others; and boys live to perplex, persecute, wrong and give as much pain as possible to every animal, whether brute or human, within reach of their wicked and cruel propensities and practices. Our boys must excuse this seeming digression; only seeming, however, for we wished to trace them from infancy to old age, to show that, bad as they now are, they should be tolerated, in hope of a better future.

Boys delight in worrying cats, hogs and cattle with dogs, in setting dogs to fighting, in stoning and killing poultry, in playing cruel, practical jokes on all men, but especially on drunken men, on negroes, and on their teachers. Even at college this juvenile propensity is frequently indulged in at the expense of the professors. Robbing gardens and orchards is another universal amusement with them. They are the terror of the farmers in the neighborhood of boarding-schools, and carry on open war by night and day with the denizens of the nearest village. They are as quarrelsome and pugnacious as dogs; and strange boys coming together, instead of extending politeness and courtesy to each other, usually initiate a quarrel, which is apt to wind up with a fight. Big boys delight in persecuting and torturing little boys, and setting them to fighting. To sympathize with, to help and assist the weak and suffering, whether human beings or brute animals, is natural to men; but human nature is but half developed in boys, and they often delight in playing cruel, practical jokes upon the weak and helpless. They tyrannize over their sisters, destroying their playthings, and teasing them in every possible way, when they are quite young, and watching their deportment in society, as they grow older, in the most suspicious way; trying to require of them, at all times, a staid and prudish demeanor, whilst their own favorites among the ladies are usually very free in their manners; for boys are shy and sheepish in female society, and admire those girls most who are easy of approach, familiar, and meet them, in forming acquaintance, more than half way. Their first loves are often cunning old maids. When a new scholar enters a boarding-school, instead of welcoming him and trying to make his time agreeable, the other scholars devise all sorts of tricks to persecute him and make his situation as painful as possible.

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The boys of neighboring villages, or of adjoining streets or sections of the same town, carry on perpetual and hereditary warfare; and the rascals care not one sixpence what unwary passenger, male or female, is knocked down by their missiles. Indeed, instead of regretting the chance shots that have hurt or wounded passers-by, who were no parties to their feud, they glory in them and exult over them exceedingly, as honorable achievements and legitimate results of their mimic war. "Many a time and oft" have we, walking along unobservant and wrapt in thought, suddenly found ourselves in the midst of one of these boyish combats, and heard the stones whizzing by us in fearful contiguity. On such occasions we always show the white feather, and get behind a tree or enclosure, or into the nearest house. We never quarrel with the boys, are really afraid of them, and would as soon raise the point of honor with a sharp dog as with a bad boy.

Boys, in a controversy, always get the better of men; they unite together double-teams on them, fight unfairly, and fight most effectively by playing cruel tricks on our property or person in the dark. Besides, it is bad enough to be overreached and maltreated by them; but still worse to be laughed at for one's misfortunes by adult friends. No matter how bad, how mischievous, or how cruel the urchins are, the world laughs at and admires their feats, provided they be done in way of fun and frolic.

An old uncle of ours said to a neighbor who accosted him: "Why, sir, this is the happiest day of my life. I have just gotten rid of my two greatest pests and torments. Mr. Madison has given Andrew a midshipman's berth in the navy, and my young stallion has broken his neck in trying to jump a fence and ditch." In fine, boys are altogether distasteful and odious to us. We can discern nothing good or agreeable about them. They remind us of sour, bitter, unripe crabs, or green persimmons.

In early infancy girls and boys develope opposite traits of character. The girl is kind, merciful, gentle and humane, whilst her brother, of the same blood and with the same training, begins to betray opposite moral qualities even from the cradle. Woman was sent into the world on a mission of mercy—to help and to comfort man; and nobly and devotedly does she perform her allotted task. Nay, she does more; for, by her association, her example and her precepts, she gradually mollifies his hard, harsh nature, and makes him a better being. It would be well that boys were never separated from their mothers and sisters. We think day-schools, where boys and girls are taught together, are much the best schools. Refine-

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ment of manners and of morals, delicacy, politeness, a general propriety of behavior, usually characterize such schools. To refine either sex, continual association with the opposite sex is necessary. We do not like public boarding-schools for boys; but we have a perfect horror of girls' boarding-schools. The "bread-and-butter" misses usually return home conceited, awkward, coarse, masculine and hoydenish, all for the want of that delicate reserve which is begotten by association with males. It takes two years at the mother's apron-string to wear off the ill effects of the boarding-school and restore the natural, soft and gentle manners of the girls.

But it is not only the manners and morals of boys and of men that are improved by intercourse with women. In most practical matters of life, man needs her counsel, for she has more of prudence and caution, nicer instincts, more intuitive sagacity, better judgment, and more wisdom than he. She exercises great influence in all human affairs, as well public as private; and were she not thus gifted, instead of being a helpmate, she would be a curse to man. We doubt not that the highest practical wisdom in the conduct of human affairs can only result from the union and interfusion of the male and female mind. Man and wife should be, and we really believe usually are, one intellectual being.

There is another aspect in which it is at once painful, pleasing, and instructive to view woman. She never speculates, never enters the field of free competition, never engages in that battle of the wits, in which deception, cunning, hard and harsh dealing alone ensure success, and win the meed of merit, reputation, and distinction. She is either supported by her parents or husband, or if compelled to work for a living, she really works and does not speculate. She, by exercising great temperance and frugality, and by laboring assiduously longer hours than man for wages not half as great as his, manages to live, to exist, to breathe; cheating noboby, and cheated by everybody. Common male laborers sustain and support all society above them, and are cheated, taxed, defrauded, exploited by all of the rich, the professional, the mechanical, the tradesmen; in fine, by all who live without labor, or who live by headwork. Yet these male laborers are cannibals, too, for they treat female laborers in their dealings no better than they themselves are treated by those above them. Woman lives an honest life, man never does if he can help it; and when by stupidity, ignorance, poverty or misfortune, compelled to live by common labor, he loses caste and reputation in society, and is considered by no means respectable.

The abolitionists of the North having rectified human rela-

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tions at the South, so far as race and color is concerned, may find time to look into the situation of common laborers in free competitive society. If they will do so, we promise them a hearty and zealous coöperation.

Negro boys differ very widely from white boys. They are much addicted to solitary stealing, but never rob or steal for mere sport, without hope or expectation of gain, unless led and commanded in the mischievous enterprise by some white boys. From mere inertia, from love of basking in the sun and doing nothing, negro boys, so far as mischief and cruelty are concerned, are comparatively harmless. We have here, at Camp Lee, where we have resided for the last ten months, about a hundred negro boys, and a more quiet, inoffensive, lazy, idle set of human beings we never saw in our life. Marbles and tops are the only games they play, and going to town on errands is the only work they do. Had they about a half dozen big white boys among them to lead them, the whole neighborhood for miles around would be disturbed and harassed by them. In all, we have some four hundred negroes at this place, who, being well provided for by the Federal Government, are a remarkably contented, quiet, well-behaved parcel of human beings. Indeed, they seem to have attained a state of perfect beatitude, which they are too philosophic to permit to be disturbed by thoughts of to-morrow.

There is here one institution, however, that cannot be too highly commended. That is a hospital for orphan negro children. It is chiefly supported by an association of Philadelphia ladies belonging to the Society of Friends. It is presided over by Mrs. Gibbons, of Philadelphia, with ability, industry, benevolence and courtesy, such as show she was the person best fitted for this charge, and that she is capable of fulfilling successfully much higher charges. There are nearly a hundred orphans in the hospital now, although Mrs. Gibbons removed thirty-two of them to Philadelphia a week ago. They were extremely sickly when she took them in hand, but are now as healthy and well-behaved set of children as we ever saw.

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ART. IV.—FOUNDERS OF THE AMERICAN UNION.—CHARLES PINCKNEY, OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

At this time, when the Constitution of the State of South Carolina—that Constitution which our fathers fresh from the fields of the Revolution, the blood still dripping from their garments, framed and bequeathed to us—has been entirely changed, her institutions subverted and overthrown; at this time, when a terrible war has proven, that the Constitution of the United States may be so interpreted as to afford as powerful safeguards from internal violence, as from external encroachments, it is peculiarly pleasant to take a glance at the life of him, whose name stands affixed as President of that Convention which framed the Constitution of this State, and who was, if not the father, at least the sponsor of the Federal Constitution.

In a late number of this Review,* we gave a hasty summary of the public services of Charles Pinckney. His long and varied political career began in the year 1779, when being just eligible, he was selected to represent Christ Church parish, in the provincial legislature, a representative of the true republican party—of those patriots who underwent the seven years' war—of those who established the Republic itself. In the succeeding year, the State was overrun by the British, and many of her citizens were taken prisoners, and after having given their parole, he, with others, was sent to St. Augustine on board the schooner *Pack Horse*, where they were detained a considerable time. A remonstrance against this act was determined upon, and though the youngest of the committee appointed for the purpose, this remonstrance was penned by him.† Thus it appears, that Mr. Pinckney's first essay was from on board a prison ship.‡

A few years after, when the tide of fortune had changed, he urged the repeal of the Confiscation Act, advocated mercy and liberality, and his speech on this occasion, which is replete with pathos, closed with this sentiment: "The victory of a republican is a triumph for his country and not for himself." In 1784, at the age of twenty-seven, he was a delegate to the old Congress, and in 1787, he was elected to the Federal Convention, called for the formation of the Constitution of the United States. Though the youngest in that august body, he has

* August Number, 1864, Article V.

† See the Republican Platform, and Addresses of 1818, where an extended review of Mr. Pinckney's services are given.

‡ Col. Balfour's Letter and the entire proceedings are preserved in "*Ramsay's Revolution in South Carolina,*" Vol. II. p. 540.

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ever been ranked among the most conspicuous of its members, in eloquence and ability. He submitted and advocated a plan of government prepared by himself, the greater part of which was adopted by the Convention, and incorporated in the present Constitution.* In the diploma, by which the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by the University of Princeton, New Jersey, it is expressly declared, that it "is conferred on account of high acquirements, learning and ability, and particularly for his distinguished services in Congress and the Federal Convention." From 1787 to 1789, he was travelling on the Continent and on his return, was elected Governor of the State. While governor, he was a delegate to, and made president of the State Convention for forming the Constitution.† In 1791 he was chosen a second time, and in 1796 a third time, governor of the State; in 1798 a senator in Congress, where he remained until 1801, when Mr. Jefferson appointed him Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain, with power to treat for the purchase of Louisiana and Florida. On his return in 1806, he was a fourth time honored with the position of Governor of the State, and he is the only citizen who has been so frequently elevated to the executive chair. From this period he retired from public life, until in 1818, when he was elected under great party excitement to the United States House of Representatives by Charleston District, and he here closed his political life with his speech in opposition to the Missouri Compromise.

Family tradition and genealogical history are the very reverse of amber, which, itself a valuable substance, usually includes trifles; whereas, these studies being in themselves very insignificant and trifling do, nevertheless, serve to perpetuate a great deal of what is rare and valuable in ancient manners, and to record many curious and minute facts, which could have been preserved and conveyed through no other medium.

Charles Pinckney professed an exquisite appreciation of the beautiful in nature and in art. His collection of paintings, statuettes, medals, etc., rendered his house almost a museum. His fine library, occupying an entire suite of three large rooms —the floors and windows of which were kept richly carpeted and curtained, while the ceilings were decorated with classic representations—is supposed to have contained near twenty thousand of the rarest and choicest books, collected from every part of the Continent, and in every language spoken in the enlightened world. We remember especially, twelve large volumes of plates to Shakespeare, and eight containing engrav-

* See Madison papers. Vol. II. pp. 766, 945, 1085, 1098, 1118, 1156, and Constitution of the United States.

† For his Propositions and Speeches in this body, see the "*Journal of the Debates of the Convention of South Carolina*," as collected and published in 1830.

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ings illustrative of the ancient mythology, of the most beautiful and expensive workmanship. The old gentleman was accustomed to receive his friends in a room so peculiarly his own, that we pause as we recall it. Two large old-fashioned, richly carved and covered chairs stood on either side of the fire-place; a table of ebony wood, inlaid with mosaic in the centre, Ben Franklin's bust over the door, and in beautiful fresco, "Ganymede flying with his Cup" on the ceiling. A heavy carved mahogany case occupied one corner, in which cake and wine were kept, which, on the arrival of a visitor, always were placed before him. The family crest and arms were inwrought over the chimney, and the splendid picture of "Lady Hamilton"—the celebrated mistress of Lord Nelson—taken as she reclines with upward gaze, her hand drawing the veil over her snowy bosom, her hair falling in luxurious revelry over her shoulders—hung over the mantel. This room overlooked a garden of the choicest flowers, guarded by a large bald-headed eagle, in which were to be seen two beautiful flamingos with their rich plumage—both presents from the dark-eyed maidens of the Moorish land. In this room Charles Pinckney's social hours were spent; here over a glass of tinto or alicant, he entertained his friends in delightful converse; here he penned those well-known essays, signed "A Republican," and at an earlier day, drew the "Plan of the Constitution." In this very house, serving a third time as Governor of the State, he entertained General Washington, in a style and manner the tradition of which has come to our day. The writer of this well remembers the gorgeous description given of it by one who was present, and in her day worthily chief among the most accomplished ladies and belles, of whom our State could boast; how the whole of the large mansion was thrown open and illuminated by lights of varied colors, which burnt night and day. The garden was arranged as a promenade, and a week was passed between the pleasures of music, dancing, and the table.

When Mr. Pinckney had the leisure, he was fond of rambling over his farm in Christ Church parish. It was a portion of his inheritance, and was obtained by his father, who was an eminent lawyer, for a fee in a large disputed land case. It was named "FEE FARM," in honor of his forensic victory. It contained about twelve acres, and was converted into a garden, and used as a place of retreat from the bustle of the town. It was a lawyer's retreat—a prize won at the forum. It was a villa in such as which Hortensius or Cicero would have felt at home, with its cellars of old highly-flavored Madeira, its fountains, its shrubbery, its artificial lake, and its fish-ponds.

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It was just such a spot as would suggest eloquence to the orator, and high thoughts to the earnest statesman. An avenue a mile long, with a grove of luxuriant oaks, led the way to the rustic residence, and just in the centre of this grove is the very spot where he (Colonel Charles Pinckney*) raised the first LIBERTY POLE in South Carolina; and it was while encamping here in command of the regiment he had raised and equipped from his own purse, that he contracted that disease which finally terminated his life in September, 1782, at the age of fifty-six years. He was buried at his villa: the name of which is now corrupted into "SNEE FARM," and is situated six miles from Mount Pleasant Ferry. At this farm, Charles Pinckney and a few friends were regaling themselves with olives, almonds, and pistachio nuts, with the light wines of Malaga and Xeres; in this villa made sacred to him by the memories of his boyhood, by the labors of his father, by the promptings of his young ambition, when he received the notification from Mr. Jefferson, in 1801, of his appointment as embassador to the Court of Spain.

We had designed and desired to place before the reader many extracts from his journal, but on overlooking the same, we find the portions now in our possession so mutilated, that only here and there can we cull anything; and these parts, Time seems to have left only to make his destruction more bitter.† The style is the clearest and simplest. It is as bright and lucid as a mirror. Its most highly wrought and sparkling embellishments, are like ornaments of crystal, which, even in their brilliant inequalities of surface, give back to the eye little pieces of the true imagery set before them. We give the subjects of some of the papers which formed the journal.

1. Dinner party at M. Talleyrand's—topic discussed—persons present. Style of a French dinner party.

* This Charles Pinckney (the father of the subject of this sketch), was President of the State Convention of South Carolina in 1775, President of the Senate in 1779, and President of the Council in 1780. We have been surprised to find that Governor Charles Pinckney (the subject of this sketch) has been confounded by some, with General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. They were cousins. At the request of several who have made the inquiry, I subjoin a limb of the Family Tree.

Thomas Pinckney,
who settled in South Carolina in 1687,
was the father of

(1.)	(2.)	(3.)
Charles,	William,	Thomas.
the Chief Justice.	Master in Chancery.	
His Sons,	His Son,	
1 Gen. Cha's Cotesworth Pinckney.	Col. Cha's Pinckney.	
2 Gen. Thomas Pinckney.	His Son,	
	Governor Charles Pinckney.	
	His Son,	
	Hon. Henry L. Pinckney.	

† A life of Charles Pinckney was prepared, and in the possession of the Hon. Henry L. Pinckney for revision and addition; with it were his valuable papers. The fire of 1861, which desolated the City of Charleston, destroyed almost everything, and this, and the former essay, are compiled from many stray notes, mutilated manuscripts and a few papers, still in our possession.

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2. A soiree—description of the several ladies with whom I conversed. The style, grace, and wit of the French.
3. A day with M. Marbois, and the Marquis. French view of America.
4. Memo. of the pictures, gardens, etc., Paris.
5. Discussion at the Club, with M. Le Roy and Charlat Arnould, on the Politics of America.
6. A view of the French Capital and the French people, as seen by an American.

These are from his journal while travelling on the Continent. The following are from the one kept while in Spain:

1. The pictures, etc., at Madrid.
2. The Court of Ferdinand VII. Description of the distinguished Donnas; the amusements of the People—the Levees—the Bull Fight, etc.
3. Reflections on the Spanish character, their rites, customs and manners.
4. The Marquis Vurico, and other State Officers.
5. The Mesta.
6. The Avricos.
7. Description of the "Court of Lions."

We give place to a loose paper found among some old memoranda, which contains a list of some of the pictures which Mr. Pinckney owned, to which, occasionally, a description is added, and is headed

"MEMORANDA OF CHARLES PINCKNEY'S PAINTINGS."

1. Halls of Justice. Alhambra.
2. Mount Vesuvius.
3. The Street Singers.

"Nature has made music her peculiar gift to the Italians, and their fine voices seem almost to give them the exclusive privilege of Song. It is said that the finest tenor voices are most common at Rome. One of the three figures in this picture is beating time on his hand with a piece of leather; he is a kind of clown, who, singing with the others, gives a comic, animated expression to the words, by his whimsical gestures. This is a trick to induce passengers to stop, and the people in the houses to appear at the windows. When the story is nearly finished, the clown goes round with his cap, and whatever he receives, is always in accordance with the entertainment he has afforded. If it happens to be dark when the concert takes place, they who throw money from the windows fold it in a paper, lighting one end before they throw it down, which points it out to the mendicant performers."

4. The Corso del Barberi (Horse Race).
8. Temple of Minerva.
9. Grotto of Posilippo.
10. Neapolitan Fishmonger.

"The dress of the man is extremely whimsical, being a brown jacket ornamented with pieces of another color, and flowers made of bits of cloth. The woman wears a short dress of velvet, edged with gold or silver lace, an apron of cloth, edged in the same manner, and a shawl of scarlet bordered with green. Her hair is gathered at the top of her head, and fastened with a ribband."

11. Return of the Vintage.
12. Moonlight Scene in Venice.
13. The Dance of the Tarentella.

"What the *Fandango* is to the Spaniards, the *Tarentella* is to the Neapolitans; and the seriousness of the former, and the vivacity of the latter, are admirably portrayed in the tunes of the two dances. The Spanish guitar is nearly twice the length of the Neapolitan, and it is this alone that constitutes the difference between them. The woman is dancing with *castanets*, which, at Naples, are called *castagnette*. The man who is dancing, holds a ribband in his hand, and with it forms a variety of attitudes, closely observed, is . . . . .

14. The Contrabandistis (Smugglers)."

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A very strange and melancholy feeling overtakes us as we search the remains of Charles Pinckney. Here is a man upon whom heaven appears to have showered its gifts. Distinguished in ancestry, possessing fine intellect, vigorous health, and large fortune,* with his political ambition fully gratified, of refined tastes and cultivation, linking his name successfully and eminently, with his day and his race, and yet, here are his memorials in a few tattered bits of paper, scarcely decipherable. His ashes are in the family burying ground. The spot is known. No stone, however, marks his final resting-place. His house in Charleston, years ago, passed into the hands of the stranger, and has been torn down. The very earth has been removed, and now forms one of the fortifications on White Point battery, erected during the late war for the defence of the city of Charleston. The library is broken and scattered. The picture of Lady Hamilton, and his own portrait, are the only two that we know of that remain of his once splendid gallery. The beautiful grounds of "FEE FARM" have disappeared, and the plough runs its furrows through the grove, and the grave-yard. The cellars are empty. The ponds are dry, the fountains are no more; its former light is quenched, its classic shade has fled.

From all that we can gather, no man of his generation surpassed Charles Pinckney in all those elegant and courtly accomplishments which so much adorned the Carolina gentleman. Few, certainly, from this State, if any, have filled with so much distinction so many public offices; none floated longer on the people's praises, or sank deeper into the people's heart. As we sit on a quiet evening, and look far into the clear blue sky, we cannot refrain a melancholy reflection on the sad vicissitudes of life. Mutability is the lot of man; change is written on everything; on the tide and the forest, on the home and the heart. Yet we would not clip the wings of Time, if we could. The Past has its memories to be cherished, its aspirations to be admired, even its faded hopes to be loved.

It is a delightful thing to be able to touch the arteries of the great public heart, to have the poor look upon you as their friend and to make the great feel that you are their equal; to be a landmark of your generation, and when life ends, to have that same public heart follow you to the grave, and throb as your bier is laid low; to make such an impress, that when the good and great of the community are passed in review, if your portrait is wanting, that community would be moved by the same sentiment that animated the Roman populace, on that occasion so beautifully described by Tacitus, when, in the funeral of

* He was the fortunate owner of seven plantations, and near two thousand negroes, with an income annually of about eighty thousand dollars.

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Junia, the procession was passing, bearing aloft the statues of their ancestors, the images of Brutus and Cassius outshone all the rest, from the very circumstance of their being the sole ones excluded from the rite.

Charles Pinckney has run his race, ended his career, and his deeds and labors are now matters of history. That history is the history of the whole country. President of the Convention that framed the Constitution of South Carolina, suggestor of the Constitution of the United States, Minister to Spain, four times Governor of South Carolina, member of the House of Representatives and of the Senate of the United States; as a patriot, statesman, thinker, orator, his acts are to be judged. His vindication or his condemnation must be referred to that high tribunal. If he has acted well or badly, the results must prove.

ART. V.—PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF COTTON IN THE WORLD.

For the following Paper we are indebted to the Secretary of the Statistical Society of New York. It was read before that Association a short time before the close of the War by the Hon. Fred. A. Conkling, and takes a wide view of the question of Cotton in all of its relations of demand and supply throughout the world.—EDITOR.

IS COTTON KING?—In a paper read several years ago before this society, I showed that the assertion, just then made by Senator Hammond of South Carolina, "*Cotton is King*," if it was intended to mean that cotton was the crop of highest value produced in the United States, was untrue. In a political sense, in the sense that the industry of both the North and of Europe was so far dependent upon the great staple that they would be compelled to yield to its command, the dogma of the South Carolinian has proved to be equally fallacious. As has been well said: "The mistake of the South lay in the supposition that men or nations are wholly governed by considerations of gain. The experience of a few years has dissipated that materialistic philosophy, and has shown that there is something above the consideration of gain, of comfort, of life even, in the estimation of the masses of men." Nor is this the only lesson taught; the world has learned that, if need be, it can supply itself with cotton, without drawing upon the South.

At no former period, has the subject occupied so large a share of the attention of those who are interested in the production and use of the article, as during the last four years. Never before, to the same extent, has it influenced the policy of the great nations; and now the condition of public affairs so clearly indicates that we are entering upon a new era in the history of cotton, that it has seemed to be a fitting occasion to bring to the notice of the society, facts and statistics which illustrate, as well the actual position, as the future prospects of the staple—not only its material crops but its political influence.

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It will readily be conceded that cotton is a necessity of the human family, as it has always been one of its luxuries. In cheapness and in adaptability to textile fabrics of various qualities, no other material has been, and it is not too much to affirm, that none will be found to take it place. From the earliest ages it has been used by the more civilized nations. Three thousand five hundred years ago when Pharaoh elevated the young Hebrew slave to the second place in his kingdom, and made him ruler over all the land of Egypt, among other insignia of royalty, he arrayed him in vestures which learned commentators inform us, were fabricated from the wool* of the Gossypium. Afterwards, when the Hebrew nation, having escaped from slavery, were inaugurating their system of sacred ceremonies, according to the specific instruction of the Almighty, in the hangings of the Tabernacle, the court and the altar, and in the vestments of the high priest a similar fabric was mingled with gold and blue, and purple, and scarlet, for glory and for beauty. These textures indicate a high state of manufacturing art, and suggest the probable abundance of coarser cloths for common wear.

While the chief office of cotton is to furnish the clothing of the human race, the article subserves a great variety of other purposes. Semi-barbarous as well as civilized men, use cotton fabrics not only for clothing, but for beds, cushions, awnings, draperies, hangings, carpets, mats, screens, curtains, tents, ropes, sails and numerous other articles. It is only necessary to allude to the political importance of our practical monopoly of the best qualities of such a necessary of life.

A point of the highest interest and importance, which the disclosures of the last four years have gone far to determine, is that in the growth of cotton, no portion of the globe can successfully compete with our Southern States. Whether for quantity of yield, or quality of fibre, the pre-eminence of our cotton lands is indisputable. That this fact is destined to exert a potential influence in repairing the ravages of the greatest civil war on record, none can doubt. Especially in the payment of the National debt, may the ability of this country to command the cotton market of the world, prove effective. In 1860, the year next preceding the rebellion, the quantity of cotton exported from the United States, according to the returns of the Treasury Department, amounted to 1,767,686,338 lbs., averaging in value 10.85 cents per pound, which is equal to the sum of $191,806,555. A duty upon this quantity, of five cents per pound, which the American staple can readily bear, amounts to $88,384,316, a sum if steadily applied, adequate to cancel the existing public debt, as officially stated, within the lifetime of the present generation.

During the last three years, the culture of cotton has been extended over a greatly augmented tract of the earth's surface. At the present moment, cotton, in some one of its numerous varieties, is

* In our translation *fine linen*—"*Fine linnen* or *silken wool*, a thing which grew in Egypt, called *Shesh*, of which princely clothing was made," "a silken cotton, which Plinie showeth to grow in Egypt on a shrub called Xylon or Gossipion, whereof soft and white linnen stuff was made, whereof the priests of Egypt delighted to weare."—*Ainsworth's Com. Ex.* 25. 4.

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probably more widely cultivated, and more universally used by man, than any other vegetable substance. It is grown, as will be seen by reference to the map, in China, Japan, a part of Australia, Burmah, East India, Persia, Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Greece, Italy, Spain, in nearly all the explored parts of Africa, in Madagascar, the West Indies, North and South America between the 40th degree of north and the corresponding parallel of south latitude, and in most of the islands of the world, which lie in the temperate and torrid zones.

CONSUMPTION OF COTTON.—The following statistics of the use of cotton throughout the world, showing in detail, the population of the various countries and their use of cotton, have been kindly furnished by our fellow citizen, Professor A. J. Schem:

Country	Cotton Wearing. Exclusively.	Cotton Wearing. Partially	Non Cotton Wearing.	Total Population.
Russian America	.....	.....	54,400	54,400
British America	.....	4,100,913	300,000	4,400,913
United States	.....	31,229,891	200,000	31,429,891
Mexico	2,500,000	5,061,000	100,000	7,661,000
Central America	1,500,000	727,000	.....	2,227,000
South America	10,000,000	11,078,743	200,000	21,278,743
Hayti	200,000	300,000	.....	500,000
Foreign Possessions	1,000,000	1,484,206	.....	2,484,206
Free Indians	50,000	150,000	119,000	319,000
Portugal	.....	3,923,410	.....	3,923,410
Spain	.....	16,560,813	.....	16,560,813
France	.....	37,472,732	.....	37,472,732
Austria	.....	35,019,058	.....	35,019,058
Prussia	.....	18,497,458	.....	18,497,458
German States	.....	17,046,137	.....	17,046,137
Italy	2,000,000	20,430,000	.....	22,430,000
Switzerland	.....	2,400,000	110,494	2,510,494
Holland	.....	3,569,456	.....	3,569,456
Belgium	.....	4,731,957	.....	4,731,957
Great Britain	.....	29,290,000	17,199	29,307,199
Denmark	.....	2,677,278	.....	2,677,278
Sweden	.....	3,780,000	76,888	3,856 888
Norway	.....	1,570,000	47,564	1,617,564
Russia	.....	65,569,391	250,000	65,819,391
Turkey	2,000,000	14,440,000	.....	16,440,000
Greece	300,000	796,810	.....	1,096,810
Ionian Isles	46,483	200,000	.....	246.483
Asiatic Russia	.....	.....	8,203,000	8,203,000
China	350,000,000	65,000,000	.....	415,000,000
East India	150,000,000	21,000,000	.....	171,000,000
Farther India	22,000,000	3,000,000	.....	25,000,000
Turkey	3,000,000	13,050,000	.....	16,050,000
Archipelago	26,000,000	3,000,000	1,000,000	30,000,000
Japan	25,000.000	10,000,000	.....	35,000,000
Tartary	.....	.....	8,000,000	8,000,000
Persia	.....	10,000,000	.....	10,000,000
Afghanistan	.....	4,000,000	.....	4,000,000
Beloochistan	.....	2,000,000	.....	2,000,000
Arabia	.....	5,000,000	.....	5,000,000
Africa	100,000,000	50,000,000	50,000,000	200,000,000
Australasia & Polynesia	.....	1,500,000	1,000,000	2,500,000
Total	695,596,483	519,656,253	69,678,545	1,284,931,281

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Thus it appears that of the twelve hundred and eighty-five millions of people now in existence seven hundred millions, in round numbers, are clad exclusively in cotton, while all but seventy millions use it to a greater or less extent. Of those who do not wear clothing of cotton, more than five-sixths, comprising fifty millions in Africa, regard any sort of covering for the body as a superfluity and accordingly dispense with it altogether; of the remainder, all but an unimportant fraction clothe themselves in the skins of animals found in the frozen regions which they inhabit.

India Cotton.—It will be shown that the annual production of cotton in East India, exclusive of the native States, is about 2,400,000,000 lbs., or 6,000,000 bales of 400 lbs. each. The quantity produced in China, cannot be less than twice as great; so that India and China together, produce no less than 18,000,000 bales annually. In view of these figures, and of the large extent of cotton-producing lands elsewhere, it is difficult to estimate the present annual yield of the world at less than 300,000,000 bales. The largest amount ever reached, in any one year, in the United States, is 5,000,000 bales. Hence it would appear that the part so long played by the American staple in the commercial world, has depended, not so much upon its quantity, as upon other causes. What then becomes of the following statement, which occurs in the Report of the Department of Agriculture for the year 1862, page 104?—"Much the larger proportion of cotton grown, is produced in this country. Seven-eighths of the entire product of the world, it has been estimated, has been reached by our increased production."

Among the most recent and careful estimates of the cotton supply in British India, is that of Dr. Forbes Watson, communicated to the Society of Arts, in March, 1857. He remarks, "There is reason to believe that from time immemorial, the cotton plant has been grown in all parts of India, and has always afforded suitable clothing for the inhabitants of that country. Not only does it serve for clothing, but it answers all the several purposes for which flax, wool, hemp and hair are employed in this country. It may be, indeed, impossible to state the exact quantity per annum thus consumed; it has been variously estimated at from 5lbs. to 20lbs. per head, for the whole population. If we assume 12lbs. as likely to be near the mark, we shall find that the present population of India, calculated at 180,000,000, requires annually 2,160,000,000 lbs.; and if we adopt Dr. Royle's average of 100 lbs. as the yield of native cotton per acre, we shall find that there cannot be less than 21,600,000 acres under cotton culture, exclusively of that which supplies the present export of raw cotton. This, on an average of the last three years, amounted to 272,000,000 lbs. (including the cotton sent to China, and all other places as well as to Britain), and this again divided by 100, will add about 2,700,000 acres to the former quantity. The total quantity of cotton grown in India, according to the above calculation, will consequently amount to upwards of 2,432,000,000 lbs., and demand for its culture certainly not less

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than 24,000,000 acres. Orme, in his Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, says: "On the coast of Coromandel, and in the Province of Bengal, when at some distance from the high road, or a principal town, it is difficult to find a village in which every man, woman, and child is not employed in making a piece of cloth. At present, much the greatest part of the whole provinces are employed in this single manufacture." Again, he observes, "The progress of the cotton manufacture, includes no less than a description of the lives of half the inhabitants of Hindostan." Another writer remarks, "The cotton manufacture in India, is not carried on in a few large towns, or in one or two districts it is universal. The growth of cotton, is nearly as general as the growth of food; everywhere the women spend a portion of their time in spinning, and almost every village contains its weavers and supplies its own inhabitants with the clothing they require." Without multiplying testimony, it may safely be affirmed, that there is more cotton manufactured *by hand* in India, than is manufactured by machinery, in all the rest of the world put together.

Since the outbreak of the rebellion and the cessation, comparatively speaking, of the supply of the American staple, East India has been the largest exporter of cotton. In 1864, she sent to Great Britain alone 1,399,514 bales. The area of land planted, last year, was greater by fifty per cent, than during the previous year; and although the season, in consequence of the absence of the latter rains, was accounted unfavorable, yet the grand total of the out-turn reached 1,948,966 maunds in 1864 as compared with 1,122,051 maunds in 1863. This great augmentation in the yield, is due, in a considerable measure, to the unprecedented care bestowed upon the crop. Mr. Forbes, of Meerut, says: "Men, women and children, are continually to be seen in the fields, weeding, clearing, loosening the earth about the young plants, and fondly contemplating the crop upon which all their hopes are this year centred." In some districts, especially in the North West, the excitement regarding cotton, amounted almost to a mania, and led the farmers to neglect the cereals, to such a degree, as at one time to threaten a famine.

Fortunes of fabulous extent have been made by all who have been largely engaged in the cultivation, or in the purchase and sale of cotton. Bombay appears to have been the centre of this traffic. During the year, sixty millions sterling, in hard cash, have been brought into that port alone, to pay for the staple. No tale in the Arabian Nights' Entertainment is more wonderful than the transformation that city has undergone. A Parsee merchant, Premchund Roychund, lately an under-clerk at £30 a year, is now said to be worth £2,000,000, or $10,000,000, in coin. Numerous other instances of rapidly-acquired fortunes have occurred. Even the ryots, the poorest and most despised of all the agricultural laborers of Hindoostan, have shared liberally in this auriferous harvest. After surrounding themselves with luxuries of which before they had scarcely dreamed, many of them are still at a loss what to do with

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their riches. Some bind their cart-wheels with silver tires; and one ambitious farmer went so far, in a recent procession, as to provide his followers each with an enormous bag of rupees, which they bore in his wake, suspended from stout poles. But even these displays of barbaric ostentation, would seem to indicate progress. From the dawn of history, the current of the precious metals has flowed unceasingly to India, which has proved to be the Dead Sea of the treasure of the world. It is known that for a hundred generations, the common people have buried their gold and silver; and that in this way most of it has been irretrievably lost.

To us who, just now, feel so sensibly the evils of an inflated paper currency, it appears curious that in Bombay, where paper, as a circulating medium, is unknown, an analogous condition of things should exist. Between a plethora of coin and a diminished production of grain, rice, and other edibles, the necessaries of life have risen enormously in price; houses and lodgings keeping pace with the advance. Persons of fixed income, find it impossible any longer to live in the city. Englishmen are constantly separating themselves from their wives and families, because they are unable to maintain them in Bombay. There are actually subalterns and even captains in her Majesty's army, who cannot afford to have butchers' meat on their table, more than once a week. Accordingly a general increase in the salaries of all persons, in both the civil and military service, is loudly demanded.

The notion has long prevailed that, in the manipulation and weaving of cotton, the Hindoos excel the Western nations. We are told that the use of the finger and thumb of the Indian spinner, carefully and patiently applied to the formation of the thread, and the moisture at the same time communicated to it, are found to have the effect of incorporating the fibres of the cotton more perfectly, than can be accomplished by our most improved machines. Who has not read of the gossamer tissues made at Seconge, in the Province of Malwa, which are so fine that when a man puts them on, his skin shall appear as plainly as if he was quite naked, and all of which are appropriated by the Great Mogul and the principal lords of his court, for the garments of the sultanas and noblemen's wives; or of the robes worn by Hindoo ladies, so delicate in texture, that they may be drawn through an ordinary finger-ring; or of the muslins of Decca, denominated in Oriental hyperbole, "breezes of heaven," "webs of woven wind" and the like, which when laid upon the grass and the dew has fallen upon them, are no longer discernible? Finally one traveller, less imaginative perhaps than the rest, tells us of a piece of cambric woven of thread so attenuated that 29 yards of it weighed only a single grain, making 203,000 yards to a pound avoirdupois; that is 115 miles 2 furlongs and 60 yards. Now it so happens that we have it in our power to meet this statement on its own ground, and to demonstrate, incontestibly, the superiority of the civilized man over the Hindoo. When the society of churchwardens of Nancy desired to present an embroidered robe to the

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Empress Eugenie, they procured it to be made at Tarare, the threads being number 480, and the amount of raw cotton used for it being half a kilogramme, or one and one-tenth pounds. If, says M. Andiganne, the threads used for this robe, and coming from so small an amount of material, had been extended in a line, it would have reached 480 kilometres, or 120 leagues. Thus it will be seen that if, from a pound of material, the Hindoo is able to produce a thread 115 miles long, the Frenchman, with his machine, can, from the same quantity, produce one 265 miles in length!

But whatever may be said of the skill of the Indian spinner and weaver, we know that the Surat cotton of commerce is shorter in fibre, and that, for the most part, it comes to market in a worse condition than any other—a result which might reasonably be expected, from the fact that the appliances used for cleaning it, are essentially the same as those employed for centuries before the Christian Era. According to Knight's English Cyclopedia, "at a time when the price of this description of cotton ranged in the Liverpool market from 3½d. to 4¼d. per lb., that of the United States 'uplands' of corresponding grades, range from 4⅜d. to 7¼d. The reason for this difference" the writer observes, "was that the East India article was so dirty that 15 ozs. of fibre would only yield 12 ozs. of yarn, whereas an equal weight of 'upland' would yield 18½ ozs. of yarn."

Mr. Henry Ashworth, the President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, at the annual meeting held in January last, remarked in reference to the falling off of the cotton importation, "that the employment had increased in a greater ratio, by reason of the inferiority of the staple, which was principally from India, and has required a much larger number of hands to manipulate a smaller quantity of cotton. Hence the fifty per cent. of cotton consumed, had employed between 50 and 70 per cent. of the hands; and if we were to receive another fifty per cent. of cotton, it must be obvious that there were only 30 to 40 per cent. of hands to work it." Mr. Maurice Williams of Liverpool remarks that the present supply in the United Kingdom will lose at least ten per cent. in the process of manufacture, more than in the years when the bulk of the stock came from the United States. Within the last year, most of the machinery in the cotton mills in England has been altered in order to adopt it to working the shorter staple cotton of the East. Still a considerable admixture of cotton of longer fibre, such as is obtained from this country, Egypt and Brazil, is essential, in order to impart to the yarn the requisite degree of strength. So far as the condition of the Surat cotton is concerned, an essential improvement may reasonably be looked for. Mr. Martin, speaking of the influence of the land tenure in India, upon the cultivation of the crop observes: "The minute subdivision of landed property has no doubt the effect of preventing the accumulation of capital, and thereby the means of purchasing cotton, cleaning and pressing instruments; but private com-

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panies are springing up all over the country, and providing the necessary apparatus to the trading classes."

Cotton in China.—In the absence of accurate information respecting the internal condition of China, all estimates of her production and consumption of cotton must be, in a great measure conjectural. Nieuhoff, who visited that empire in 1655, says that cotton was then cultivated in great abundance, the seed having been introduced about five hundred years before. Other writers affirm that the introduction of the plant into China, was contemporaneous with the conquest of the country by the Mogul Tartars, which took place in the year 1280. All travelers concur in the statement that nearly the entire population is clothed in cotton. Mr. Cook, who in the year 1857, was sent by the *London Times*, as a correspondent to China, and whose letters, which have been published in a volume, abound in commercial statistics, says: "Every morning throughout the Chinese Empire, there are three hundred millions of blue cotton breeches drawn over human legs. Men, women, and children alike, wear them. My coolie says that his cost him two hundred cash (equal to 25 cents in coin), but that he is obliged to have a thick quilted pair in winter, which cost him one thousand cash." One of the early Jesuit missionaries who visited China, says: "We did not meet with a single flock of sheep on our land journey."

Toward the close of the eighteenth century, the Chinese began to import cotton-wool from India and the Burmese territories. A famine which occurred about that time, induced the government to direct, by an imperial edict, that a larger proportion of land should be devoted to the cultivation of grain. The importation of raw cotton from India, has continued ever since, and of late years has amounted to about one-half of her entire export. This relation is now changed. China has become an exporter of cotton, and as such holds the second rank, coming next to India. The returns contained in the "Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom," published officially in 1864, show that between 1856 and 1862, a period of six years, the quantity of raw cotton imported into Great Britain from China, amounted to 8,960 lbs., which is an average of only four bales per annum. Last year the importation reached 399,074 bales, besides which large quantities of the article were sent to France and to the United States.

Cotton in Egypt.—After China, in the scale of cotton-exporting nations, comes Egypt. Prior to the year 1863, her shipments of the staple to Great Britain, were so limited in amount as not to be thought worthy of a separate mention in the official returns. Yet in 1864, the amount received into the United Kingdom from Egypt, amounted to no less than 257,102 bales. Notwithstanding the high antiquity of the culture of cotton in Egypt, and its manufacture into cloth, it is not a little remarkable, that prior to the year 1821, the crop had been almost wholly abandoned. In that year M. Jumel, a Frenchman, laid before the Viceroy all the advantages which

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would arise from its production; and from that date its cultivation, under the encouragement of the Government, has become one of the principal branches of agriculture. Here, as elsewhere, the new stimulant of high prices has had its full effect in augmenting the breadth of land planted. What is perhaps quite as important, in its bearing upon the future, is that, owing to the judicious exertions of the Viceroy, the farmers, unlike those of India, have been induced to invest a large share of their surplus profits in steam plows, gins and other labor-saving implements. Since Nubar Pasha has been appointed minister of Public Works and Commerce, he has had the railway under his control, and goods are now forwarded with rapidity—so much so indeed, that the merchants complain that too much cotton is accumulating at Alexandria. It is stated that the arrivals from the interior at that port, amounted in one week to 30,300 bales. In the first two weeks of this year, the receipts of Egyptian cotton into England amounted to 21,000 bales, against 16,250 bales for the whole of January, 1864; and a fleet of over fifty steamers, engaged in carrying cotton from Alexandria, is likely to have full employment for the greater part of the year.

Brazil Cottons.—Fourth in national rank, as regards the export of cotton-wool, comes Brazil, which for many years prior to the year 1862, has sent a larger quantity of the staple to the United Kingdom, than any other country, with the exception of the United States and of East India. For some reason, the increase in the import from Brazil, during the last three years, has not kept pace with the shipments from the Eastern countries.

Previous to the year 1861, when the slave-holders' rebellion assumed the form of open war upon the Government, the United States had annually furnished the countries of Western Europe, with six-sevenths of all the cotton they consumed. From that period, we have been steadily but rapidly sinking in importance, until the year 1864 found us fifth in rank as regards the exportation of cotton.

Progress of Cotton Culture in the United States.—The rise and progress of the cotton culture in this country, is the most wonderful in the history of agriculture, ancient or modern. The earliest record of sending cotton from this country to Europe, is in the table of exports from Charleston in 1747–8, when seven bags were shipped. In 1764, William Rathbone, an extensive American merchant in Liverpool, received from one of his correspondents in the Southern States, a consignment of eight bales of cotton. This lot, on its arrival, was seized by the custom house officers, on the allegation that the article could not have been grown in the United States, and that it was liable to seizure under the shipping act, as not being imported in a vessel belonging to the country of its growth. When afterwards released, it lay for many months unsold, in consequence of the spinners doubting whether it could be profitably worked up. In 1792, the quantity of raw cotton exported from the United States was 138,328 lbs., no manufacture of cotton goods having been attempted in America for many years after that date.

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Such was the state of the cotton culture in the United States, when in 1793, Eli Whitney—a native of Massachusetts, who, after completing the study of the law at New Haven, had emigrated to Georgia, to practice his profession—invented the cotton-gin, a machine for separating the seed from the fibre. This invention of a Northern man, conferred an almost incalculable benefit upon the planters of the South. A process which before had been performed at an immense sacrifice of time and labor, was now effected almost instantaneously. In the year 1800, the export of cotton from the United States, reached 17,789,803 lbs., and in 1860 as has already been stated, it rose to the enormous sum of 1,767,586,338 lbs., valued at $191,806,555. The whole production of the year last named, including of course the home consumption as well as the quantity exported, amounted, according to the United States census returns, to 5,196,944 bales, which reduced to pounds makes the yield 2,078,778,600 lbs.

In the absence of trustworthy data, the estimates of the quantity of cotton now remaining in the Southern States, have ranged from one million as high as six million bales. The facts which are known, seem to favor the supposition that the stock on hand is not much short of four million bales, or in other words, that the yield of the year 1861 remains substantially intact.*

Extension of Cotton Culture Northward.—Since the commencement of the war, the area of the cotton culture has likewise been extended far northward, so as to include no inconsiderable portion of the territory of the free states. Unfortunately, so far at least as official sources of information are concerned, we are left in almost total ignorance of the results. Large appropriations of money have been made by Congress, to be expended by the Department of Agriculture for the procurement and distribution of seed, and in the employment of traveling or other agents; and earnest efforts generally, have been made by the government at Washington, to foster the planting of cotton in the middle latitudes of the country. In the Report of the Department for the year 1862, a brief space is taken up by a disjointed and superficial discussion of the subject; but in that of the following year, and in still more recent publications, we look in vain for light—a fact which furnishes a significant commentary upon the administration, or more properly speaking, upon the mal-administration of the Department.

Anterior to the War of the Revolution, cotton was regularly planted for domestic purposes, on the eastern shore of Maryland and in the southern part of Delaware. Thirty years ago, it was profitably grown in the Wabash valley and throughout southern Indiana and Illinois. But with the opening of the cotton lands of Arkansas and Texas, the conviction became general that the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude—the line which divides South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, from North Carolina and Ten-

* An immense over-estimate as the results have shown. We therefore omit the calculations which support this estimate.—Editor.

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nessee—constituted the limit of profitable culture. Accordingly the production north of the line referred to, gradually fell of, until by the year 1861, it had dwindled into comparative insignificance. But when the price rose above fifty cents per pound and continued to advance, until finally, on August 24, 1864, it reached $1 90 per pound, for the grade known as middling, a sufficient inducement was found to encounter the hazards and accept the more limited and precarious returns of a higher latitude. Hence the crop has been cultivated, during the last two or three years, not only in Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri, but likewise in Kansas, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Delaware and even in the southern part of New Jersey.

From the Report of the Department of Agriculture for 1862, it appears that, up to that time, the following was the result of these attempts at the northern limit of the new field of production. In Kansas and Southern Illinois the experiments were attended with a degree of success commensurate to the skill of the farmer. With a proper selection and preparation of the ground, followed by intelligent and industrious cultivation, the result achieved was gratifying—giving the assurance that cotton-growing is the most lucrative business in which the agriculturist can at present engage. At a public meeting held in Lyons county, in Kansas, for the purpose of promoting the cultivation of cotton, it was stated that 1,500 lbs. of unginned cotton could easily be grown to the acre, and instances were named in which even a higher rate of yield had been obtained. At Cresco, Anderson County, a product of 300 lbs. of clean cotton was secured at an average outlay of twenty-five dollars per acre. From Champaign County, in Illinois, through which the 40th parallel of latitude runs, it was ascertained that up to October 20th—the date of the first frost—no bolls were open, and yet a sufficient quantity came out after frost to pay the expenses of cultivation. In Clay County, Indiana, the plants did not mature in consequence of a wet season. A manufacturer at Wilmington, Delaware, with some seed from Southern Virginia, started his plants in a hotbed, and set them out about the middle of May in a poor clay loam. They grew to the height of five feet, producing good strong fibre, "quite as good cotton," he says, "as the manufacturers in these parts commonly use." No data have been furnished for computing the aggregate of cotton raised in the section under consideration; but it may be assumed that the yield has at least been equal to the home consumption of that portion of the new field of cultivation which lies westward of the Alleghany Mountains.

Future Price.—The question of the future price of cotton, as has been already shewn, directly concerns the whole family of man. In our own country its recent enhancement in value has fallen, with aggravated severity, upon the industrial and poorer classes. So far as the interests of humanity are concerned, there can be no doubt that, in the main, they will be promoted by the reduction of the cost of the staple, to something like its normal standard.

The trite commercial maxim that the price of an article is de-

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termined by the relation of the supply and demand, would seem to be eminently applicable to the subject matter under consideration. What then is the supply on hand and what contributions are likely to be made to it in the future? The occasion does not admit of extending the investigation of this subject beyond Great Britain, which, as representing more than one-half of the consumption of cotton in Christendom, may properly be taken as the type of the whole. First, then, of the stock on hand at Liverpool:

	1865	1864	1863
Week ending Feb. 11,	536,660 Bales.	234,860	394,370.

The increase of the stock in port during the last three months, has been rapid and progressive. On December 2d, 1864, it amounted to 383,800 bales, and on the 3d inst. it reached 589,000 bales, being an excess of 350,000 bales over the quantity on hand at the corresponding date of last year, at which time the stock, small as it was, was still decreasing. The stock remaining at Liverpool on February 11, 1865, was greater than at any period since February, 1861, when the price of American Middling was 7⅜d. per pound, against 22½d. this year.

Second, of the future additions to the stock:

Months elapsed after the fall of Fort Sumter, before even the people of this country could be made to realize that the differences between the North and the South were irreconcilable, and consequently could only be referred to the arbitrament of the sword. In England, the notion was for a long time widely prevalent, that there would be an amicable dissolution of the Union. Even the galling disaster at Bull Run failed to awaken her people from this delusion. As soon, however, as the conviction was brought home to the ruling classes, that a great war was inevitable, and, as one of its consequences, that the supply of cotton from this country was certain to be greatly curtailed, if it was not entirely cut off, with characteristic promptness and energy, they set about preparations to meet the crisis. Statesmen, ambassadors, consuls, merchants and manufacturers vied with each other in efforts to this end. Nothing that individual or associated endeavor, backed by unlimited pecuniary resources, could accomplish, was left undone. Some conception of the magnitude of the work undertaken, may be formed from the following minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Cotton Supply Association, held in January last:—

British Efforts in Competition.—At a meeting of the Executive Committee, held on the 3d, a letter was read from Tortola, West Indies, containing grateful acknowledgments for the aid rendered by the association to the cultivation of cotton in that island, and stating that the writer, who has already shipped 3,500 lbs. of cotton, expects this year to be able to ship 15,000 lbs. A letter from the Kingston Cotton Company, which was established in May, 1863, for the purpose of testing the cultivation of cotton in Jamaica, and to provide employment for the boys and girls attached to the reformatories at Kingston, states that there have been seasonable rains

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which have made the Sea Island cotton look very promising, and that handsome returns are anticipated, if not again blighted. In some parts of the island the long drought has been very injurious to most kinds of Jamaica products. The report states that Cuban or vine-seed cotton has begun to give a second crop, and that five bales are ready for shipment. The second crop from this seed, however, does not seem so good as the first; the bolls are smaller, and the cotton of an inferior kind. It has, therefore, been resolved to clear away the first-year plants from some of the fields, and to sow fresh seed, with a view to determine whether the vine cotton will ratoon, or whether it will be more profitable to plant fresh seed for each succeeding crop. A letter forwarded by the Bombay Government was received from the commissioner in Scinde, detailing the results of an experiment made with Peruvian cotton in the different collectorates of that province. It is stated that the experiment was made in so unsystematic a manner that it is impossible to arrive at any decision as regards its failure or success. In one case, in Kurrachee, the produce, though small, was pronounced by the Chamber of Commerce to be superior to Candahar cotton, which is the best that comes into that market. Experiments were made also at Hydrabad, Halla, Mahomed, Khan's Tanda, and Shikarpoor. The results, though as yet unsatisfactory, indicate the adapability of the Scinde climate and soil to the Peruvian cotton; but a more decisive opinion will be formed from the crops of the present year. A letter was read from the Vice-President of the Anatolian Cotton Commission, Smyrna, stating that the commutation of tithe on cotton is working fairly in those parts, and that the Government has redeemed its pledge. The crop is turning out better than was expected, except in the northern districts.

A report on the cultivation of cotton in Greece, forwarded by the Foreign Office, was received from her Majesty's minister at Athens, which states that the cotton crop this year is expected to yield about 10,500,000 lbs. The price of labor has increased, but there is every probability that cotton cultivation on a considerable scale will eventually be established on a solid and durable footing in Greece. Consular reports were received from the Foreign Office on the cultivation of cotton in Panama, Maracaibo, Madagascar, Reunion, Galatz, Brussa, Smyrna, Jaffa, Trebizond, and Manilla. The area planted with cotton in the State of Panama has increased from 137 acres in 1863 to 550 acres in 1864, and the produce which in the former year, was 45,000 lbs., is expected to be in latter 500,000 lbs., and still further progress is anticipated this year. In the State of Zulia (Province of Maracaibo), Venezuela, 2,400 acres have been planted with cotton this year, and the produce, which was 7,000 lbs. in 1863, is estimated to be this year about 13,400 lbs. The probabilities of an increased production cannot, in the least, be doubted; and if pecuniary assistance could be obtained, immense tracts of land would be brought under immediate cultivation. The cotton grown in this state from exotic seed obtained a high price in the

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Liverpool market. In Madagascar, the quantity of cotton at present grown is very small, of short staple, somewhat resembling that of the West Indies, but the production might be greatly increased by the introduction of foreign seed, and by care being bestowed on its cultivation. The present defective system of local administration is a serious hindrance, the produce being at the mercy of the village chiefs. About 2,000 acres are believed to have been planted with cotton. Reunion has at times produced samples of cotton of finer quality perhaps than any place in the world, and of a class highly appreciated in France; but, though a considerable extent of land was planted in 1863, the yield was so bad and so small as to make it unworthy of notice, and little or no progress has since been made. Her Majesty's consul at Galatz reports that in his district but little seed has been sown, and owing to the weather being unusually wet, the plants were either neglected or abandoned altogether. The recent emancipation of the peasants had made the landlords entirely dependent on paid labor, and but little disposed to turn their attention to cotton, and for some years but little will be done in this direction. Her Majesty's consul at Brussa states that much of the cotton planted did not come forward from cold and rainy weather in May, but what was re-sown gave good promise, and was partly in course of being gathered when, in October, an unparalleled inundation occurred.

Though hopes were entertained of copious crops from New Orleans and Egyptian seed, a return of cold weather makes it doubtful whether there will be any gathering; and accounts from other parts of the district of Hodovendakian, are of similar import. In the consular report, dated Smyrna, Nov. 30, it is stated that the quantity realised is as yet unknown, although it must be far below the anticipated amount, owing to the late continual rains. A larger extent of land will be prepared for cotton this year than last, as the result is far more profitable to the cultivators than any other agricultural produce, and the farmers have found out the localities favorable to the growth of cotton, and can guard against future disappointments. Gins and presses are at work in the interior at Minimen, Magnesia, Aidin and Baindir. The cotton exported from the port of Smyrna during 1863 was in value £1,674,536. From Jaffa some fine pods of cotton were received, grown there from American seed by his Majesty's consul, and which present a striking contrast to the bolls from indigenous seed. The example exhibited in the consular ground has had the effect of proving to the cultivators of the district the great advantage of growing this description of cotton. A gin was placed at the disposal of the consul to encourage his further efforts. Her Majesty's consul at Trebizond reports that Persia will send to that place, in the course of the winter, 40,000 bales of cotton, equal to 4,000 tons; and that Georgia will likewise export 20,000 bales, equal to about 1500 tons. The consular report from Manilla states that cotton is but little cultivated in the Philippine Islands, tobacco having the preference, the Spanish

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Government possessing a monopoly, and being determined to promote its growth in the different provinces.

As the result of these combined labors, and with the all-powerful stimulant of high prices superadded, a large increase of production, everywhere except in the United States, may be anticipated. The following estimate of the receipts into the United Kingdom, during the current year, appears to have met with general acceptance in the best informed circles:

	Actual import in 1864.		Estimated import in 1865.	
From India	1,399,514	bales.	1,500,000	bales.
" China	399,074	"	600,000	"
" Egypt	257,102	"	357,000	"
" Brazil	212,192	"	250,000	"
" America	197,776	"	200,000	"
" West Indies, &c	59,645	"	100,000	"
" Smyrna and Mediterranean ports	62,053	"	93,000	"
Total	2,587,356	"	3,100,000	"

Last year the importation of cotton into Great Britain (see Annual Trade Report on Cotton, dated Liverpool, Dec. 31, 1864), was equal to 901,850,000 lbs. weight, against 682,810,000 in 1863, 535,001,500 in 1862, 1,260,325,900 in 1861, 1,417,374,800 in 1860, 1,191,055,300 in 1859, 1,018,130,000 in 1858, and 974,287,900 in 1857. The quantity imported in 1864 was equal to the average amount consumed in 1857, 1858, and 1859, when the prices of American cotton were only 7d to 7¼d. per lb., while now they are 18¾d. to 21d. per lb. The prospective supply for 1865, after deducting 800,000 bales for export, is equal in weight to 1,010,000,000 lbs., while the consumption in 1860, before the great falling off in the export from this country, was 1,083,600,000 lbs. in weight. It is conceded on all hands, that previous to the war, the markets of the world had been overstocked, and that the cotton-spinners of England had over-manufactured themselves. All authorities agree that if the then rate of production had been continued much longer, a panic of the most disastrous kind must have been the inevitable result. This accounts for the difference, so long continued, between the price of the staple in the manufactured and the unmanufactured state. The same condition of things, it will be recollected, existed here. As late as the close of the year 1861, and after the price of the staple had begun to advance, the quotations for many descriptions of cotton fabrics were lower than they had been for a long time previous. The increase during the year referred to in the price of the raw material was however inconsiderable—the average cost of the staple, according to the returns of the Treasury Department, being 11.07c. per pound against 10.85c. in 1860, and 23.30c. in 1862.

The overthrow of the rebellion and restoration of the national authority, by at once liberating the cotton held in the southern states and throwing it upon an already glutted market, must, in its immediate result, work a great reduction in the price. Opinions differ as to the extent of the consequent depression, but intelligent men every-

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where recognise the bearing of these events upon the market of the world. "The question," says Mr. Williams, of Liverpool, "which appears most likely to influence the immediate future of cotton is —How long will this American war last?" Mr. W. C. Plowden, Secretary of the Board of Revenue, to the government of the North-West Provinces, writing from India under date of 24th October last, says, the rumors of peace in America had disturbed prices throughout the country. Mr. Hume, the collector of Etawah, in his circular addressed to the cotton-growers of India, holds substantially the same language. The *European Times*, in an article on "Cotton and its Prospects," remarks:—"The ultimate solution of the question (of price) must depend in a great measure upon the course of events on the other side of the Atlantic, and for these events we must patiently wait."

The more permanent consequences of peace have likewise been made the subject of much speculation. Mr. Hume, in discussing the question "How far the East India Cotton Trade is likely to be affected by the re-establishment of peace in America?" says, in reference to this country:—"The conditions of their labor market, their internal economy and political relations, have so vastly changed that, even if peace were made to-morrow, they would never, I believe, regain that supremacy in the English cotton market that they once enjoyed. Their prices would be higher and their exports smaller." The "Friend of India" in December last, used the following language:—"That the Southern States of America will ever be able to produce as much cotton as heretofore, even were peace concluded immediately, is fairly open to question. The slave population has been much disturbed, and it is possible that the South will, in the present crisis, destroy the Northern pretence for the war, by itself abolishing slavery, and thus taking from the North that powerful support in England which their supposed anti-slavery crusade has brought them. If the South had done this long ago, it would have been better for them; and probably their labor market would have been but little thinned, though doubtless it would have affected it in the future. On the other hand, they could easily have obtained abundance of free labor.

Future of the South.—The views thus expressed, which may be regarded as embracing the conclusions of the great majority in Europe, are worthy of serious consideration. Should the war terminate at once, the necessity would arise for re-organizing the industry of the South. The enslavement of the negro must cease with the return of peace. The transition from slavery to freedom, it is to be hoped, will develop new power in the colored man; but time will be needed to adapt him to his new condition. Besides we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there has been a great reduction of numbers in the colored population of the South. Nor can we doubt, with the recently inaugurated policy of recruiting the wasted ranks of the rebel army from the negroes, that the process will go even more rapidly in the future. Indeed, it would seem that if the war

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is to be protracted, one of its consequences must be the extinction of the colored race within the Southern States.

How then is the industry of the South to be built up? I answer by Immigration. No sooner will the national flag be unfurled in the South, than millions from both the North and from Europe, who have shunned her slave-trodden fields, as they would the shade of the Bohan Upas, will rush to occupy her deserted but enfranchised lands. and will develop her resources as they never were developed before, Even the blasted wastes of slavery, revivified by the touch of Liberty, will again be made to blossom as the rose. The first year of peace, in all human probability, will witness the accession of a million of freemen to the population of the South, bringing with them, at once, the economies, the improved processes and greater producing powers of intelligent labor. Before two years shall have elapsed, it is safe to predict that America will resume her former supremacy in the cotton market of the world, never more to be deprived of it.

Even should peace be deferred, it is certain that, between the extension of the area of cultivation, in that portion of the Southern States which, of late, has been wrested from the rebellion, or to which repose has been given by the progress of our arms, the operations of legalized trade with the rebels, and the captures made by our victorious legions, an increased quantity of the staple, estimated by some at 1,000,000 bales, will this year be brought into market.

Future Demand for Cotton.—The demand for the staple remains to be considered.

It is a maxim of universal application that the increase of the cost of an article tends to diminish its consumption. Besides the enforced economy, incident to an exorbitant price, various causes have conspired to abridge the demand for raw cotton. Owing to the dearness of textile fabrics composed exclusively of that material, those made of wool, or of wool and cotton combined, have, to a large extent, especially in the colder climates, taken the place of the former, for the purpose of clothing. It is perhaps, likewise, worthy of remark, that the practice which formerly prevailed to so great an extent, of clandestinely mixing cotton with silk, wool or linen, in the fabrication of various descriptions of goods, has been almost wholly abandoned. In numerous branches of manufacture, which formerly consumed large quantities of cotton, other fibres have supplanted it. Conspicuous among the branches referred to, are those of sail-cloth, cordage and carpeting, in all of which, hemp and flax have, in a great measure, been substituted for cotton. Altogether, it is safe to affirm that the demand for the staple, since 1860, has fallen off considerably, and that the tendency at the present moment is to a still further diminution. It follows that although the United Kingdom was able, in the year referred to, to consume 1,083,000,000 lbs. of raw cotton, 1,010,000,000 lbs., the computed supply of 1865, will be in excess of her wants.

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Thus, it would seem that between the greatly augmented supply of cotton, and the diminished demand for its use, nothing can long delay a great reduction in its market value; while it is quite probable that an early restoration of peace, will, temporarily, carry the price to a lower point, than it has ever yet reached. The same grade of the staple which, in August last, brought $1.90 per pound, is quoted, in the newspapers of this morning, at 66c. per pound, showing an average monthly decline of 18c. A continuance of the same ratio of depreciation, for a few months longer, will bring fabrics of cotton, once more, within the reach of all of us.

Did time and the reasonable limits of such a paper permit, some of the topics which have been referred to, might have been discussed at more length; but enough has been said to show that the subject is of the greatest interest and importance to Americans. This silken wool of the fertile South, is only one of our numerous great staples. First among equals, it moves in harmony with all our commercial and agricultural resources. While the assertion that Cotton is King, in the arrogant sense of the southern planter, has been proved to be false, by the terrible logic of the last four years, still it must be admitted, that viewed in the light of its influence in the councils of nations, in the marts of commerce, and among the comforts and luxuries of domestic life, Cotton has a power and a dominion, that belong to no other product of the field. Like our popular sovereignty, it wears no crown and has none of the ostentation and exclusiveness which hedge a king, yet its sway is growing only the more resistless, as it has been rescued to freedom and as its influence is spread over the whole surface of society and is felt in the business and bosoms of the universal people of the world.

ART. VI.—LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN DE WITT.

"Intaminatis fulget honoribus."

WHILST United States Consul to Amsterdam for many years prior to the recent American war, the writer found great satisfaction in consulting the archives at the Hague, where he discovered much valuble material in relation to the career of the grand pensionary, John De Witt and the eventful times in which he lived. Believing that a paper upon the subject would be interesting to the readers of the REVIEW, he offers the following with the remark that it relates, undoubtedly, to one of the greatest characters that ever figured in history, and perhaps the most stubborn adherent of republicanism. It was owing to his genius as a statesman that a small and weak power was raised to the highest rank, and humbled the pride of its proudest rivals. Even England was constrained to sue for peace whilst a Dutch fleet burned the shipping in the Thames.

The independence of the seven united provinces of the Netherlands takes its date from the peace of Westphalia, in the year of our Lord 1648, when Philip the Second of Spain renounced his claim to the supremacy which he had previously exercised over them. As early as the year 1581, the Deputies of the United

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States had assembled at Amsterdam, and declared in their manifesto those principles that are now considered fundamental in all free countries, to wit:—That the prince is made for the people, and not the people for the prince. That the prince who treats his subjects as slaves is a tyrant, whom his subjects have a right to dethrone when they have no other means of preserving their liberties. That this right particularly belongs to the Netherlands, their sovereign being bound by his coronation oath to observe the laws, under pain of forfeiting his sovereignty.

The illustrious subject of this memoir, who was destined to become a martyr in the support of these principles, was born on the twenty-fifth of September, A. D. 1625, in the renowned city of Dort. His father, who had exhibited great fortitude in the troubled times of the republic, in consideration of his high capacity, was promoted to the honorable post of a Burgomaster. He was also entrusted with diplomatic business by the States-General, which he discharged much to his own credit and greatly to the satisfaction of the Assembly; but his untiring zeal did not save him from a close imprisonment in the castle of Louvestien, the common receptacle of state criminals who refused to obey the arbitrary edicts of a tyrant, but which has been converted by the sufferings of a Grotius, a Barnevelt, and a host of other worthies, into a sanctuary of martyrs.

John De Witt indicated precocious signs of that extraordinary genius which burst forth in a blaze of glory at its meridian, but was doomed to go down in a sea of blood. His teachers complained that he knew more than they, and proposed him as a model for all youthful aspirants. He early developed a strong passion for the law and the mathematics, in which he composed a treatise on curves, which displayed ingenious and novel views, much to the delight of his master, Des Cartes. But his ruling passion was for the control of public affairs. He was highly accomplished in what were then styled the seven liberal arts. After finishing his academical course at the University of Leyden, and taking his degree as Doctor of Laws, he traveled into foreign countries. On his return, he was created Counsellor Pensionary of his native city, in his 25th year, and soon after was elected Grand Pensionary of Holland and West Friezeland. To crown his happiness, he espoused a lovely damsel, Miss Wendela Bikker, a grand daughter of a Burgomaster of the famous city of Amsterdam.

This painful and laborious charge prohibited him from holding any other office while engaged in the service of the republic. He was required to be entirely neutral in the settling of difficulties betwen the cities, towns and colleges in Holland, as well as those of other countries. He could neither give counsel nor accept any pension or favor from any foreign state or prince, under any pretext whatever. He was in a special manner enjoined to exercise all his authority in preserving unimpaired the privileges, rights and customs of Holland. He was required to make a regular report, to be

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submitted to the States-General, on all matters which concerned the public welfare. He was required to have a vigilant eye upon the financial interests of the state, and although he was not permitted to regulate or in any way dispose of them, he was required to give his counsel and opinion when called upon by any member of the Assembly. He could hold a correspondence with the ambassadors of the state in foreign countries, but he was strictly forbidden to have any written or verbal communication with any king, prince or ambassador, either within or without the country, concerning the secret affairs of state, unless he was expressly authorized by a resolution of the States. For these and other powers and duties too numerous to mention, he was rewarded by a small annual pension and the thanks of the States-General. His office was to continue for the space of five years, but he was eligible to a re-election on being confirmed by a majority of votes. But in the event of his being discontinued, he could not be employed in the service of any other state out of the Province of Holland without the consent of the States of Holland and West Friezeland.

At the time that our hero took command of the ship of state, the public affairs of Holland were in the most embarrassed condition. From the commencement to the tragic end of his career, this able pilot had to encounter storms that would have overwhelmed a statesman who did not possess a genius of inexhaustible resources, and a fortitude that could not be shaken by any reverses.

In Holland, as in other countries, there were two great parties engaged in a constant struggle to obtain a predominating influence in the conduct of public affairs. These were the partizans of the Prince of Orange, or the Orange faction as it was called, who desired to enlarge the powers of the Stadholder, and the States-General—a kind of oligarchy, who were in favor of curtailing his authority, or at least of checking the inordinate ambition of one who might be tempted to destroy the balance of power by an undue exercise of the rights and influences invested in that responsible position.

The immense losses which they had suffered from the piracy of their ships in the Mediterranean and the East Indies, and the heavy debts they incurred by the wasteful expenditure of the last Stadholder, would have sunk into despair any nation that was not endowed with the indomitable patience and perseverance of the Dutch. But, in addition to this, they had to wage a protracted war against England, with the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, at its head. The Protector having put to death the grandfather of the young Prince of Orange, very naturally cherished a mortal hatred against that illustrious house, and would never have terminated the war unless the States-General would expressly stipulate in the treaty of peace that the Prince would be excluded from the Stadholderate, a dignity which the descendants of their great ancestor had always considered their hereditary right. The act of exclusion declared the heirs of the house of Stuart to be enemies to the throne, and

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charged all who were engaged in restoring it as guilty of high treason.

The differences which had been brewing for some time between the two republics at length came to an open rupture, and in the commencement of the year 1652 the States-General published a manifesto, setting forth the injustice of the English, and ordered a medal to be struck, on one side of which the Dutch Republic was represented as a youthful warrior holding a pike with the cap of liberty on its point, and surrounded with the arms of the seven United Provinces, all bound to each other. On the reverse of the medal was engraved a rock in the midst of the sea beaten by the waves. The English also proclaimed their reasons in justification of the war, and having recalled their ambassadors from each other's territories, they put to sea with a large armament. Admiral Blake commanded the English fleet, consisting of twenty-six vessels. The Dutch fleet of forty sail was commanded by Admiral Tromp, who was accompanied by Vice-Admirals De Ruyter, De Witt and Evertzen.

The commanders-in-chief were the very personification of their respective countries. Blake possessed an ardent and fiery genius, and was always disposed to make the attack, while the phlegmatic Tromp defended himself by a slow but sure sagacity, which generally enabled him to conquer his adversaries. No sooner were the two fleets in sight of each other than the signal of battle was given. They engaged in a deadly struggle, which ended in the loss of six of the finest English ships, which were sunk by Tromp, while Blake narrowly escaped from being captured by De Ruyter. The loss of this battle gave much chagrin to Cromwell, and he immediately despatched orders to Blake to renew the battle, in these words:—"Lord Admiral, I command you and your brave companions to drive back those bull-frogs into their marshes, and do not suffer them to importune you any longer with their croaking."

The effect of this message was to excite Blake to such a pitch of impatience to revenge himself for his defeat, that he flattered himself that victory was now certain. But the second engagement was more unfortunate than the first; for in a few moments after the fleets met, the sea was red with the blood of the slain. The smoke from their cannon so darkened the skies, that they could scarcely see the mutilated bodies of their enemies. After a hot fight, which continued for five hours, without either party getting the better of the other, Blake received a severe wound in the thigh, which put his whole fleet in such disorder, that they fled to their own coasts, and left the Dutch masters of the sea.

The news of this second victory created a universal rejoicing in the United Provinces, and at the same time spread great consternation in England. Cromwell lost his usual impassibility, but concealing his mortification as well as he could, he devoted himself to the equipment of a new fleet for the next year. He enlisted all the seamen who were in the different parts of the kingdom, and raked

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and scraped all the vagabonds in the streets of London, with all possible diligence. Blake, who had recovered from his wound, again took command, thoroughly resolved to repair the dishonor of the arms of the Republic.

In this engagement the Dutch had, at first, the advantage, but the wind being favorable to the English, they were able to single out the Dutch ships, and destroy or sink them in detail. Their fleet being equal in other respects, the contest continued for many hours, and was waged on both sides with unusual vigor. Tromp was at last killed with a musket ball, which so disheartened his men that they availed themselves of the night, which was setting in, to retire with their shattered vessels to their own shores. Thus perished one of the most distinguished naval commanders of ancient and modern times, after having been engaged in more than thirty battles, in which he was always victorious. But he willingly sacrificed his life rather than survive a defeat which tarnished the glory of his former victories. He was buried with great pomp at Delft, where a splendid monument has been erected to his memory.

The Dutch having lost their Admiral, and a considerable portion of their fleet, resolved to make peace with Cromwell, although on terms by no means advantageous to themselves. Four ambassadors were sent to London, who concluded a treaty in the following year. The treaty required the Dutch vessels to lower their flags when they met an English ship. It further required the States-General entirely to abandon the interests of Charles the Second—and that they should make a formal declaration of it to the crowns of Denmark and Sweden. Cromwell undertook, moreover, to attempt a design which he had long cherished—to incorporate Holland with England. His plan of incorporation was, to make the two republics one state, which was to be governed by a sovereign and free parliament, to which the United Provinces should send their deputies like the different provinces of Great Britain. But the proposal was rejected, the Dutch preferring their own form of government, and justly fearing that Oliver's protectorate would afford them that sort of protection which the wolf gives to the lamb.

The Prince of Orange, who afterwards became so illustrious as William the Third, of England, was at this time only three years old. The masses of the Dutch people, who were devoted to the House of Orange, suspected that the act of exclusion was agreed to by the States-General at the instance of the Grand Pensionary, who was opposed to the elevation of the young prince to such a responsible position. In their defence, the States-General proclaimed that the province of Holland, by virtue of its sovereignty, could pass the act of exclusion. That in doing so, there was no breach of the union and amenity between the province of Holland and Zealand. And that there was no breach of the general alliance between the United Provinces. And that the said exclusion was not contrary to any precedent resolution. That in a free republic no individual could claim high offices by the right of birth; and that the

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exclusion of the prince was not contrary to liberty. That the act deprived no one of any lawful prerogative; and, finally, that places of trust and dignity should only be bestowed upon those who were worthy and capable to discharge their duties faithfully.

The Dutch ambassadors returned to the Hague amidst the liveliest manifestations of joy, on the part of the citizens of London. Some of the provinces murmured that these proceedings were conducted without their knowledge or consent; but De Witt is said to have made a powerful and pathetic address, which succeeded, for a time, in reconciling them to the terms of the treaty. He soon after availed himself of his first leisure moments to prepare a report on the financial condition of the country, which at once displayed his marked ability as a statesman. The object of the measure was, to reduce the rate of interest on large sums of money which the last Stadholder had been compelled to borrow, in order to defray the expenditure of his brief though profligate administration. The mother of the young prince being displeased that her son should be deprived of his titles and honors, by the act of exclusion, submitted a remonstrance to the States-General upon the subject; but De Witt's civilities and attentions to her, so far won her regards and respects, that she even consented to permit him to become his tutor. He also gained much applause by the tact and skill which he displayed in settling disturbances between Sweden, Poland and Denmark, on the question of maintaining a free navigation of the North Sea. By recommending rigorous laws, he at the same time succeeded in putting an end to the barbarous custom of duelling, which had victimized some of the noblest and bravests spirits of the land. The differences between the provinces of Holland broke out with increased animosity, in the year 1657. The inhabitants in Tergoes rebelled against their magistrates—those in Groningen against the Stadholder; and in Overyssel one city was opposed to the other. This civil war was conducted with such bitter animosity, that they were compelled to refer their differences to the Grand Pensionary and the Burgomaster of Amsterdam, who succeeded in restoring the belligerents to their ancient friendship.

The reign of Richard Cromwell was brief: and no sooner was he deposed, than the English parliament proclaimed Charles the Second their legitimate king. Charles had been wandering about the continent for many years, in exile, but had recently sequestered himself at Breda, where a deputation of five hundred noblemen and gentlemen was despatched to escort him back to his native country. The States-General also requested him to do them the honor to become their guest on his passage through the Hague. He was followed by a cortege of a hundred and fifty carriages, drawn by six horses splendidly caparisoned, accompanied by pursuivants and outriders. The stately procession marched in great pomp to the Hague, where they were magnificently entertained for several days. On the morning after his arrival, the Queen of Bohemia, the Duchess-Dowager of Orange, the foreign ambassadors, and Council of State, headed by

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the Grand Pensionary, called to present their congratulations. His Majesty, who excelled in the courtly accomplishments of bowing and scraping, received them graciously, and thanked them for their cordial salutations. De Witt was appointed to deliver an address, in the name of the States-General, to which the king responded, in committing his sister and his nephew to their protection. Soon after, he was escorted by the whole court, and an immense crowd, to a small fishing town, called Schevening, where he embarked for England amidst the deafening shouts and cheers of the multitude. But so sudden are the vicissitudes in this mortal life! No sooner had he reached England, than he received the mournful intelligence that his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, and his sister, were suddenly taken off by the small-pox. The death of the princess was sincerely regretted, and by none more than the Grand Pensionary, to whose guardianship she had committed her infant son. De Witt executed his trust with the most scrupulous fidelity, notwithstanding the hostility which arose between them at a later period, when the elevation of the young prince to the Stadholderate seemed to be necessary, in order to avert the calamities that had befallen the country.

Charles was welcomed home with the most tumultuous rejoicings; but soon forgetting the hospitalities of the Dutch, and abandoning himself to pleasure, he delivered the reins of government into the hands of one of the most profligate cabals that ever controlled the destinies of England. Under various plausible but flimsy pretexts they persuaded him to declare war against Holland. It was pretended that they suffered great wrongs and indignities by the subjects of the United Provinces, who obstructed their commerce. The English seemed to entertain the idea that they had a sort of divine right to a monopoly of the sea. The Dutch, who were at this time the most industrious and wealthy nation in Europe, had, in a great measure, monopolized the carrying trade of the world. They had amassed immense riches by the herring fishery, in which they surpassed all others in quality, and especially in their manner of preserving them. They had also pursued the whale fishery on the coasts of Greenland and Labrador, and had there come in contact with the English, who claimed the whole trade to themselves. Their navy, too, had become so formidable as to excite the envy of their neighbors, who were resolved to contest with them who should hold the trident of the seas. The still more frivolous pretext of De Ruyter's refusing to lower his colors when he passed an English ship, was urged as a reason why the two nations should appeal to arms, to decide the justice of their cause.

The Duke of York, who mortally hated the Dutch, and who was ambitious of displaying his valor, was violent in arousing the spirit of the nation to revenge themselves for their imaginary wrongs. The Dutch Ambassador in London urged every argument to avert the dire calamities of war, but the court put the whole blame upon the Dutch; like Æsop's wolf, who charged the lamb with disturbing the

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clear stream, although it was manifest that he had drunk of the troubled water far from its source.

"But who can turn the stream of destiny,
Or break the chain of strong necessity."

On the first day of the year 1665, the curtains of the bloody tragedy were uplifted. The Dutch immediately placed themselves in a posture of defence, and ordered Admiral Opdam to protect their coast with a numerous fleet. The English followed their example, and captured and confiscated many of the enemy's ships, which had been compelled to take refuge in their ports from the storm. During the engagement, Opdam was blown up with the ship which he commanded, and thus one of the main supports of the Dutch navy was taken away. The Duke of York and Prince Rupert fought with great bravery, but three of their lieutenants, Lords Falmouth, Muskerry and Portland, were killed by a single cannon-ball. Some of the Dutch captains were promoted for their gallant conduct, several were declared infamous, and sentenced to dismission from the service, and had their swords broken, while others were banished from the country, after having been exposed to public derision with ropes around their necks.

Up to this time, the Dutch received a severe check, but were by no means disposed to give up the contest. A new fleet was fitted out, with Admiral Tromp in command. He was the son of the famous admiral who contemptuously hoisted a broom to his mast-head, to indicate that he had swept the channel clean of his enemies. Contrary to the advice of his friends, De Witt volunteered to enter into the service as pilot, "to guide the whirlwind and direct the storm." It was represented to him that his enemies would take advantage of his absence to involve the State in further embarrassments; but he replied, that the preservation of his person and his happiness depended upon the safety and prosperity of the state, and that the good or ill success of a second naval contest would either make or mar them; that the sailors had enough courage, but that they wanted the necessary discretion to enable them to come off victorious.

He at once applied himself with indefatigable zeal to inspect and supervise the affairs of their whole marine, and his intuitive genius discovered several defects which had escaped the penetration of old and experienced admirals. The difficulty was to get their ships out of the harbor of the Texel, as the winds were contrary, and they were surrounded with sand-banks upon which the breakers ran high. The marine experts pronounced their egress impossible, but De Witt was determined, by a bold mathematical calculation, to make the attempt. After studying the matter, he found that of the thirty-two currents of wind, there was only one that was favorable. With the plumb-line in his hand, he sounded the most dangerous places, and remarked that in those spots where the water was lowest, it was seven fathoms deep. Thus the whole fleet rode out triumphantly to

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sea. The place has retained the name of *De Witt's Deep* to this day. Their fleet was soon after joined by the division under command of De Ruyter. The whole fleet was composed of ninety-two vessels, upon which there were more than four thousand pieces of cannon, and fifteen thousand sailors, besides three thousand foot soldiers who had heretofore served only on the land. A portion of them was despatched to the coast of Norway, to intercept the English vessels that were on their return from the East Indies. De Witt had given instructions that in case of any of their vessels being captured, they should cast into the sea whatever printed documents or other writings they might have on board. The advanced squadrons of the Dutch fleet sailed towards Bergen, and found that there had been an action between several English vessels and a convoy of ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company, in which the former were repulsed with considerable loss. A violent storm arose, in which the Grand Pensionary narrowly escaped being shipwrecked. His ship was old and leaky, but he behaved with the greatest intrepidity. While exposed to the pelting of the storm, he piloted the ship with his own hands, his Argus eyes watching every motion of the sailors, and his voice animating them to the discharge of their duties. He occasionally engaged the fleet in grand sham battles, and pointed out many errors in their manœuvres, which tended greatly to increase their vigilance in taking advantage of the enemy.

The kings of France and Denmark were not idle spectators, but resolved to enter into an alliance with the States. The plague and fire broke out about this time in London, which carried off about a hundred thousand inhabitants, and laid in ruins a considerable portion of the city. This threw a damper on the ardor of the English, but did not prevent them from continuing the war. The overture which they made to enlist the king of Spain in alliance with them, was entirely unsuccessful, so that they were compelled to call for the aid of the little Bishop of Munster, an ambitious prelate who pocketed a large subsidy to enable him to revenge himself on the Dutch, but soon concluding that "discretion was the better part of valor," he abandoned the alliance and retreated to his own dominions. It is said that his sending a stupid Benedictine monk, as his ambassador to the English court, was considered as ominous of disasters. Sir William Temple was sent to Munster to negotiate a treaty, and considering that it was his first debut in diplomatic life, he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the government, but said that between boar-hunting and wine-bibbing, they came very near being the death of him.

The French fleet under the command of the Duke of Beaufort, sailed from Toulon, and soon after effected a junction with the Dutch fleet, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts made by the English fleet to prevent it. On the 1st of June, Vice Admiral Sir William Berkley was killed, and his ship captured. Admiral Evertzen was killed, but in consequence of a heavy gale, the cannon balls of the Dutch failed their aim, and lodged in the sails and rigging. On the second

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day, Tromp and De Ruyter joined their forces, and battering to pieces two-thirds of the enemy's fleet, compelled the remainder to take refuge on their own coasts. The veteran Albemarle and the gallant Ossory behaved with their usual bravery in effecting a retreat, which was considered to be more glorious than a victory. Sir George Aisoue having struck upon a sand-bank, was captured and confined in the Castle of Lovestein. On the day following, the battle was waged with desperate valor on both sides, but night intervening, it was impossible to say which party gained the victory. A quartrain by a Dutch poetaster would seem to entitle them to that honor, which, being interpreted, signifies that the Dutch claimed the surface of the ocean, but the English had an indisputable title to the bottom of it, a considerable portion of their fleet having been consigned to that region.

The States appointed a day of thanksgiving, which was celebrated with bonfires and illuminations throughout all Holland.

The subject will be further discussed in the pages of the REVIEW.

ART. VII.—AMERICANS IN LOUISIANA.

THE following are the concluding pages of the introductory chapter of Judge Gayarre's unpublished volume upon the American domination in Louisiana. They will be found to contain much interesting material in regard to the early troubles in Louisiana, and in an especial manner, to the administration of Governor Claiborne, the early slave trade, finances, militia, etc., etc.—EDITOR.

Nothing is more apt to produce discontent in any community, than the want of a circulating medium; and when a discontent exists from any other sources, nothing is more powerful in contributing to bring it to its climax, than this very cause. So it was in Louisiana at this time (1804). The distress in the province had become very great from the scarcity of money. The flow of silver from Vera Cruz, which was so refreshing under the Spanish Government, had ceased with the change of domination, and Spain had shown no prompt disposition to redeem a large quantity of paper, which she had set afloat in the late colony, under the name of "Liberanzas," and which had fallen into considerable depreciation. It became necessary to find a remedy for the evil, and Claiborne sought it in the establishment of a bank, styled: "The Louisiana Bank," with a capital which was susceptible of extension to two millions of dollars. Were the people pleased? Not in the least. On the contrary, this measure created lively apprehensions. A bank! such an institution was unknown to the primitive population of Louisiana. Many thought that it would turn out to be nothing else than legalized robbery. Was not the bank to issue paper money? And had they not already greatly suffered from the depreciation of French and Spanish paper? What better results could be expected from American paper? They believed it to be the renewal of what the "assignats" had been in the worst times of the French Republic. Hence, the general impression was, that the country would be ultimately ruined, rather than benefited by this newly devised plan of relief.

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The militia had been quite a respectable corps under the Spanish Government. Laussat had, partially and with considerable difficulty, succeeded in bringing it together during the twenty days of French rule in Louisiana. Claiborne had also attempted to retain it in existence, but at last it had become entirely disorganized. On the other hand, most of the individuals who were flocking from all parts of the United States, had eagerly formed themselves into companies of various denominations, under the cheerfully granted patronage of Claiborne, who hoped that it would stimulate some of the natives to follow such an example. But such was not the case. They stood apart, and looked with sullen displeasure on these new military associations, to which they were keenly hostile. Resenting the conduct of the late colonists, the Americans showed, perhaps, a want of policy in parading, more than was necessary, through the streets of New Orleans, with ostentatious display, and with what was supposed to be an expression of defiance. The dissatisfaction was universal, a more marked estrangement from the new order of things ensued, and a line still more distinct was drawn between the two populations.

At last the dissatisfaction rose to such a pitch, that it manifested itself in open and public acts. In the name of some of the most influential merchants in the city, and of the wealthiest and most respected planters in its neighborhood, a public meeting was called for the 1st of June, in which it was unanimously determined to apply to Congress for the repeal of so much of their late act as related to the partition of Louisiana and the restriction to the importation of slaves. It was further resolved to ask for the immediate admission of Louisiana, in its original entirety, to the Union, in accordance with what was deemed the obvious intention of the treaty of cession. A committee was appointed to prepare and submit to the next public meeting, the draft of a memorial to Congress. That committee was composed of Jones and Livingston, Americans; Pitot, a Frenchman, and Petit, a Creole. The second meeting, which was held in the beginning of July, was much more numerous than the first, and an enthusiastic approval was given to the report of the committee. Twelve individuals were chosen to circulate copies of it in the parishes, and to procure the signatures of the most notable inhabitants, without forgetting at the same time to collect voluntary contributions for paying the expenses of the deputies who were to be sent to Washington City, with their list of grievances and their memorial for redress. The third and last meeting took place on the 18th of July. A deputation of three was resolved upon, and its members were Derbigny and Suave, natives of France, and Destrehan, a native of Louisiana. It is evident that, in this choice, the Louisianians were guided more by their sense of outraged dignity and violated rights, than by prudential considerations of policy. Violent prejudices were to be removed; and, in order to obtain that object, three deputies, with French habits, French minds and a French tongue, could not be called a judicious selection.

On the 1st of October, the territorial organization went into opera-

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tion, as prescribed by Congress in their act of the 26th of March, with Claiborne as Governor, and James Brown as Secretary of the territory. On the 18th of August, Mr. Madison had written to Claiborne that the continuance and conduct of the Spanish officers at New Orleans justly excited attention; that, in every view, it was desirable that those foreigners should be no longer in a situation to affront the authorities of the United States, or to mingle by their intrigues in the affairs of the territory; and that the 1st of October, the day fixed for the inauguration of the Territorial Government, would be an epoch which might be used for letting it be understood that their stay, "so much beyond the right and the occasion for it," was not seen with approbation, leaving the mode and manner of the intimation to the discreet judgment of the Governor. In answer to this communication, Claiborne wrote on the 5th of October: "There is no doubt with me, but that the Spanish officers encourage the discontents which arise here," and on the 9th, he hastened to communicate to the Marquis of Casacalvo, the late Governor of Louisiana, the instructions he had received from the Secretary of State in relation to his desired departure, and that of his followers. The high-toned Spaniard appeared surprised at the churlish treatment extended to him and to his subordinates. He replied with cool superciliousness, that his master's interests required his presence in the province, and that he could not leave it without being recalled by the authority which had sent him.

An able pamphlet written in French and entitled "A sketch of the political and civil situation of Louisiana, from the 30th of November 1803, to the 1st of October, 1804, by a Louisianian," had been widely circulated and had produced so great a sensation, that Claiborne thought it of sufficient importance to make it the subject of a special communication to Madison. This pamphlet contained a complete review of the grievances of which the Louisianians complained, and the tone of moderation and conviction in which it was conceived, added to its force and effect. It attacked unsparingly the conduct of the American Government and some of the acts of Claiborne. But, at the same time, it spoke respectfully of that magistrate's character, and rendered unequivocal justice to the integrity and to the purity of his intentions. This is the more remarkable from the fact, that the excitement then prevailing among all the classes of that population for whose perusal it was intended, had been carried to its utmost point of intensity. Claiborne's communication to Madison is an elaborate vindication of himself against the charges set forth in the pamphlet; and if not a successful argumentative refutation, it is at least a positive denial of many of the assertions contained in the accusation. His defence seems imbued with the spirit of a man who is conscious of having done nothing but what was right; and in perusing it, the reader can hardly refrain from coming to the conclusion that the Governor, whether correct or not in his views, was at least in earnest, and believed in the truthfulness of every line which he wrote.

On the 19th of October, as an instance of the inflammable temper of

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the population, Claiborne informed Madison, that a private affair—the caning of a Frenchman in the street by an Englishman—had nearly produced a very serious affray, in which the Americans had sided with the Englishman, and the French, or those of French extraction, with his adversary. "This city," he said, "requires a street police; the inhabitants are of various descriptions, many highly respectable, and some of them very degenerate. Great exertions have been made, and with too much success, to foment differences between the native Americans and the native Louisianians; every incident is laid hold of to widen the breach and to excite jealousy and confusion; the intrigues of certain late emigrants from France, and of some of the satellites of the Spanish Government, have tended considerably to heighten the discontents in this quarter. The fact is, that the affection of many of the Louisianians for their mother country are warm, and others seem attached to the Spanish Government. I have to complain also, of some of the native Americans. They are rash and very imprudent; they give inquietude to the Louisianians, and trouble to me. The present state of things mortifies me excessively, but I hope that good order will be preserved."

Another of his communications to the Secretary of State contains these sagacious observations: "Although there has been much discontent manifested in New Orleans and its vicinity, yet I do not believe that the dissatisfaction is of a very serious nature, or that it is extensive. That some difficulty should have attended the introduction of American government and laws was to be expected. On every change of dominion, discontents, more or less, invariably ensue, and when we take into view the various and rapid transitions and transfers which have taken place in this territory, we may indeed, felicitate ourselves on the great share of good order which has been preserved. When despotism reigns, silence, produced by fear, is viewed as the test of contentment, and a tame submission to injustice as proof of the public sanction. Had an administration, rigid, coercive, and unjust, been introduced into the ceded territory under the authority of the United States, I am persuaded there would have been less murmuring and a delusive appearance of popular approbation. But under a mild and just government, which admits of freedom of speech and of opinion, the man, indeed, must be little acquainted with human nature, who would expect to find in Louisiana union in expression and sentiment."

On the 3d of November, Claiborne felt much perplexed on hearing that two hundred Frenchmen, who had been prisoners of war to the British Government, but who had successfully risen against their captors on the high seas, had entered the Mississippi, with the design of coming to New Orleans. Considering the condition of the country, Claiborne thought they would turn out to be very troublesome guests, and sent them a peremptory order not to proceed any further. But the Frenchmen had no idea of going back to sea and being captured again by the British. They easily found their way to New Orleans, where, in a few days after, "they proved," wrote

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Claiborne, "unworthy members of society, and disturbed the harmony of our community."

The arrival of these two hundred Frenchmen had produced some degree of agitation, which was greatly increased by another incident. On the 15th of November, the Sheriff had received an order to hold to bail, Captain Manuel Garcia, a Spanish officer, at the suit of C. B. Morgan, who was a native of the United States, and who had been employed as a surveyor for Spain in West Florida. For some cause or other, Morgan had been arrested by the Spanish authorities on Spanish ground, and, with the property in his possession, had been put on board of a ship commanded by Manuel Garcia, and bound to Pensacola. On her way through the lakes, the ship anchored at the mouth of Bayou St. John. Morgan made his escape to New Orleans, and applying to Governor Folch of Florida, who was then in that city on his way to Pensacola, sought to obtain restoration of his property, which was detained on board of the ship. But the application not having been attended to, Morgan had recourse to judicial process against Garcia, who also happened to come to the city, and against whom a writ was issued. The whole city was thrown into commotion. Garcia refused to give bail, and the Sheriff, when he attempted to arrest that gentleman, was resisted by a number of infuriated Spaniards with drawn swords. In a short time, a very large and excited crowd had assembled round the house in which Garcia was, in order to protect him. Finally, however, he surrendered to a detachment of United States troops.

The Spanish authorities were much excited by this outrage, as they considered it, and the Marquis of Casacalvo wrote to Governor Claiborne a letter, in which he expressed his feelings of indignation, and maintained that Captain Garcia could not be made liable on American territory for what he had done by the command of his superiors in the Spanish dominions. Claiborne was no less irritated by the tone assumed towards him, and returned a spirited answer, in which he said: "The court is independent, and not subject to my control. If the arrest of the officer be illegal, the court will certainly direct his liberation. I cannot perceive in this transaction any just cause for the agitation which has been displayed on the part of your Excellency and of Governor Folch. Your Excellency conveys to me expressions which are derogatory to the government which I represent, as well as personally offensive to me, and I learn with regret, that Governor Folch has used a language equally exceptionable. No threats of this nature, you may be assured, can induce me to swerve from my duty, and permit me to add, that the power does not exist which can *shake* the authority of my country over this territory." A long correspondence ensued on the subject between Claiborne and Casacalvo, and it was at last agreed to leave the case in the hands of the judiciary.

But as soon as one difficulty was settled, another would spring up, and Claiborne was never allowed to enjoy long, any degree of undisturbed tranquillity. Thus he had hardly got rid of the Garcia con-

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troversy, when another arose between him and Casacalvo, in consequence of his refusing, as American Governor, to carry into execution judgments which had been rendered against certain individuals by the Spanish authorities. Casacalvo bitterly complained of this refusal, which made it impossible for him, he said, to collect "the arrears of the king's revenues." At last Claiborne put an end to it by saying to the marquis definitely: "I have only to add, that in all cases of this nature the courts of this territory are open to you, and are vested with the power, no longer in my hands, of redressing any grievances which you may have occasion to complain of."

Another source of tribulation to Claiborne was the necessity of soon preventing altogether, that slave trade to which the colonists had been accustomed, and which could not continue under the new order of things. It was a task which, had he been so disposed, it would have been impossible for the present, to perform strictly and effectually. Negroes were daily smuggled into the territory in every direction. At the North, Claiborne was accused of conniving at the trade, and had to defend himself against the imputation. In a communication to the President he said: "The searcher of all hearts knows how little I desire to see another of that wretched race set his foot on the shores of America, and how from my heart I detest the rapacity that would transport them to us. But, on this point, the people here are united to a man. There seems to be but one sentiment throughout the province. They must import slaves, or the country is ruined forever. The most respectable characters could not, even in my presence, suppress the agitation of their temper, when a check to that trade was suggested." Claiborne contended that, under such circumstances he was not authorized to act without precise instructions, which he had not yet received.

Duponceau, a Frenchman, who subsequently obtained great celebrity in Philadelphia as a jurist, Kirby, and Provost, a stepson, I believe, of Vice-President Aaron Burr, were appointed judges of the Supreme Court. Dominick Hall was commissioned District Judge of the United States, Mahlon Dickins, District Attorney, and Lebreton D'Orgenois, Marshal. Duponceau declined, Kirby died before taking his seat, and Provost opened the court alone on the 9th of November.

On the 27th of that month, the peace of New Orleans was disturbed by a quarrel between the city militia and the troops of the United States, arising from a feeling of jealousy which had sprung up between them, and Claiborne was again called upon to settle this difficulty, on formal complaint laid before him by the City Council against Lieutenant Wilson, the same who, at the head of a detachment of the United States troops, had arrested Garcia. A court-martial had to be convened, which took cognizance of the charges brought by the city authorities against the lieutenant, and the affair was finally settled, not without leaving, however, very bad feelings on both sides.

The President had with great judgment selected to compose the legislative council, thirteen of the very best citizens of the territory.

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But the most influential among them spurned the nomination. This refusal on the part of those gentlemen to take their seats, had considerable weight with the other members, who held back in dubious suspense without declining, but, also without accepting. Two months nearly elapsed and no council could be formed, notwithstanding the incessant efforts of Claiborne to soothe and conciliate the refractory tempers he had to deal with. What was to be done in this perplexing emergency? It happened that the President, not knowing the first names of the persons he had selected, had contented himself with designating them by their surnames in a letter to Claiborne, and had sent blank commissions to be filled on the spot. Claiborne, thinking himself authorized by the necessity of the case, and anxious to avoid the mischief which would have resulted from further delay, assumed the responsibility of appointing other individuals in the place of those who had declined. In this way, a mere quorum was obtained.

Claiborne sent to that body an appropriate message; but it is a curious fact, that, when thus going through the solemnity of opening, with commendable dignity, and with apparant reliance on those whom he addressed, the first legislative assembly in Louisiana, Claiborne was aware that there was among the population, very little faith in the duration of the system of government which he was gravely introducing to their supposed grateful acceptance. This is proved by his communication of the 11th of December to Madison: "The President's message," he said, "has been translated into the French language, and I will take care to have it circulated among the people. It will tend to remove an impression which has heretofore contributed greatly to embarrass the local administration—to wit, that the country west of the Mississippi would certainly be re-ceded to Spain, and perhaps the whole of Louisiana. So general has been this impression, particularly as it relates to the country west of the Mississippi, that many citizens have been fearful of accepting any employment under the American Government, or even manifesting a respect therefor, lest at a future time, it might lessen them in the esteem of Spanish officers. This opinion as to the re-cession has been greatly encouraged by the Marquis of Casacalvo and Governor Folch, who are really so uninformed of the strength of the United States, as to suppose that the Spanish monarch could readily acquire and maintain possession of Louisiana, and I doubt not but they have made such representations to their court."

Towards the end of December, the elements of discord which had distracted the country, seemed to come to a temporary truce, and to be disposed to allow the expiring year to make its exit in peace from the stage; for Claiborne wrote to Madison on the 31st: "I have never witnessed more good order than at present pervades this city, and as far as I can learn, the whole territory. I discover also, with great pleasure, the existence of a friendly understanding between the modern and ancient Louisianians. The winter amusements have commenced for several weeks; the two descriptions of citizens meet frequently at the theatre, at the balls, and other public places of

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amusement, and pass their time in perfect harmony." But this roseate hue which had spread over the horizon, flattering Claiborne with halcyon days, was soon to give way to the darkening shades of a stormy sky. Claiborne had suffered himself to be blinded by a pleasing delusion. The discontent which was rankling in many hearts was too deep and bitter to be soothed by the occasional amenities of social intercourse in the public places to which he refers. The discontent arose from the feelings which were proof against the fascinations of the ball room, the attraction of theatrical performances, the bewitching influence of musical entertainments, or the sparkling bowls of the festal board. It was not long before Claiborne discovered that his hopes of a quiet administration were to be frustrated.

In the meantime, the Legislative Council had gone to work. The territory was divided into twelve counties, with an inferior court for each, composed of one judge, and the practice therein was provided for, as well as in the Superior Court. Suits were to be instituted in the form of a bill in chancery. These words: "A bill in chancery," grated strangely on the ears of the old inhabitants of Louisiana. What was meant by chancery? What was a bill in chancery? The attempt to enlighten them on the subject would have been ludicrously futile; hardly any one would have understood the explanation, or would have cared for it. The definition of crimes and the mode of prosecution in criminal cases according to the common law of England were adopted, and were not more intelligible to the population. Common law! What was it? They were told that it was "unwritten law." Unwritten law! That, indeed, was something new under the sun, for those who had always been governed by precise laws, regulations and ordinances. How could law be unwritten? Where was it to be found? They were answered: "It was that law which derives its binding force from immemorial usage and universal reception in England." Is it to be wondered at if they shook their heads in utter bewilderment? But when it was added, for a clearer elucidation of the matter, that they might, if they pleased, take it to be "a body of rules, principles and customs, which derived their authority and sanctity from their filtration for centuries through the thick strata of successive British generations, and which, originating in nature, justice and equity, or local customs, was only to be evidenced by the record of judicial decisions, scattered through hundreds of volumes written in a language which they did not comprehend, the only distinct impression which such an explanation left on their minds was, that the common law was the most unfathomable of all laws, and some mysterious complicated engine of oppression, which would certainly be used to their detriment. They much better understood the provision which was made for the inspection of flour, pork and beef. They also understood the charter of incorporation which was given to the city of New Orleans, and other acts relating to the formation of a public library, and to the establishment of navigation and insurance companies. The creation of a university, which was intrusted with the locating of schools in each county, was also within their comprehension; but as no appropriation

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of funds was made for those seminaries of learning, the people were sadly puzzled to discover how the views of the Legislature were to be carried into execution for the education of the children. This gave rise to sarcasms and squibs on the part of the discontented population. How could the sapient council make such an omission, was the common exclamation. It was jocosely suggested that relief for it must be found at common law, and by a bill in chancery. This was the first attempt to provide for general education in Louisiana, and it turned out to be a miserable failure.

The council adjourned in February, 1805, after having appointed a committee to prepare a civil and criminal code, with the assistance of two professional men, for whose remuneration five thousand dollars were appropriated. A moderate remuneration for such a work, if worthily done! Thus ended the organization of the Territorial Government.

ART. VIII.—AMERICAN COMMERCE; ITS PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENTS.

PARTS II. & III.: COMMERCE PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

In the February number of the Review we presented the first of a series of articles upon this comprehensive subject, and discussed the origin, progress, and influences of commerce. The promise was made to continue the discussion in several chapters, which we now proceed to do.—Editor.

The early colonists were exposed for a fearful probation to the most extraordinary vicissitudes and necessities. With the axe in one hand they reduced the sturdy forests into the farm-yard, and with the knife in the other they resisted the approaches of the stealthy and sanguinary savage. A meagre subsistence rewarded the toils that knew no rest, and the charities of the mother country were invoked for men whose determined wills grew stronger as they suffered. This period had its different limits. Fifteen years after the landing of William Sale, we find the proprietary government in England complaining to the Carolinas, "we must be silly, indeed, to maintain idle men."* Thirty three years after the landing of Bienville, in Louisiana, the Western Company threw up their charter in utter hopelessness and despair.†

New England's rugged soil yielded a too reluctant tribute to the industry of her people. They went out early upon the ocean by which they were girt, in search of bread that the plow yielded not. To this hardy and indomitable people, the boons of nature were to be found in her apparent denial of them all. Upon the pathless deep they are described in eastern gorgeousness, while yet in infancy, by the oratory of Burke, struggling at either pole amid tumbling mountains of ice; in the frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis' Straits; beneath the arctic circle, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the South.

* Southern Quarterly Review, 1845. Art. Carolina Political Annals.
† Commercial Review, vol. I. Art. Louisiana.

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The Seventeenth Century affords us, however, but a few particulars of the trade which had been started in the colonies. That it was limited can be readily imagined; that it should be worthy of any regard at all, is the only source of surprise. The materials of this portion of our history are meagre. It is sufficient that, in 1647, a trade had been opened from the Northern ports to Barbadoes, and others of the West Indies; that a collector of customs was appointed at Charleston, in 1685, and that the hardy enterprises of the whalemen received their first impulse in 1690.

In the year 1731, we find a petition, read in parliament, from the American colonies, that the African trade be thenceforward laid open to them. In the same parliament it was conceded that the whole gain of the mother country from the trade of Virginia and Maryland alone, amounted annually to £180,000. The Pennsylvanians were exporting corn to Spain and to Portugal, and with the proceeds of their ships and cargoes selecting out merchandize in the English markets. To the Dutch alone they sold 5000 pistoles annually in liquor and provisions. They had their invoices to Surinam, and Hispaniola, the West Indies, Canaries, Newfoundland, and the other colonies, and £150,000 from the proceeds to traffic in Britain. "New York," says a chronicle of this epoch, "sends fewer ships to England than some other colonies do, but those they do send are richer, as dealing more in furs and skins with the Indians, and they are at least of equal advantage to England with those of Pennsylvania. The soil of New England is not unlike that of Britain. It employs about 40,000 tons of shipping; and about 600 sail of ships, sloops, etc., about half which shipping sail to Europe."

At this period began the jealousy of the mother country toward the colonies. Nothing, it was said in parliament, nothing is more prejudicial and in prospect more dangerous to any mother kingdom than the increase of shipping in her colonies. The only use of colonies, added Lord Sheffield, is the monopoly of their consumption, and the carriage of their produce. In 1730, the Commons of England struck an ineffectual blow at the American trade with the French and Dutch colonies, it having been represented to them as greatly detrimental to England and her colonies.

In 1732, a writer gravely announced that the convenience of the Americans from the plenty of beavers, hare, coney wool, and many other furs, gave them such advantages that, unless restrained, they would soon supply all the world with hats. The Board of Trade, of the same year, report that there are more trades carried on and manufactures set up in the provinces on the continent of America, northward of Virginia, prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain, than in any other of the British colonies. In 1750, the Americans were forbidden to work in iron, and Lord Chatham declared not long after, in parliament, that the colonies of North America had not even the right of manufacturing a nail. So stringent had become the restrictive policy!

In 1764 was imposed an onerous burthen upon American com-

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merce by the mother country, grown jealous of its too great extension.* This commerce had greatly enriched the home as well as the colonial governments, but the former was too much blinded by erroneous policy to perceive it. She heeded not the annual purchases made in her markets with the avails of lumber, beef, fish, pork, butter, horses, poultry, live stock, tobacco, corn, flour, bread, cider, apples, cabbages, onions, etc., disposed of by our traders to the eager West India planters; and Lord Sheffield, in his observations on the commerce of the American States, tells us that, at this time, the Carolinians, of their exports to Kingston, Jamaica, took back one half in the produce of that country, the middle provinces one-fourth, New England one-tenth, and the balance in specie dollars. The trade of Britain with the American colonies employed in 1769, 1078 ships, and 28,910 seamen. The value of her imports from them for that year amounted to £3,370,000, and of their imports from her to £3,924,606, showing a large difference in favor of the parent country.†

In 1770, the imports of Carolina were £585,714, those of New England £564,034, of Maryland and Virginia, £851,140, the exports of Virginia at the same time being double the value of those of either of the others named. Mr. Burke triumphantly announced in the House of Commons, "Our trade with America is scarcely less than that we carried on at the beginning of the century with the whole world! In the six years, ending with 1774, there was an average import from the colonies into England of £1,752,142, and an average export to them in turn, of £2,732,036. Crippled as the energies of America were, they could not be repressed. It was a

* The English navigation act of 1600 declared that certain specified articles of the produce of the colonies, and since known in commerce by the name "enumerated articles," should not be exported directly from the colonies to any foreign country, but that they should be first sent to Britain, and there unladen before they could be forwarded to their final destination. The act of 1764 provided further that no commodity of the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe shall be imported into the British plantations, but such as are laden and put on board in England, Wales, or Berwick-upon Tweed, and in English-built shipping, whereof the master and two-thirds of the crew are English. Such are the amazing lengths to which systems of restriction and monopoly have been carried by nations claiming enlightenment! Nearly all of North America was doomed, during its colonial dependence upon European powers, to the same senseless and suicidal régime. In the instance of Spain it is even yet continued, though much moderated. She levied alike upon exports and imports, the alcavala and other oppressive taxes, and even so late as the middle of the Eighteenth Century, it was shown that she derived no greater advantages from the possession of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Porto Rico, than England or France from the smallest of their dependencies. The course of England, however, was at first of a liberal character, for we find the colonies empowered in the early charter of Pennsylvania, to carry on a direct intercourse with foreign States. The permission had but a brief length, as we have seen.

† We very much agree, after all, however, with McCulloch and his school, in relation to these adverse and favorable differences which the world have entitled "balances of trade," and made no little hubbub about for the last century or two. "It is difficult to estimate the mischief which the notions relating to the balance of trade have occasioned in almost every commercial country. The great, or rather the only argument insisted upon by those who prevailed upon the legislature in the reign of William and Mary to declare the trade with France a nuisance, was founded on the statement that the value of imports from that kingdom considerably exceeded the value of the commodities exported to it. It never occurred to those who so loudly abused the French trade, that no merchant would import any commodity from France, unless it brought a higher price in this country than the commodity exported to pay it, and that the profit of the merchant or nation would be in exact proportion to this excess of price. The very reason assigned by these persons for prohibiting the trade affords the best attainable proof of its having been a lucrative one, nor can there be any doubt that unrestricted freedom of intercourse between the two countries would still be of the greatest service to both."

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vain effort to confine the enterprise of a people, whose views embraced the world itself, into the narrow compass afforded by English ports, and by portions of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre. When the day of reckoning for these reckless abuses of power came, as it did at last, and they were solemnly proclaimed in the immortal bill of rights, not the least of the usurpations for which retribution was demanded is to be found in the clause: "She has cut off our trade with all parts of the world!"

The following table, compiled by Mr. Hazard, from the most authentic sources, will exhibit the trade of the provinces with the mother country during the whole of the periods we have been considering; the table is of great interest, embracing, as it does, in one view, almost the entire commerce of America for seventy-six years.

From these statistics we learn the relative commercial position of the different provinces. Dividing the whole time embraced into periods of twenty-five years each, we observe in the first period that Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina furnish almost the entire exports, and import much more largely than New England and New York. In the second period New York greatly increases her imports, which still fall short of those of New England, or Virginia and Maryland, while her exports are enhanced but little. The whole exports of New York, Pennsylvania and New England combined did not reach the amount of those of Carolina singly. In the third period Pennsylvania imports more largely than New York, but less than New England; the Southern provinces retain their rank as exporters, Carolina being still greater than New York, New England, and Pennsylvania together; and Georgia, a new plantation, equals New York. Truly is the empire of trade fickle and inconstant.

AMERICAN TRADE BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.*

Years	NEW ENGLAND.		NEW YORK.		PENNSYLVANIA.		VIRG. & MARY.		CAROLINA.		GEORGIA.	
	Exp'ts £	Imp'ts £	Exp'ts £	Imp'ts £	Exp'ts £	Imp'ts £	Exp'ts £	Imp'ts £	Exp'ts £	Imp'ts £	Exp'ts £	Imp'ts £
1700..	41486..	91018..	17567..	49410..	4608..	18529...	317302...	173461..	14068..	11063..	....	.....
1710..	31112..	106338..	8203..	31475..	1277..	8591...	189429...	127639 ..	20783..	19613..	....	.....
1715..	66555..	164890.	21316..	54629..	5461..	17182...	174756...	199754..	29158..	16631..	....	.....
1720..	49206..	126789..	16300..	37497..	7928..	24831...	331462...	110177..	62736..	11290..	....	.....
1725..	72021..	201748..	24776..	70660..	11981..	42219...	214730...	195184..	91042..	39182..	....	.....
1730..	54701..	208106..	8740..	64306..	10502..	48592...	346823...	159931..	151759..	64785..	....	.....
1735..	72699..	189155..	14153..	89405..	21919..	46814...	394995...	228361..	149388..	117137..	3610 ..	12112
1740..	74389..	171001..	21493..	118777..	15048..	56751...	341997...	281428..	263560..	124211..	934 ..	3324
1745..	58948..	140483..	14183..	54017..	10130..	54280...	399423...	196799..	91647..	84815 ..	....	8?9
1750..	48455..	343669..	35633..	267190..	28191..	217713...	505939...	348419..	151907..	154027..	1913 ..	2125
1755..	59533..	417786..	28055..	131071..	32336..	144456...	489668...	2651.7..	345525..	186887..	4437 ..	2630
1760..	37802..	699647..	21125..	400106..	22754..	767993...	504451...	646882..	162769..	218151..	12198 ..	.....
1761..	46225..	334225..	48048..	289370..	39170..	204067...	455083...	548350..	253002..	256487..	3764 ..	24279
1762..	41733..	347305..	58582..	288046..	38091..	206109...	415001...	418599..	181695..	194170..	6522 ..	23741
1763..	74815..	288814..	52996..	336560..	38228..	284152...	642294...	553891..	292366..	250132..	14169 ..	41548
1764..	86157..	439765..	55907..	515416..	36228..	436191...	559308...	517192..	341727..	305968..	31325 ..	18548
1765..	145819..	451229..	54059..	392949..	25148..	363368...	505671..	563224..	285918..	334709..	34163 ..	29165
1766..	141733..	405642..	47000..	330629..	26851..	327314...	461693 ..	572548 ..	293567..	296733..	53674 ..	67268
1767..	128207..	406081..	61422..	417907..	37641..	371030...	437926...	437628..	305427..	244198 ..	32856 ..	22374
1768..	148375..	411797..	67115..	482990..	59464..	432107...	466048...	475981..	361108..	285868..	43502 ..	56562
1769..	129353..	267962..	73466..	74918..	26111..	199966...	361892...	468362..	207114..	506640..	69270 ..	58340
1770..	148011..	394451..	69882..	475901..	28169..	134881 ..	435194..	717782..	278067..	149273..	55632 ..	56193
1771..	156381..	1420779..	92875..	653021 ..	31615..	728744...	577818..	920326..	420311..	409159..	63810 ..	70493
1772..	126265..	824830..	82707..	543970..	29133..	507909 ..	528404...	709910..	427923..	449610..	6608 3 ..	97466
1773..	194624..	597055..	76246..	389914..	36652..	426448...	589803...	328904..	456513..	311850..	85391 ..	62 32
1774..	112248..	562476.	80606..	457937..	69611..	625652...	612036...	528738..	412302..	576116..	67647 ..	57513
1775..	116588..	71625..	187018..	1228.	175962..	1366...	756356...	1921..	578549..	6315.	103477 ..	113777
1776..	762..	55030..	9318..	....	1421..	365...	73226...	....	13668..	....	12569 ..	.....

* Prior to 1760, we select from Wm. Hazard's tables only the years 1700, '10, '15, '20, '25, '30, '35, '40, '45, '50, '55.

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ART. IX.—FREEDMEN AND FREE MEN.

THE LABOR QUESTION AT THE NORTH AND SOUTH—INDUSTRIAL CONVENTION—HUMAN PROGRESS AND NATIONAL WEALTH, ETC.

Mr. Fitzhugh, it is well known, is a philosopher of his own school. He does not examine questions in the light of the books. He expresses home truths in his own way, and hits at friends and foes. He has long been a writer for the Review, and whether we agree with him or not, he is always read with interest. Whilst critics, North and South, make frequent dashes at his philosophy, they pay due tribute to the genial spirit, the originality, honesty and humor of the man.—Editor.

Last fall it was suggested in many of the Northern papers that a convention of capitalists, of merchants, and of farmers, should be held in New York, to take into consideration the subject of giving value and efficiency to Freedmen's labor.

We are warmly in favor of such a convention, but would give it a broader basis and more comprehensive scope than that proposed. It is a crying evil that negroes work too little everywhere. Including Africa, the West Indies, Mexico, South America and our Southern States, they occupy, and render worthless, by their idleness and indolence, far the better half of the globe. How to make them work more is well worthy of consideration; for the products of warm latitudes have become necessaries of life with civilized mankind, and the negroes, almost monopolizing these latitudes, seem resolved that no more of these products shall be reared, than will suffice for the most meagre home consumption. If the negro, in a state of freedom, cannot be induced to become a regular, industrious and productive laborer, then the proposed convention should look out for substitutes, of Northern domestic growth, for those Southern products which we have been accustomed to import.

But whilst the negroes work too little, it is a far more serious, lamentable and pressing evil, that the toiling millions of white free laborers throughout Christendom work too much, and that free labor is too cheap. The proposed convention, then, would have before it the double task, first to devise means to relieve white laborers from the cruel oppression, exactions, taxation, and exploitation of capital, and secondly to bring negro labor under the dominion of capital, at least to a reasonable degree.

Mr. McCulloch long since maintained that the laws of political economy and free competition would not apply to the negro. And Mr. Carlyle has most humorously shown that the laws of demand and supply have no more influence on the conduct and industrial habits of the free and improvident negroes of the West Indies than such laws have on wild horses in a summer pasture.

Political economy stands perplexed and baffled in presence of the negro. Capital can get no hold on him. Fashion cannot increase and multiply his wants, and make him again a slave, in the vain effort to supply artificial wants. How will the convention deal with

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a being that, being liberated, seems resolved to remain, really not merely, nominally free? How make him work ten hours a day, whose every present want can be supplied by laboring three hours a day? And those wants will diminish when he here, as he is fast doing in the West Indies, gradually returns to his natural simple savage life. A very difficult subject this for our Industrial Convention. To give the negro emulation, ambition, to make him aspiring, provident, covetous of wealth, competitive, and resolved, at any cost of labor, "to keep up with the times and fashions," will be as knotty a subject as the solution of the Riddle of the Sphinx, or the untying of the Gordian Knot. Yet it must be successfully performed, else Northern commerce and manufactures will collapse, Northern wealth vanish, Northern capital and labor be unemployed, the rich be without luxuries for their tables, and the poor extremely scant of necessaries; and, in fine, the glorious feat of abolition turn out to be the saddest drama, if not the cruelist tragedy, ever enacted in presence of mankind.

Yet important as this subject of negro labor is, the condition of white labor, and of white laborers, is still more important, and more painfully interesting.

Emancipation does confer real, actual liberty on negroes—liberty which they know how to enjoy, in which they luxuriate, and which they mean to retain. The negro slave worked eight or nine hours a day; the negro freedmen will not average three hours a day. Emancipation of white laborers remits them to the dominion and exactions of capital, of skill, of fashion, to the laws of political economy, of free competition, of demand and supply. As serfs or villeins the laborers of Europe did not work three hours a day, yet all had homes, and the rude comforts and necessaries of life, such as pertained to all classes in feudal times. There was then little difference between the cottage, the furniture and the fare of the serf, and the dwelling, fare and furniture of his baronial master. Equality and liberty existed in fact, as nearly as it is possible for them to exist, consistently with any subordination or government at all. But the emancipation of the serfs remitted them to the heartless dominion of capital, and the capricious demands of fashion, deprived them of homes, and of masters bound by law, domestic affection and self interest, to provide for them and take care of them. To live at all, they, now, have to labor ten hours a-day. Yet the ten hours' labor as freemen does not make them so secure and comfortable, as did the three hours' labor as slaves. At least, no one will dispute the proposition that the luxury of the vulgar parvenus of our day, surpasses the scanty fare of our laboring poor, much farther than did the mode of living of the feudal nobility excel that of their vassals and slaves. Then there were no poor-houses and no poor-laws, because there were no poor unprovided for. This great evil in modern society, that its worthiest class, its producing class—is like "the muzzled ox, that treadeth out the straw," is one which our convention must need grapple with and endeavor to correct. Po-

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litical arrangements can do nothing to alleviate or correct it. With us, the government, by reason of universal suffrage, is in the hands of the working men. Yet those working men are holding conventions outside the government, to reduce their hours of labor to eight hours per diem. Capital all the while sneers and laughs at them, and continually increases their hours of work, and diminishes their means of support. They are the worst treated of all slaves, though nominally they were emancipated or set free.

If they can all be induced to join temperance societies, and live on vegetable diet, capital may double its profits, by compelling them to live on half their present wages. It does so already in China, India and Ireland, where the working class live almost solely on vegetables. Capital has no heart, no feeling, no conscience; it owns the earth and all things in it, and, so far as laboring men are concerned, is omnipresent and omnipotent. It tells them on what terms they shall live on this, their earth, and they, the poor, must submit to those terms, or starve. This is an ugly state of affairs, and a very perilous one. Capital, all property, is in danger. Throughout free society the laboring poor are restless and threatening, and they have enlisted on their side four-fifths of the writing and speaking talents of Christendom. All the abolitionists of note or distinction, are avowed socialists, and have only been postponing "the rectifying human relations" at home, until they have set things to rights at the South. That being now satisfactorily effected, property holders at the North may look out for squalls.

The more we reflect on it, the more we become convinced of the necessity of a great Industrial Convention. Never did convention have such important, world-wide matters of pressing interest to deal with, as will this. Probably it will not be able to avert the storm of social revolution that impends over Christendom, but it may do something to mitigate its force and destructiveness. All are concerned in its deliberations, in its resolves, and in the measures it shall adopt or advise, and all therefore should be represented in it. Rich and poor, practical men and theoretical men, abolitionists, socialists, pro-slavery men, agrarians, women and women's rights men, Northern men and Southern men, blacks, whites, mulattoes, Indians, Mongolians and Europeans, should attend at its meeting, and take part in its deliberations. A World's Fair, that has to do with "trifles light as air" compared to the appropriate business of this convention attracts strangers from every quarter of the globe. As far is man is superior to bullocks, horses, fowls, vegetables and machinery of all kinds, will our Industrial Convention be superior in importance and interest to a mere World's Fair.

Difficulties increase as we advance, the labors of the convention become at each step more arduous, and the social and industrial problems to be submitted to it for solution more intricate and perplexing.

Supposing it succeeds in devising some method by which working men shall labor shorter hours, and enjoy more of the proceeds of

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their own labor. Why then all human progress will be arrested, and the world will begin to retrogress. Human progress results entirely from the impoverishment of the masses, the compelling them to labor hard and continually, and then the taking away or exploiting the results of their labor by skill, capital, and governmental taxation. Labor creates all values, but skill and capital exploit, take away, and accumulate those values; expend them in works of art and luxury, in great internal improvements, in palatial private dwellings, in grand and sumptuous steamers, in costly and magnificent churches, and theatres, in colleges and universities, in building up great towns and cities, and in whatever beautifies, enriches and adorns a country, and brings about among the rich classes high refinement and civilization.

If the laboring poor consume all that they make, if they be treated fairly and equitably, if they be not robbed of the greater part of the proceeds of their industry, the rich, refined and enlightened must starve, the wheels of government be arrested, society stagnate, human progress cease, and human retrogression begin. That country is most prosperous, most enlightened, and most progressive, where the poor are worked hardest, and for the least wages or allowance; for there capital may and does accumulate most, and is expended in great public and private works, such as we have enumerated. Such a country is England. There, pauperism most abounds, and, as a consequence, capital reaps the richest harvest. Labor is cheapest there, and where labor is cheapest, and the masses hardest worked, and worst paid, the nation is richest, most prosperous and progressive. In feudal times there was no progress, and little accumulated wealth, because the white slaves or serfs were idlers, and consumed all that they produced. For the same cause there was little wealth and little progress in the Southern States. The slaves consumed all that they made, and left nothing to be accumulated and expended in works of public and private improvement.

The North boasts that free labor is cheaper than slave labor. The fact is obvious as the noonday sun, for all the public and private luxury, all the works of art, all the internal improvements, all the capital, all the mighty wealth of that section, are the results of labor, that has been defrauded or exploited of its earnings. The laboring poor whites created all these improvements, all this wealth, yet, by popular, democratic, governmental and social arrangements, are permitted to enjoy none of them. They are nominally the freest people in the world, yet actually the most enslaved; for there, free competition, free trade, and political economy rule supreme, unchecked and unrestricted by an established church or an hereditary aristocracy, under whose wings and protection, the poor, in other countries, find a shelter. Give political economy, and its offspring, free competition, full play, and they at once kick liberty and equality out at the door. But, they increase rapidly national wealth, and promote what is called Human Progress, by overworking and under-

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feeding the laboring poor. We agree with Mr. Greeley that the political, legal, and social arrangements of the North, are the worst for the masses, that possibly could be devised, yet, because they are the worst for the masses, they are most promotive of national wealth, prosperity and progress. The full efforts of those arrangements are not yet half realised, because the laboring poor can escape from the exacting dominion of capital in the Eastern States, to the West, where lands are cheap, and abundant, and, of consequence, capital comparatively powerless.

The masses will not much longer be satisfied with mere nominal liberty and equality, when they look back and see that slaves in all ages and countries have been permitted to enjoy far more of the results of their own labor than what are called, the free laborers of our day. Capital is the most cruel and exacting of all taskmasters, and the abolition of slavery to capital, will soon become as popular a theme as the abolition of negro slavery.

Let the convention look well to this.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

1.—THE WHALE FISHERY IN 1865.

STATISTICS OF THE YEAR—LOSS OF $2,000,000 BY PRIVATEERS—PRICES.

THE *Whalemen's Shipping List* of New Bedford gives the following statement of the whale fishery for 1865:

"The past year will prove an eventful one in the history of the whale-fishery. The wanton destruction of so many valuable ships by the pirate steamer Shenandoah, in the Arctic regions, was a sad blow to the whaling interest—particularly that of New Bedford—on whose merchants a large portion of the loss has fallen. But the injury does not stop here. Besides the destruction of the twenty-three American ships and outfits, whose value exceeds a million of dollars, there is the loss to the officers and men of those vessels—some losing their all, and all suffering from loss of their time, and their effects necessary for the prosecution of such voyages. Then add to these the loss of the season's catch, not only of the ships burned, but also of those bonded by the Shenandoah and sent into port with the crews of the vessels destroyed, and of those who were driven from the grounds for fear of being captured, and *we have an amount exceeding two million dollars, that have been taken from the pockets of the whaling interests of the country, on which about* $600,000 *was insured with the war clause*—much of it at the enormous premium of fifteen per cent. But notwithstanding these reverses, those engaged in the business—particularly in New Bedford—were not disheartened. After the reception of the news of the havoc made by the Shenandoah, a number of ships were purchased at enhanced prices, and were immediately furnished and sent to sea—partially filling up the gap made by those destroyed; and the probability is that a number more will be purchased the coming spring, if suitable vessels can be found, and added to the fleet.

"The whole number of vessels employed in the whaling business January 1, 1863, is 263 against 276 in 1865—with a reduction of 11,112 tons—a portion of which reduction is owing to the difference in the reimbursement of vessels.

"The North Pacific fleet of 1865, exclusive of those burned, and the two wrecked in the ice, consisted of 71 vessels, including 59 American and 12 foreign. Of these, 50 American and 6 foreign cruised in the Artic Ocean, and took the season 84,930 barrels of oil and 565,400 pounds of bone—an average of 624 barrels of oil and 10,096 pounds of bone; and in the Ochotak Sea, 9 American,

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and 6 foreign vessels took 11,600 barrels of oil, and 155,100 pounds of bone—an average of 774 barrels of oil and 10,340 pounds of bone. Total catch of the Northwest fleet, 46,530 barrels of oil and 720,500 pounds of bone—average catch of each vessel, 655 barrels of oil and 10,148 pounds of bone.

"By the above it will be seen that the average is an improvement on that of 1863, yet but for the advanced prices from those of 1863, and the still further advance caused by the work of the pirate, the business could not be carried on with the present exorbitant prices of fitting ships.

IMPORTS OF OIL FROM 1846 TO 1866.

Imports of	1865,	gallons	33,248	76,238	619,350
"	1864,	"	64,372	71,863	760,450
"	1863,	"	65,055	62,974	488,750
"	1862,	"	55,641	100,478	763,500
"	1861,	"	68,932	133,717	1,038,450
"	1860,	"	73,708	140,035	1,337,650
"	1859,	"	91,408	190,411	1,923,850
"	1858,	"	81,941	182,223	1,540,600
"	1857,	"	78,440	230,941	2,058,900
"	1856,	"	80,941	197,890	2,592,700
"	1855,	"	72,649	184,015	2,707,500
"	1854,	"	76,696	319,837	3,445,200
"	1853,	"	103,077	260,114	5,652,300
"	1852,	"	78,872	84,211	1,259,900
"	1851,	"	99,591	328,483	3,966,500
"	1850,	"	92,892	200,608	2,869,200
"	1849,	"	100,944	248,492	2,281,100
"	1848,	"	107,976	280,656	2,003,000
"	1847,	"	120,753	313,150	3,341,680
"	1846,	"	95,217	207,493	2,276,930

EXPORTS OF SPERM OIL, WHALE OIL AND WHALEBONE FROM THE UNITED STATES FOR THE LAST SEVEN YEARS:

1865	20,108	1,660	202,100
1864	45,000	12,000	530,000
1863	18,366	11,297	279,394
1862	27,976	68,583	1,004,981
1861	37,547	49,969	1,145,013
1860	32,792	13,007	911,226
1859	52,007	8,179	1,707,929

VESSELS EMPLOYED.

The number of vessels and amount of tonnage employed in the whale fishery since 1844, have been as follows:

	Ships and Barks.	Brigs.	Schs.	Tonnage.
Jan. 1, 1866	199	8	56	68,536
Jan. 1, 1865	226	7	43	79,690
Jan. 1, 1864	258	5	41	88,785
Jan. 1, 1863	301	10	42	103,146
Jan. 1, 1862	372	10	41	125,465
Jan. 1, 1861	459	14	41	158,746
Jan. 1, 1860	508	19	42	176,842
Jan. 1, 1859	561	19	45	195,115
Jan. 1, 1858	587	18	49	203,148
Jan. 1, 1857	593	22	40	204,209
Jan. 1, 1856	585	21	29	199,141
Jan. 1, 1855	584	20	34	199,842

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	Ships and Barks.	Brigs.	Schs.	Tonnage.
Jan. 1, 1854	602	28	38	208,399
Jan. 1, 1853	599	30	32	206,286
Jan. 1, 1852	558	27	35	193,990
Jan. 1, 1851	502	24	27	171,971
Jan. 1, 1850	510	20	13	171,484
Jan. 1, 1849	581	21	12	196,110
Jan. 1, 1848	621	22	16	210,663
Jan. 1, 1847	670	31	21	230,218
Jan. 1, 1846	678	35	22	233,189
Jan. 1, 1845	643	35	17	218,655
Jan. 1, 1844	595	41	9	200,147

2.—BALTIMORE TOBACCO TRADE.

EXPORT OF TOBACCO FROM THE PORT OF BALTIMORE FOR THE LAST THIRTEEN YEARS.

Years.	Bremen.	Rotterdam.	Amsterdam.	France.	All other places.	Total.
1865	14,350	8,990	4,788	5,863	6,664	42,605
1864	15,686	12,287	4,940	7,469	4,650	45,052
1863	11,672	8,135	3,371	6,388	14,576	44,137
1862	15,172	12,557	6,318	4,471	16,929	55,477
1861	32,982	23,172	8,244	5,215	16,924	85,237
1860	24,700	22,700	5,244	6,825	8,869	68,338
1859	29,180	21,735	1,253	8,311	5,495	55,974
1858	16,542	18,059	3,825	16,935	11,173	66,534
1857	18,034	11,711	4,054	7,438	6,325	47,568
1856	20,612	14,215	7,779	4,891	8,301	55,792
1855	9,103	7,510	10	7,527	1,444	36,892
1854	18,016	7,407	5,583	10,180	4,006	45,236
1853	18,947	10,395	9,980	5,880	5,986	50,683

TOBACCO INSPECTIONS AT BALTIMORE FOR THE LAST THIRTEEN YEARS.

Years.	Maryland.	Ohio.	K'y and other kinds.	Total.
1865	25,479	15,396	3,077	43,952
1864	28,518	21,961	2,140	52,783
1863	36,676	17,032	2,267	55,975
1862	41,493	13,560	3,646	58,699
1861	50,407	14,152	3,012	67,571
1860	51,000	23,000	2,700	92,838
1859	44,480	15,331	3,022	62,801
1858	45,200	22,300	3,169	70,669
1857	38,057	7,640	1,608	47,305
1856	38,330	12,959	1,563	52,852
1855	28,470	10,097	991	39,558
1854	26,048	10,362	2,560	38,970
1853	29,248	17,947	1,472	48,667

STATEMENT OF INSPECTIONS, EXPORTS AND STOCKS OF TOBACCO FOR THE LAST TWELVE YEARS.

Years.	Inspections.	Exported.	Stocks.
1865	43,952	42,605	22,297
1864	52,873	45,052	20,938
1863	55,975	44,137	21,560
1862	58,699	55,447	6,400
1861	67,571	85,537	24,500
1860	92,838	68,338	15,181
1859	62,801	55,974	8,354
1858	70,669	66,634	4,219
1857	47,305	47,163	4,584
1856	52,852	55,798	7,439
1855	39,558	36,392	3,732
1854	38,970	45,236	9,779

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3.—MOBILE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

COTTON REGULATIONS.

The following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Mobile Chamber of Commerce.

WHEREAS, The system which has existed in this city of permitting cotton, after it is sold, to be removed from one warehouse to another, before it is reported on and paid for, thereby subjecting it to loss in weight and exposure, and, at the same time, taking the insurance out of the control of the seller, is believed to be highly detrimental to the interest of the owner of the cotton, and is liable at any time to result in serious loss both to the factor and the broker;

Therefore, be it resolved, "That in future no cotton shall be delivered until it is reported on and paid for; and for the purpose of accomplishing this object, a preliminary order shall be given on the warehouse wherein it is stored, to have the cotton turned down for examination by the broker, who shall have it weighed prior to sampling it, three days being given for its examination, and if the weights correspond with those rendered by the factor, he can proceed to sample it. After it is weighed and sampled, and found to be correct in all respects, it shall be the business of the factor to give an order for the delivery of the cotton, on payment being made for the same. If the cotton falls short of the factor's weight, or it is rejected for any cause, the factor shall be notified of the fact immediately, so that he may have an opportunity to investigate the cause. In case the cotton is finally rejected for good and sufficient reasons, it shall be the duty of the broker to turn over the samples and all loose cotton taken out of the bales to the factor, to be sold for account of the owner of the cotton."

COTTON EXPORTS.

MOBILE—*Comparative Table of Exports and Receipts of Cotton at this port, at the end of February, for twenty-five years:*

	Great Britain.	France.	Other Ports.	Coastwise.	Total.	Receipts.
1842	63,111	18,651	3,656	38,267	123,685	222,877
1843	115,587	18,396	3,999	66,026	195,008	314,185
1844	32,758	19,329	1,199	124,848	178,134	301,806
1845	75,575	30,745	18,698	73,457	198,475	376,521
1846	65,165	24,930	5,648	42,739	138,482	314,896
1847	25,158	44,738	9,653	38,598	88,147	255,948
1848	60,200	39,855	15,595	44,740	160,390	310,676
1849	136,087	31,421	21,170	84,282	272,960	407,185
1850	54,025	24,221	5,932	57,715	141,893	272,878
1851	76,067	35,574	14,420	50,776	176,937	343,711
1852	105,859	48,381	11,023	70,221	285,489	347,182
1853	141,616	28,563	11,086	114,813	296,073	453,794
1854	91,575	39,396	10,466	80,463	221,900	379,833
1855	83,987	38,358	6,454	27,498	156,293	181,642
1856	142,884	72,718	30,719	93,630	339,951	473,790
1857	98,017	70,392	10,376	104,055	232,840	430,131
1858	101,793	45,754	11,549	54,663	213,759	373,486
1859	159,854	84,309	28,163	121,907	394,233	564,814
1860	259,312	109,189	22,118	78,464	469,083	688,524
1861	260,652	72,876	8,946	96,008	438,477	485,895
1862	—	—	—	—	—	—
1863	—	—	—	—	—	—
1864	—	—	—	—	—	—
1865	—	—	—	—	—	—
1866	143,008	15,420	735	115,204	274,367	331,113

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4.—COMMERCE OF ST. LOUIS.

TOBACCO—Receipts and sales of the past four years compare as follows:

	1865.	1864.	1863.	1862.
Receipts, hhds	16,480	42,860	19,350	13,050
Sales "	18,000	34,100	16,575	9,553

COTTON—Receipts the past four years compare as follows:

	1865.	1864.	1863.	1862.
Bales	89,225	33,247	27,500	39,480
Sacks	4,225	2,630	1,035	833

SUGAR—Receipts of the past four years compare as follows:

	1865.	1864.	1863.	1862.
Sugar, hhds	17,790	17,672	8,688	23,468
" pkgs	37,837	7,288	6,448	4,170
Molasses, bbls	12,585	14,996	4,177	4,297

FLOUR—The production of the city mills, and the aggregate receipts by river, rail and wagon, of the past four years, compare as follows:

	Manufactured. Barrels.	Receipts. Barrels.	Total. Barrels.
1865	743,280	1,162,700	1,905,980
1864	782,560	807,371	1,589,931
1863	758,422	689,241	1,447,663
1862	906,860	647,319	1,554,279

CORN—Receipts of the past four years compare as follows: Sacks for 1865 computed at two and quarter bushels.

	1865.	1864.	1863.	1862.
Bushels	3,165,000	1,054,200	1,299,354	1,784,219

PROVISIONS—Receipts of the past four years compare as follows:

Pork—	1865.	1864.	1863.	1862.
Barrels	67,877	77,559	35,300	51,187
Casks and tcs	12,266	4,711	4,130	6,515
Boxes	371	902	2,155	3,539
Pieces	338,213	716,671	610,789	487,580
Bacon—				
Casks and tcs	8,948	9,047	7,070	10,833
Barrels and bxs	1,557	10,629	8,700	10,352
Pieces	62,496	130,938	40,480	106,315
Lard—				
Tierces	18,568	24,461	16,669	19,407
Barrels, &c	5,790	7,795	22,976	21,975
Kegs	2,714	2,771	2,795	8,993
Beef—				
Packages	3,109	3,433	2,100	....

COFFEE—Receipts of the past four years compare as follows:

	1865.	1864.	1863.	1862.
Bags	67,560	72,794	25,963	61,536

5.—TRADE BETWEEN ST. LOUIS AND ARKANSAS.

The merchants of St. Louis are making great efforts to extend their trade in Arkansas and thus the competition between that city and Memphis increases. The *Jacksonport Era* thus discourses upon this subject:

"Many of the people in Northern and Eastern Arkansas are now, and have been during the war, directing their trade to St. Louis, Cairo, Louisville, Cincinnati, or some market beyond Memphis, because merchandise of every description can

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be purchased cheaper there. They find that when they purchase in Memphis they only get goods that come from St. Louis, or some other market beyond Memphis, with enormous charges added in the shape of freight, drayage, storage, percentages, commissions, Government duties, &c., &c. So many men realize livings from goods from the time they leave the manufacturers' hands in the North till they are placed in the consumers' hands in Memphis, that the Arkansas consumer makes a great saving when he purchases in St. Louis and places his purchases on a boat direct for Jacksonport. He saves all these intermediate charges incident to purchasing at Memphis, or stopping the freight there. Even the freight charges alone, we are told, are considerably less shipped direct from St. Louis to Jacksonport than the same would be shipped to Memphis and then be re-shipped to Jacksonport. There is now a strong preference in behalf of St. Louis, and if St. Louis houses having a trade and acquaintance with Arkansas, as well as those which do not, would advertise moderately, and set at work a judicious system of drumming to bid for and influence the trade of Northeast Arkansas, and, withal, would establish a line of steamers to make regular trips direct from St. Louis through to Jacksonport, they would, beyond doubt, sweep the trade of the country. The same is true with regard to any other market north of Memphis. Persons will pursue the policy which redounds most to their interest, and when they once know that they can make cheaper purchases in St. Louis than Memphis, the task of influencing their trade shall have been accomplished. The war has left Arkansas in a chaotic and unsettled condition, and has broken up the former relations between city and country, between planter and merchant. Consequently those who make the first, strongest and most effective bid for Arkansas trade, will garner its profits. The country is rich in natural resources, is rapidly recovering from the desolation of the war, and will soon be in a prosperous condition again, when her trade will be an enriching item to the market that realizes it."

6.—COMMERCE BETWEEN PHILADELPHIA AND THE SOUTH.

At a recent meeting of the merchants and manufacturers of Philadelphia the subject of a line of steamers from that city to the South was discussed and a movement set on foot to secure its early establishment. Mr. Catherwood said at the meeting, that he felt very much interested in the establishing of lines of steamers to run to Southern ports from this city, and he hoped they would become permanent institutions. On Friday last he had filled up several orders, and to his utter dismay ascertained the steamship would not start on the following day, though that time was fixed by advertisement for the vessel to depart. He was therefore obliged to ship his goods to New York in order to reach Wilmington, North Carolina, and Mobile, Alabama—the freight being just as much, if not more, to New York than from that place to their final destination. We must do more than merely establish a line or lines of steamers. We must have agents in the Southern ports, the same as New York has, and there would be no difficulty in securing success for the lines of steamers. He had seen Southern business men at the Continental who desired goods; and though he was able to supply them all they wanted, yet he was ashamed to be compelled to say that he would have to ship them by way of New York. We ought not to be compelled to seek freight in New York. Let us make up our minds to send agents down South, as well as to establish the line of steamers. There are gentlemen here who could subscribe hundreds of thousands of dollars, if they really feel an interest in the business and the prosperity of Philadelphia as a great city."

7.—TRADE OF MEMPHIS.

We shall be glad if some citizen of Memphis will furnish us with the statistics of its trade for the present year. We are anxious to publish the results. The following in regard to cotton we take from the *Argus:*

"On the last day of January our reporter counted the stock of cotton in the city. It proves to be larger than was generally expected; but he is experienced in business, and made this—the first full count since the war—with great

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care. Cotton on the bluff, 3031 bales; in the sheds and presses, 21,648; estimated amount in private storage, 1500 bales. Total, 29,179 bales. The clerks of sheds reported receipts decreasing on the last month, but cotton accumulating since the news of a decline in Europe. The total receipts of cotton during the month of January, by river, were 5575 bales; by Charleston railroad, 3582 bales; by Ohio railroad, 3476 bales. Total by river and two railroads, 12,933 bales. Total shipment during January, 12,123 bales against 23,723 bales in December. Shipments of the last week, 3296 bales the week before. The December receipts by river were 6902 bales.

The following is a statement of the shipments from this port for each month of the year 1865:

	Bales.
January	8,179
February	9,752
March	13,544
April	5,306
May	15,280
June	11,185
July	13,228
August	16,587
September	18,630
October	28,524
November	17,962
December	22,723
Total	180,900

Weighing 84.459,763 pounds.

8.—ZANZIBAR; IVORY; COPAL; SLAVES.

From a recent report of the New York Statistical Society we take the following, condensed from a letter written by Captain Wm. E. Hines:

The population of Zanzibar is supposed to be about 2,000,000, three fifths of which are negro slaves. One peculiarity of slavery here is, that any slave can own a slave or as many as he pleases. I know of cases where slaves own more slaves than their masters, yet a master by no means claims these as his property, nor does he claim any moiety of what the slave earns by his own slave. These are nice distinctions, considering them as property. I have known, during my residence here, of 17,000 slaves brought from Keelwa in one year. During the past year, I presume, that 10,000 will be about the number imported. This traffic is permitted by treaty with England, between Keelwa and Zanzibar, but once outside of this latitude, English cruisers are always ready to pick them up as legal prizes. This island is probably the largest clove-producing country in the world. Ivory is brought here from Keelwa, and it comes largely from the Lake Tangancka. During the last twelve months there was exported to the United States, say 143,000 pounds of prime ivory, averaging more than 70 pounds billiard balls, say 27,870 pounds; to England, say 75,000 pounds; and to India, say 250,000 pounds. This to India includes every quality, that to the United States only of the very best. This trade to Zanzibar is in the hands of the American houses. The purest and best gum-copal in the world is found on the main land of Africa, near Zanzibar. It is, without doubt, a fossil gum. It is dug from the earth by negroes. It is then cleaned with a solution of soda-ash and lime, and put up carefully in boxes, when it is ready for the home market. At the diggings are not found any copal trees or even any signs of any, and to this time it is a mere conjecture in what ages these deposits of copal were made; probably many thousand years ago. There are gum-copal trees on the coast and on the island, but the gum from them is not a marketable article at all, and when mixed with the fossil gum, is always rejected. Without doubt, the quality of that drug is made as pure as it is by the chemical action of the peculiar kind of earth in which it is buried. Copal dug before the rains is always more impure and dirty than that dug after the rains, because it is more of a surface gum;

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the ground has become hardened by the constant hot sun, and it is very difficult of digging. Just after the rains it is easier digging, and it is from a greater depth of earth; the copal then comes of better quality and larger pieces, and is really of more value: the redder the earth, the better is the gum. The trade in copal has become very dull, owing to the American war. Turpentine is the only article suitable for making varnish from it. In ordinary times, the United States receives the largest quantity exported from Zanzibar; next Hamburg, and then India. Most of that to India is re-exported to England. Cloves, as stated before, are mostly grown on the island. Pemba Island, about 30 miles off, and, one of the dependencies of Zanzibar, produces considerable quantities. Two years ago, the crop of Zanzibar was 1,400,000 pounds, last year 2,450,000 pounds; this year, though not harvested, it is estimated at 7,500,000 pounds. As to ivory, in Zanzibar a tusk is always called a piece. During the year ending September 30, 1863, there arrived say, 2,500 pieces. Now supposing every piece to be entire, and that every tusk of ivory has its piece, 12,500 elephants must have died or been killed, to have produced this supply. Now it is very uncertain to find two tusks that one is absolutely certain are pairs. I therefore think it a low estimate of the death of elephants to produce the ivory imported into this small place in twelve months, to say that it cannot be less than 15,000 elephants.

9.—IMPORTS OF COTTON INTO EUROPE.

EXPRESSED IN THOUSANDS OF BALES.

IMPORTS.	1864. U. S.	Brazil	W. I.	E. I.	Med.	Total	1865. U. S.	Brazil	W. I.	E. I.	Med.	Total
Great Britain	198	212	60	1798	319	2587	462	340	131	1408	414	2755
France	15	30	12	205	167	429	36	37	83	253	201	560
Holland	9	7	7	93	3	119	7	10	4	80	...	101
Belgium	1	....	...	21	...	22	6	2	1	62	4	75
Germany	6	17	6	145	7	181	12	20	24	198	4	258
Trieste	...	....	...	4	24	28	1	....	...	2	53	56
Genoa	...	3	...	7	8	18	...	....	...	9	18	27
Spain	12	31	4	16	29	92	6	21	9	14	43	93
	241	300	89	2289	557	3476	530	430	202	2026	737	3925
Ded't interm. ship's	21	40	10	392	5	468	37	55	15	535	17	659
	220	260	79	1897	552	3008	493	375	187	1491	720	3266
Add stock January 1.	42	10	1	278	33	364	24	19	6	566	43	648
Total Supply	262	270	80	2175	585	3372	517	394	193	2047	763	3914
Ded't stock 31 Dec.	24	19	6	556	43	648	155	40	14	210	47	466
Total Deliveries	238	251	74	1619	542	2724	362	354	179	1837	716	3448

10.—COINAGE OF THE U. S. MINT AND BRANCHES.

Summary Exhibit of the Coinage of the Mint and Branches to the Close of the Year ending June 30, 1865.

Mints.	Commencement of Coinage.	Gold Coinage. Value.	Silver Coinage. Value.	Copper Coinage. Value.	Entire Coinage. Value.
Philadelphia	1793	$ 417,679,774 91	$96,610,254 48	$ 4,880,053 55	$521,179,082 94
San Francisco	1854	199,782,356 81	4,356,615 99	.....	204,140,972 80
New Orleans (to Jan. 31, '61)	1838	40,381,615 00	29,890,037 13	.....	70,271,659 13
Charlotte (to M'ch 31, '61)	1838	5,048,641 50	....	.....	5,048,641 50
Dahnolega (to Feb. 28, '61)	1838	6,121,919 00	.....	.....	6,121,919 00
Assay Office, N. Y.	1854	138,061,174 14	1,896,258 78	.....	139,957,429 92
Denver	1863	545,363 90	.....	.....	545,363 00
Total		$ 907,630,941 36	$134,755,166 38	$ 4,880,053 55	$ 947,265,061 29

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The following table, compiled from the annual report of the Director of the Mint of the United States, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1865, will show the sources of supply of gold and silver, as deposited for coinage, and the respective amounts from each State, from the first year of production:

EASTERN STATES.	*Gold.*	*Silver.*	*Total.*
North Carolina.....	$9,137,690 28	$41,888 00	$9,179 578 28
Georgia.....	6,923,247 39	....	6,923,247 39
Virginia.....	1,559,785 18	.....	1,559,785 18
South Carolina.....	1,352,969 44	.....	1,352,969 44
Alabama.....	200,599 83	.....	200,599 83
Tennessee.....	81,406 75	.....	81,406 75
Vermont.....	614 00	.....	614 00
Total Eastern States	$19,256,312 87	$41,888 00	$19,298,200 87
WESTERN STATES.			
California.....	$570,051,059 74	$8,683 18	$570,059,742 92
Colorado.....	11,405,320 68	.....	11,405,320 68
Idaho.....	7,279,839 82	.....	7,279,839 82
Oregon.....	7,268,107 59	.....	7,268,107 59
Montana.....	1,767,371 72	.....	1,767,381 72
Nevada.....	73,143 79	2,597,198 91	2,670,342 70
New Mexico.....	66,947 53	25 84	66,973 37
Washington	61,260 49	.....	61,260 49
Arizona.....	51,343 60	25,722 00	77,065 60
Dacotah.....	7,958 88	.....	7,958 88
Utah.....	78,559 14	.....	78,559 14
Sonora.....	.....	1,245 00	1,245 00
Lake Superior.....	.....	141,913 41	141,913 41
Total Western States	$598,110,922 98	$2,774,788 34	$600,885,711 32
Total Eastern States	19,256,312 87	41,888 00	19,298,200 87
Parted from silver..	2,754,843 64	.....	2,754,843 64
Parted from gold...	.....	4,576,578 46	4,576,578 46
Other dom'c sources	3,166,232 46	.....	3,166,232 46
Total to June 30, '65	$623,288,311 95	$7,393,264 80	$630,681,566 75
Silver " " "	7,393,254 80		
Total gold and silver	$630,681,566 75		
Total coinage 1793-1865.....	947,265,061 29		

DEPARTMENT OF MANUFACTURES.

1.—THE SOUTH A FIELD FOR MANUFACTURING.

There is much truth in the following, which is from the *Memphis Appeal*. There never was such an opening before in the history of the world for the establishment of manufactures as the South now presents. Will the capital come? Are our people prepared?

"A system of Southern manufacture, broad enough to convert every staple grown on Southern soil into fabricated forms, is the only foundation upon which a prosperous future can be constructed. Such a system has always been, with many of our thoughtful writers and statesmen, a subject of fond consideration. But a culpable inertness of character, and the easy affluence arising from familiar processes of agriculture, made the scheme, for all practical purposes, a mere text for day-dreams. That form of agriculture is past, the obnoxious labor which performed it is dead, and now, the actuations of self-development and

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the assurance of heavy dividends, equally solicit the people at home and the capitalists abroad to the subject of Southern manufactories. It is a matter of curious speculation, that Northern capital, so proverbially alert, eager and sagacious, has not, before now, sunk a shaft into this golden mine. We are acquainted with no field of enterprise which offers fairer promise of fruitful returns.

"Concerning the price of raw material, there is obviously no room for debate. We grow the stuff we design to fabricate. The factors may literally overlook the cotton they are destined to weave, the hemp they are destined to twist, the tobacco they are intended to press, and the sugar they are appointed to granulate. They are at our very door, and thus the cost of transportation, which sways so potently the general result, is reduced to nominal significance."

2.—MANUFACTURES IN CITIES, NORTH AND SOUTH.

From the returns of the census of 1860, the following is gleaned, showing the investment and products of our cities the preceding year.

CAPITAL EMPLOYED AND VALUE OF PRODUCT.

[The figures at the left indicate the rank in the order of product of manufactures.]

City or Town.	Cap'l in Mah'f's	Val. of pro.	City or Town	Cap'l in Man'fs	Val. of pro.
47..Portland	$1,684,680	$3,571,805	28..Jersey City	2,572,800	5,700,800
85..Bangor	599,500	1,050,080	30..Paterson	3,069,550	5,588,867
18..Manchester	7,274,245	10,597,328	89..Trenton	2,271,955	4,101,904
75..Concord	884,400	1,553,478	88..Camden	755,450	1,154,057
50..Nashua	2,214,550	3,385,067	71..Elizabeth	818,925	1,784,621
4..Boston	18,927,230	36,119,018	63..New Brunswick	1,214,600	2,023,292
10..Lowell	14,388,200	18,252,136	2..Philadelphia	73,318,835	135,979,777
51..Cambridge	1,686,600	3,327,052	14..Pittsburg	8,094,141	11,596,474
26..Roxbury	2,487,700	6,455,970	57..Alleghany	1,858,750	2,776,414
91..Charlestown	488,955	687,987	58..Reading	3,785,567	3,183,457
27..Worcester	1,872,600	6,414,481	69..Lancaster	1,286,955	1,825,015
15..New Bedford	12,409,400	11,775,641	95..Harrisburg	526,380	559,226
40..Salem	2,477,400	3,967,290	29..Wilmington	2,776,050	5,592,889
34..Lynn	1,223,300	5,198,363	8..Baltimore	9,009,107	21,088,517
24..Lawrence	7,906,880	8,063,308	49..Washington	1,630,090	3,413,873
41..Taunton	2,888,000	3,910,962	3..Cincinnati	17,855,735	46,436,648
70..Springfield	959,000	1,785,440	33..Cleveland	2,001,513	5,260,178
25..Fall River	4,026,850	7,733,619	44..Dayton	1,567,565	3,734,156
88..Newburyport	1,385,000	818,500	77..Columbus	1,171,070	1,366,676
86..Chelsea	244,950	971,215	99..Mill Creek	327,200	891,390
76..Gloucester	1,132,150	1,569,019	68..Toledo	641,220	1,854,565
11..Providence	8,896,685	15,340,202	45..Detroit	2,897,890	3,620,837
36..Smithfield	2,748,800	4,518,843	89..Indianapolis	727,144	780,955
52..North Providence	1,604,100	3,218 247	74..Evansville	675,950	1,620,648
96..Newport	397,700	479.900	66..New Albany	514,560	1,873.216
23..New Haven	3,986,665	8,747,794	80..Fort Wayne	482,450	1,336,625
32..Hartford	2,583,200	5,283,435	16..Chicago	5,422,225	11,740,684
46..Norwich	2,494,750	3,572,870	35..Peoria	2,310,300	4,593,098
31..Bridgeport	1,466,400	5,573,920	56..Quincy	1,367,150	2 879,448
62..New London	1,379,200	1,163,588	26..Milwaukee	2,878,820	6,423 248
42..Waterbury	2,736,000	3,853,875	98..St. Paul	189,700	[435,236
1..New York	61,212,757	159,107,369	92..Dubuque	479,250	667,040
5..Brooklyn*	12,330,876	34,241,520	87..Davenport	625,800	956,676
28..Buffalo	4,649,743	8,594,112	7..St. Louis	9,205,205	21,772,523
21..Albany	5,525,250	9,581,337	12..Louisville	4,967,583	12,983,092
20..Rochester	4,515,030	10,157,111	72..Covington	623,565	1,748,165
19..Troy	4,335,974	10,446.057	102..Newport	114,000	96,120
43..Syracuse	2,932,775	3,788,749	13..Richmond	4,584,615	12,800,280
37..Utica	2,250,070	4,192,549	48..Petersburg	1,108,550	3,528,677
38..Oswego	1,616,035	4,141,878	97..Norfolk	159,447	447,881
79..Kingston	723,610	1,346,506	55..Wheeling	1,813,000	2,926,006
61..Newburgh	545,100	2,190,722	90..Alexandria	350,850	751.870
58..Poughkeepsie	1,612,970	2,762,078	84..Charleston	742,000	1,064,715
54..Newtown	700,000	2,999,000	64..Savannah	902,8 0	1,907 867
82..Lockport	535,600	1,172,948	80..Augusta	627,400	1,307.314
100..Hempsted	181,000	309,000	78..Mobile	1,193 475	1,3?9.986
59..Yonkers	975,500	2,615,000	17..New Orleans	2,693,746	10,926,185
60..Auburn	1,044,263	2,424,8 0	73..Memphis	790,200	1.671,498
93..Flushing	386,800	651,600	67..Nashville	1,454.000	1,857,540
94..Cortland	387,200	595,540	9..San Francisco	2.221.300	19,318,714
6..Newark	11,926,540	22,647,497	65..Sacramento City	598.740	1,883,063
			Total	$417,129,234	$874,984,827

* The entire county included, except for population.

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3.—PROSPECTS OF NEW ENGLAND FACTORIES.

HEAVY DIVIDENDS.

The best evidence that can be furnished of the prosperity of the Eastern manufacturing companies during the year just closed, is the amount of their dividends, some of which will be found below:

	Capital Div.	Per. ct.
Androscoggin Mills	$1,000,000	40
Appleton	600,000	25
Atlantic Cotton	1,500,000	10
Bates	1,000,000	35
Chicopee	420,000	50
Douglas Axe	300,000	10
Dwight Mills	1,700,000	8
Franklin	600,000	15
Great Falls	1,500,000	5
Hill, Lewiston, Maine	700,000	15
Hamilton Cotton	1,200,000	5
Jackson, Nashua, N. H	700,000	20
Langdon	225,000	30
Lowell Bleachery	300,000	10
Manchester Print Works	1,800,000	16
Merchants' Woolen Company	700,000	7
Merrimac	2,500,000	23
Middlesex	750,000	17
Nashua	1,000,000	35
Naumkeag Cotton	1,200,000	10
New Market, N. H	420,000	23
Pacific	2,600,000	24
Salsbury Mills	1,000,000	23
Salmon Falls	600,000	10
Stark Mills	1,250,900	10
Washington Mills	1,250,000	18

Some of the companies made up their dividends upon the shares, ranging from sixty to one hundred dollars per share. It is stated that the year has been the most profitable one known in the history of the New England States. Over $8,000,000 will be paid for dividends in the city of Boston alone.

4.—PORK PACKING IN THE WEST.

The Cincinnati *Price Current* gives a detailed statement of the progress of Pork packing in the West, from which we extract the following:

RECAPITULATION.

Iowa	9,000	26,900	64,766
Illinois	30,600	81,350	166,655
Ohio	25,663	36,538	59,710
Indiana	52,508	62,188	93,380
Missouri	83.900	111,300	190,093
	201,661	318,226	574,506

Now, by adding the probable packing at Louisville, this city and Chicago to the above estimate for this season, and the total packing at the places given, last season, there will be furnished a pretty accurate basis upon which to make an estimate of the final result:

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	Total packed 1864–5.	
Estimated packing at the places given above, this season	318,226	574,506
Louisville	100,000	92,409
Cincinnati	375,000	350,600
Chicago	350,000	750,147
	1,143,226	1,767,662
		1,143,226
Deficit this year		624,436

This is equal to over 35 per cent. There is nothing to lead us to suppose that there will be any increase or decrease at the places yet to hear from, to essentially change this ratio, and if this will not vary, then the whole number packed will hardly exceed 1,600,000 hogs. There will be an increase in their weight, however, equal to 20 per cent., we think, which would make the crop equal to about 1,800,000 hogs. The final result may reduce the deficiency from this estimate, but it seems to us now pretty clearly, that the crop in pounds will not exceed two million hogs of the same average of that of 1864–6.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

1.—SUGAR BEET AND BEET SUGAR, NO. II.

BY JOHN RHUM.

HAVING tried to direct, in my first article, the attention of the public to the industry of making sugar from beets, let me now give some details in regard to my subject which will prove of interest for the farmer, as well as for the enterprising men of all classes.

Choice of the Soil.

Experience has taught that sandy clay soil or a good second-class soil, with porous underground, give the most favorable results in raising the sugar-beets; results favorable as well in quality as in quantity. Too heavy soil, particularly if wet, is by no means beneficial for the beet. It acquires great weight in such soil, but in proportion to its sugar contents, such a multitude of water and other foreign substances, that its application is not profitable for the manufacture of sugar. New land ought to be avoided entirely; and "clover" or "lucerne" are better as a preceding crop than corn or "small grains." As a general rule, it may be stated that "the lighter the soil the better the beet for sugar manufacture."

It is self understood that the soil has to be in the best possible state of culture in order to produce the necessary quality. Experiments made at various times have proved that "marl" is very favorable. The "situation" of the soil has merely influence upon the quality of the beet as far as concerns the "more dry" or "more wet" condition of the same. Wet, low situated spots, swamps and morasses, have to be carefully avoided. The geographical situations, in certain limits, has, according to good authorities on the subject, no influence on the quantity of sugar substance.

For beets raised in the south of France, in the north of Russia, in warm Hungary, in moderate Germany, and in cold Scandinavia, show, under otherwise equal conditions, no difference in regard to their sugar contents. Heat and sunshine, it seems, do not exercise as much influence as one could expect; for it has been proved that in Germany, where the beet does not ripen before the latter part of October, which month is rather cool in that country, the sugar contents increase rapidly during that month; further, the head of the beet which is most exposed to sunshine contains less sugar substance than any other part. Much rain, however, is decidedly unfavorable to the development of sugar in the beet—especially so during the ripening time; as thereby the water in it is considerably increased.

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Plowing the Soil.

As the beet in regard to its form belongs to those roots which grow into the ground perpendicularly, and as it is of great importance that the main stem should not grow in many small branches, but in one single root, and as the head which grows out of the ground has not only not the requisite sugar contents, but also contains foreign substances of disadvantageous influence in the production of sugar, therefore it is to be observed that the land be plowed quite deep, in order that the root may have full chance to develop itself in a perpendicular direction.

Influence of Manuring.

That too many salts may not accrue by which the sugar substance could be diminished it is necessary to care for a fit choice of the dung.

It is generally understood that the refuse from the beet sugar factory is the best dung for the beet. Horse and sheep dung are disadvantageous, as they increase the nitrogenous substances of the beet to such a degree as to afterwards prove destructive to the juice, especially under the influence of higher temperature. The best *artificial* manures are "pulverized bones" and "ground oil cake.' Fresh manure does not hurt, but should be avoided if other can be procured.

Influence of the size on the sugar contents.

The size of the beet is in strict connection with its sugar contents. "With the increase of the weight the sugar contents diminish in proportion." This rule may be considered as general. Dr. Schwarz, from Brunswick, examined in September, 1855, which year was very favorable for all kinds of experiments with beets, twelve beets from various fields.

Of these	3,	weighing up to	1	pound, gave	14.1	sugar.
	4,	" "	1¼	" "	11.7	"
	5,	" "	2⅛	" "	9.7	"

So it may be seen that larger beets contain more water and other foreign substances, proportion to sugar, than smaller ones do.

Chemical contents of the Beet are,

1. Water.
2. Crystallizable Sugar.
3. Cellular tissue.
4. Albumen and other nitrogenous combinations.
5. Pectine.
6. Gum.
7. Vegetable fat.
8. "Salts" of alkali, natron, iron-oxide, lime, magnesia, with the "acids" of coal, salt, sulphur, saltpeter, phosphor, apple, clover and gollet.
9. A substance of peculiar acid taste.

On an average the beet contains 80 per cent. of water and 10 to 13 of sugar.

2.—AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY.

The progress in agricultural machinery since the war has been extraordinary, and there are thousands of things which we of the South must learn in regard to such machinery, now that the scarcity of labor is so great. We must learn to economise in its use, as our neighbors do. We must constantly be on the watch for new improvements and new implements. We must take the agricultural papers and examine the lists of the Agricultural Machinists. One of these lists is before us. It is a pamphlet of some hundred pages, abounding in drawings and illustrations. Nothing seems to be wanting. It is issued by the great agricultural warehouse of R. H. Allen & Co., New York, well known to the South. Here we have designs of bark mills and beehives, brick machines, boilers, cane mills, cob crushers, corn mills, planters and shellers; cotton cultivators, gins and harrows, engines, cotton gins and mills of every sort, mowing machines, plows, pumps, reaping machines, sugar machinery, threshers,

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etc., and the list embraces everything. The catalogue contains full descriptions of all these implements. In the seed and fertilizer department nothing is wanting. It is curious to examine such establishments. They are, as it were, great branches of the patent office. The productive power of the South can be doubled if we will resort to labor-saving machinery. It is an age of progress. The press of the South will do well to keep advised of what is being done in Agricultural Machinery.

3.—THE GREAT COTTON QUESTION.

FACTS AND FIGURES REGARDING THE CROP FOR 1866—THE PRODUCTIVE POWER OF THE SOUTH—HOW MUCH COTTON CAN BE RAISED—SPECULATIONS AS TO PROBABLE PRICES.*

Cotton has become a word to conjure with. Plutus whispers it on 'Change, and the whole commercial world becomes excited. Many there are who think of nothing else, speculate in nothing else, love nothing else. They talk of the fleecy fabric when awake, dream of it when asleep, turn it now into greenbacks, now into gold, and now build with it all sorts of castles in the air. The cotton crop of 1860 was 5,386,897 bales, of which about one-fourth was consumed in this country, leaving the balance, worth at the old *ante bellum* price about one hundred and sixty millions of dollars, to take the place of specie in our foreign exchange. It is not wonderful then, that cotton is regarded as a product of great importance, and that in the future, as in the past, it is expected to occupy a prominent position in our industrial and commercial statistics.

Much speculation exists as to the probable crop of 1866. Some look for a crop of three millions of bales, while others again are far more moderate in their estimate, placing the prospective crop at a million or a million and a half. These differences of opinion arise from the different views entertained touching the productive value of free and slave labor. Some think that the freedman will be more effective than the slave as an agricultural producer, whilst others imagine that he will be almost worthless.

On this subject we have been favored with some calculations, made by a keen statistical friend of ours, which we think are well worthy of being seriously pondered. The data cannot certainly be questioned, and all of our readers are at liberty to judge for themselves of the conclusions arrived at. If the figures and deductions which we are about to offer tend in any manner to harmonize commerce, and check the wild mania of hazardous speculation, our aim will be accomplished.

Numerous correspondents, who appear to be interested in lowering the price of cotton now held by the producers of the South, coolly state that *all* the negroes have gone to work with energy, and that consequently the cotton crop of the present year cannot be less than 2,500,000 or 3,000,000 bales. Persons who make such statements cannot have visited the outskirts of this and other Southern cities, where negroes by thousands congregate, and are living in comparative idleness and destitution. There are in this city at present not less than 75,000 negro men and women, who have drifted hither from the rural districts in order to enjoy the imaginary ease and pleasure of city life. A similar story may be told of every city and town from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, and the total number thus drawn away from agricultural employments is indeed enormous.

According to our friend's statistical table there were about 4,000,000 slaves in the South at the commencement of the war. It was the custom, in ancient times, to estimate one-tenth of every nation or tribe as warriors, or persons capable of bearing arms. Taking this as a basis of calculation, there were, at the beginning of the war, 400,000 negro men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years. Of that number, 200,000 entered the army of the United States, but the sword and disease reduced their ranks to 100,000. Since the

* The above article, taken from the New Orleans *Times*, arrives at the same results that we did in the March Number by a different process of reasoning.—EDITOR.

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close of the war many of these have been disbanded and gone to the North and West. The remainder are in the army still. Of the 200,000 who did not enlist, some perished in the Confederate service while engaged in erecting forts and digging trenches; 100,000 are now to be found in towns and villages throughout the South, employed on board of steamboats, in hotels, or playing the part of independent freedmen. Of the balance, 25,000 removed into the States where cotton is not produced, and 75,000 remained at home on the old plantations, and most of them may now be found in the field at work.

Turning to the opposite sex, we find 400,000 between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years. And how shall we account for them? Go, ink-shedding Bohemian, to the coast of Carolina and Georgia. Follow the train of General Sherman's grand march from the sea to Atlanta. Go to Mobile, Nashville, Memphis, Vicksburg, Savannah, Jackson, Baton Rouge, Monroe, Shreveport, Alexandria and this city. Visit the graveyards in our towns and villages, and ask who sleep there. It will be easy to account for, the disappearance of 100,000 negro women—poor, ignorant creatures, who left their homes to follow triumphant armies, but perished of cold, hunger and fatigue ere the bliss of freedom became theirs. We are speaking now of grown-up women. The children who followed them fell by the wayside, and slumber in unmarked, unconsecrated graves. To seek guarantees for their promised freedom, 25,000 have gone North, East and West, and 125,000 are about towns, cities and villages, washing, cooking, or following far less creditable occupations. This would leave 150,000 effective female laborers in the rural districts. Of boys and girls, between the ages of ten and eighteen years, there are, perhaps, 120,000, half of whom are either employed or are loitering about towns and villages. We have, therefore, of available cotton raisers:

Negro men	15,000
Negro women	150,000
Negro boys and girls	60,000
Total	285,000

We must now take into consideration the number of white persons who will devote their attention to cotton raising. In the cotton States there were about 250,000 white men at the commencement of the war, who, if so inclined, might have devoted their attention to the raising of cotton. Of this number 100,000 have been killed or disabled during the war, but their places have, to some extent, been supplied by the growth of boys. We think that it would be a large estimate to allow 200,000 white laborers for the cotton fields during the present season. If so, we have a total effective force of 485,000 cotton raisers.

The next question is—how much cotton can we reasonably expect to be raised per hand? Statistics show that in 1840, with a force of 600,000 laborers, our crop was 1,800,000 bales, or three bales per hand. When the laboring force doubled between 1850 and 1860, the crop proved to be 4,500,000 bales, equal to three and three-quarter bales per hand. What, then, shall be our estimate for the present year? We must remember that there is a scarcity of stock and agricultural implements; that fences, gin-houses and habitations need repair; that food must be provided; that much of the rich cotton lands along the Mississippi are not yet redeemed from overflow by the rebuilding of broken levees. Our dependence for a crop must rest chiefly upon the highland farms, which are far less productive than those of the lowlands. All things considered, we cannot expect more than three bales per hand, which would yield 1,440,000 bales in all. Now, if it be contended that this estimate is below the mark, the reader will please remember that we have made no calculation for the labor which must necessarily be devoted to other crops—sugar, tobacco and rice, for instance—nor of that which will be turned to mechanics and stock-raising. These employments will certainly absorb all that remains of the physical, laboring power which the Southern States can at present boast. With all these facts before us, it would be vain to expect a cotton crop of more than a million and a-half of bales.

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Let not the commercial and manufacturing world be deceived by the loose calculations of Freedmen's Bureaus or interested speculators. Nor will it do to base an argument on the amount on hand at the close of the war—that was made up from the savings and hidings during five long years from the torchman and the plunderer. The few bales that the planter now has he should not sacrifice at existing rates. He need not be frightened by a nightmare crop of three million bales. No such crop will be produced either this year or next. What will be raised in 1868 we will not pretend to say. It is enough at present to know that we cannot raise a crop exceeding 1,500,000 bales this year; and as the demand for our staple will be much greater than the supply, the price will assuredly advance. We stake our professional reputation on the correctness of our general conclusions in the premises.

4.—THE COMING COTTON CROP.

Much has been said and written respecting the amount of cotton that would be produced in the United States the present year. Some writers have put it as high as two-thirds of a crop, while others have contented themselves with half a crop. Our estimate is is 1,200,000 to 1,500,000 bales—what we term a little over the fourth of a crop—the fourth of the crop of 1861, which we set down at 4,800,000 bales. This is a high figure, and may possibly be over the mark.

In proof of the corrections of our estimate, we will state a few incontestible facts. Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, West Tennessee and Alabama, have been the great cotton producing regions. They have been relied on for over three millions of the crop. What is their condition now? In the rich and productive territories of Louisiana, Mississippi, West Tennessee and the valley of the Tennessee in North Alabama, what of African labor was left by the Federal army is completely demoralized, and is composed of the old, infirm and women and children. The larger half of the labor that cultivated the crop of 1860–61 are absent. Some are dead, some are in the army and many have congregated in the towns and cities, seeking employment more agreeable to them than field labor.

In south Alabama, it is thought, African labor is in better trim. There, the absent from field labor are not so numerous, but from the best information we can gather from the productive sections of South Alabama, African labor is much demoralized, and those who have contracted for plantation service, cannot be relied upon for more than half the service they did perform while in slavery. Even there, one-fourth to one-third of the laborers are absent from plantation service.

In Georgia, we are satisfied not more than the third of the crop of 1861 can be relied on. Planters will make an effort, and possibly a large surface will be planted with cotton, but we believe the labor cannot be relied on in the crisis of the crop, and as a consequence, grass will become master of the situation, and much will have to be abandoned.

In South Carolina, as also in Georgia, the valuable Sea Island lands are in possion of the negroes, and but little can be expected from that quarter. In the interior of South Carolina, African labor has been greatly demoralized by the presence of negro troops; so much so, that but little labor will be got out of those even who contract, and but little cotton can be looked for from that State.

These are facts well known to all who are acquainted with the condition in which the war had left the cotton region, and the disposition of the negro as a reliable laborer under the present system.

We have been induced to write this article from having seen numerous speculative opinions sent abroad by correspondents and commercial firms, whose opinions heretofore were entitled to credit, but whose present want of knowledge of the "situation," totally unfits them to be reliable advisers. When the planter could control the labor at command, he knew precisely how many acres of land he could plant and successfully cultivate, and it was an easy matter to estimate

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from former data—the seasons being equal—within a few thousand bales of the amount of cotton that would be produced.

Such is not the case under the changed labor system. We are satisfied that not only the prospective crop has been largely over-estimated, but that the stock of old cotton on hand in this country has also been over-estimated. These are matters of serious import to our people in a pecuniary point. Ever since the erroneous estimates have been going forward, cotton has manifested a downward tendency abroad, and many on this side of the water have sustained heavy losses. We do not charge any one with having intentionally misrepresented in this matter—we have more charity for them. But we do charge them with ignorance of the true state of the situation.—*From the Columbus (Ga.) Sun.*

5.—FENCES AND OUT-BUILDINGS AT THE SOUTH.

The march of invading armies and the havoc of war, have made sad work among the plantations of the South. Whole regions have been devastated and the necessity for fences and buildings is felt everywhere, and a great practical drawback results from the scarcity of lumber. Cannot this be cured by the enterprise of our large planters, who will introduce portable saw-mills, and thus greatly aid in the restoration of our agriculture. Considering the cheapness of these machines, it is marvellous that so few of them are in operation among us. A thousand dollars and even less, will purchase one of sufficient capacity for a large estate. Among the best known of these machines, is that which is manufactured by the house of Geo. Page and Company, of Baltimore. With their mill and horse power, lumber can be cut in sufficient quantities for the largest farm, and at times when horses and hands are unemployed. One thousand to fifteen hundred feet can be cut per day, leaving the horse power, disposable for other farm work. The South must wake up to the importance of labor-saving machines. They will redeem her.

DEPARTMENT OF THE FREEDMEN.

1.—SYSTEM PROPOSED BY GENERAL BANKS.

THE year before the close of the war, General Banks, of Massachusetts, having command in Louisiana, set on foot a system for the regulation of the freedmen of the State, which is very elaborate, and has the merit of being the result of frequent communications between the planters and himself. The system too met the approval of the rabid advocates of Emancipation at all hazards, and is worthy of study and preservation. Although it very soon fell to the ground, there are points in it that will have value even now in all the States:

General Orders, No. 23.

The following general regulations are published for the information and government of all interested in the subject of compensated plantation labor, public or private, during the present year, and in continuation of the system established January 30, 1863:

I. The enlistment of soldiers from plantations under cultivation in this department, having been suspended by order of the Government, will not be resumed except upon direction of the same high authority.

II. The Provost Marshal General is instructed to provide for the division of parishes into police and school districts, and to organize, from invalid soldiers, a competent police force for the preservation of order.

III. Provision will be made for the establishment of a sufficient number of schools, one at least for each of the police and school districts, for the instruction of colored children under twelve years of age, which, when established, will be placed under the direction of the Superintendent of Public Education.

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IV. Soldiers will not be allowed to visit plantations without the written consent of the commanding officer of the regiment or post to which they are attached, and never with arms, except when on duty, accompanied by an officer.

V. Plantation hands will not be allowed to pass from one place to another except under such regulations as may be established by the Provost Marshal of the parish.

VI. Flogging and other cruel or unusual punishments are interdicted.

VII. Planters will be required, as early as practicable after the publication of these regulations, to make a roll of persons employed upon their estates, and to transmit the same to the Provost Marshal of the parish. In the employment of hands, the unity of families will be secured as far as possible.

VIII. All questions between the employer and the employed, until other tribunals are established, will be decided by the Provost Marshal of the parish.

IX. Sick and disabled persons will be provided for upon the plantations to which they belong, except such as may be received in establishments provided for them by the Government, of which one will be established at Algiers and one at Baton Rouge.

X. The unauthorized purchase of clothing, or other property, from laborers, will be punished by fine and imprisonment. The sale of whiskey, or other intoxicating drinks, to them, or to other persons, except under regulations established by the Provost Marshal General, will be followed by the severest punishment.

XI. The possession of arms, or concealed or dangerous weapons, without authority, will be punished by fine and imprisonment.

XII. Laborers shall render to their employer, between daylight and dark, ten hours in summer and nine hours in winter, of respectful, honest, faithful labor, and receive therefor, in addition to just treatment, healthy rations, comfortable clothing, quarters, fuel, medical attendance, and instruction for children, wages per month as follows, payment of one half of which, at least, shall be reserved until the end of the year:

For first class hands	$8 00	per month.
For second class hands	6 00	do.
For third class hands	5 00	do.
For fourth class hands	3 00	do.

Engineers and foremen, when faithful in the discharge of their duties, will be paid $2 per month extra. This schedule of wages may be commuted, by consent of both parties, at the rate of one fourteenth part of the net proceeds of the crop, to be determined and paid at the end of the year. Wages will be deducted in case of sickness, and rations, also, when sickness is feigned. Indolence, insolence, disobedience of orders, and crime, will be suppressed by forfeiture of pay, and such punishments as are provided for similar offences by Army Regulations. Sunday work will be avoided when practicable, but when necessary, will be considered as extra labor, and paid at the rate specified herein.

XIII. Laborers will be permitted to choose their employers, but when the agreement is made, they will be held to their engagement for the year, under the protection of the Government. In cases of attempted imposition, by feigning sickness, or stubborn refusal of duty, they will be turned over to the Provost Marshal of the parish, for labor upon the public works, without pay.

XIV. Laborers will be permitted to cultivate land on private account, as follows:

First and second class hands, with families, one acre each.
First and second class hands, without families, one-half acre each.
Second and third class hands, with families, one-half acre each.
Second and third class hands, without families, one-quarter acre each.

To be increased for good conduct at the discretion of the employer. The encouragement of independent industry will strengthen all the advantages which

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capital derives from labor, and enable the laborer to take care of himself and prepare for the time when he can render so much labor for so much money, which is the great end to be attained. No exemption will be made in this apportionment, except upon imperative reasons, and it is desirable that for good conduct the quantity be increased until faithful hands can be allowed to cultivate extensive tracts, returning to the owner an equivalent of product for rent of soil.

XV. To protect the laborer from possible imposition, no commutation of his supplies will be allowed, except in clothing, which may be commuted at the rate of $3 per month for first-class hands, and in similar proportion for other classes. The crops will stand pledged, wherever found, for the wages of labor.

XVI. It is advised, as far as practicable, that employers provide for the current wants of their hands, by perquisites for extra labor, or by appropriation of land for share cultivation; to discourage monthly payments so far as it can be done without discontent, and to reserve till the full harvest the yearly wages.

XVII. A Free Labor Bank will be established for the safe deposit of all accumulation of wages and other savings; and in order to avoid a possible wrong to depositors, by official defalcation, authority will be asked to connect the bank with the Treasury of the United States in this department.

XVIII. The transportation of negro families to other countries will not be approved. All propositions for this privilege have been declined, and application has been made to other departments for surplus negro families for service in this department.

XIX. The last year's experience shows that the planter and the negro comprehend the revolution. The overseer, having little interest in capital, and less sympathy with labor, dislikes the trouble of thinking, and discredits the notion that anything new has occurred. He is a relic of the past, and adheres to its customs. His stubborn refusal to comprehend the condition of things, occasioned most of the embarrassments of the past year. Where such incomprehension is chronic, reduced wages, diminished rations, and the mild punishments imposed by the army and navy, will do good.

XX. These regulations are based upon the assumption that labor is a public duty, and idleness and vagrancy a crime. No civil or military officer of the Government is exempt from the operation of this universal rule. Every enlightened community has enforced it upon all classes of people by the severest penalties. It is especially necessary in agricultural pursuits. That portion of the people identified with the cultivation of the soil, however changed in condition, by the revolution through which we are passing, is not relieved from the necessity of toil, which is the condition of existence with all the children of God. The revolution has altered its tenure, but not its law. This universal law of labor will be enforced upon just terms by the Government, under whose protection the laborer rests secure in his rights. Indolence, disorder and crime, will be suppressed. Having exercised the highest right in the choice and place of employment, he must be held to the fulfilment of his engagements, until released therefrom by the Government. The several Provost Marshals are hereby invested with plenary powers upon all matters connected with labor, subject to the approval of the Provost Marshal General, and the Commanding Officer of the Department. The most faithful and discreet officers will be selected for this duty, and the largest force consistent with the public service detailed for their assistance.

XXI. Employers, and especially overseers, are notified that undue influence used to move the Marshal from his just balance between the parties representing labor and capital, will result in immedate change of officers, and thus defeat that regular and stable system upon which the interests of all parties depend.

XXII. Successful industry is especially necessary at the present time, when large public debts and onerous taxes are imposed to maintain and protect the liberties of the people and the integrity of the Union. All officers, civil or mil-

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itary, and all classes of citizens who assist in extending the profits of labor, and increasing the product of the soil, upon which, in the end, all national prosperity and power depends, will render to the Government a service as great as that derived from the terrible sacrifices of battle. It is upon such consideration only that the planter is entitled to favor. The Government has accorded to him, in a period of anarchy, a release from the disorders resulting mainly from insensate and mad resistance to sensible reforms, which can never be rejected without revolution, and the criminal surrender of his interests and power to crazy politicians, who thought by metaphysical abstractions to circumvent the laws of God. It has restored to him, in improved rather than impaired condition, his due privileges, at a moment when, by his own acts, the very soil was washed from beneath his feet.

XXIII. A more majestic and wise clemency human history does not exhibit. The liberal and just conditions that attend it cannot be disregarded. It protects labor by enforcing the performance of its duty, and it will assist capital by compelling just contributions to the demands of the Government. Those who profess allegiance to other Governments, will be required, as the condition of residence in this State, to acquiesce, without reservation, in the demands presented by Government as a basis of permanent peace. The non-cultivation of the soil, without just reason, will be followed by temporary forfeiture to those who will secure its improvement. Those who have exercised, or are entitled to the rights of citizens of the United States, will be required to participate in the measures necessary for the re-establishment of civil government. War can never cease except as civil governments crush out contest, and secure the supremacy of moral over physical power. The yellow harvest must wave over the crimson field of blood, and the representatives of the people displace the agents of purely military power.

XXIV. It is therefore a solemn duty resting upon all persons to assist in the earliest possible restoration of civil government. Let them participate in the measures suggested for this purpose. Opinion is free and candidates are numerous. Open hostility cannot be permitted. Indifference will be treated as crime, and faction as treason. Men who refuse to defend their country with the ballot box or cartridge box, have no just claim to the benefits of liberty regulated by law. All people not exempt by the law of nations, who seek the protection of the Government, are called upon to take the oath of allegiance in such form as may be prescribed, sacrificing to the public good, and the restoration of public peace, whatever scruples may be suggested by incidental considerations. The oath of allegiance, administered and received in good faith, is the test of unconditional fealty to the Government and all its measures, and cannot be materially strengthened or impaired by the language in which it is clothed.

XXV. The amnesty offered for the past is conditioned upon an unreserved loyalty for the future, and this condition will be enforced with an iron hand. Whoever is indifferent or hostile, must choose between the liberty which foreign lands afford, the poverty of the rebel States, and the innumerable and inappreciable blessings which our Government confers upon its people.

May God preserve the Union of the States.

By order of MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS.

GEORGE B. DRAKE, *A. A. General.*

2.—GENERAL GRANT'S VIEW OF THE SOUTHERN SITUATION.

In answer to the senseless clamor of those who maintain that order has not been restored at the South, and that military rule and Freedmen's bureaus are necessary, the recent able letter from General Grant to President Johnson is conclusive, and it is on that account worthy of preservation. Our space admits of but a short extract:

"I am satisfied that the mass of the thinking men of the South accept the present situation of affairs in good faith. The questions which have heretofore divided the sentiments of the people of the two sections—slavery and State

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rights, or the right of a State to secede from the Union—they regard as having been settled forever by the highest tribunal (arms) that man can resort to. I was pleased to learn from the leading men whom I met that they not only accepted the decision arrived at as final, but that now the smoke of battle has cleared away and time has been given for reflection, that this decision has been a fortunate one for the whole country, they receiving the like benefits from it with those who opposed them in the field and in the cause.

"Four years of war, during which law was executed only at the point of the bayonet throughout the States in rebellion, have left the people, possibly, in a condition not to yield that ready obedience to civil authority the American people have generally been in the habit of yielding. This would render the presence of small garrisons throughout those States necessary until such time as labor returns to its proper channel and civil authority is fully established. I do not meet any one, either those holding places under the Government or citizens of the United States, who think it practicable to withdraw the military from the South at present. The white and the black mutually require the protection of the General Government.

There is such universal acquiescence in the authority of the General Government throughout the portions of the country visited by me, that the mere presence of a military force, without regard to numbers, is sufficient to maintain order. The good of the country, and economy, require that the force kept in the interior, where there are many freedmen (elsewhere in the Southern States, than at forts upon the sea-coast, no force is necessary), should all be white troops. The reasons for this are obvious, without mentioning any of them. The presence of black troops, lately slaves, demoralizes labor, both by their advice and by furnishing in their camps a resort for the freedmen for long distances around. White troops generally excite no opposition, and therefore a small number of them can maintain order in a given district. Colored troops must be kept in bodies sufficient to defend themselves. It is not the thinking men who would use violence towards any class of troops sent among them by the General Government, but the ignorant in some places might; and the late slave seems to be imbued with the idea that the property of his late master should by right belong to him—at least should have no protection from the colored soldiers. There is danger of collisions being brought on by such causes.

"My observations lead me to the conclusion that the citizens of the Southern States are anxious to return to self government within the Union as soon as possible; that whilst reconstructing, they want and require protection from the Government; that they are in earnest in wishing to do what they think is required by the Government—not humiliating to them as citizens—and that if such a course was pointed out, they would pursue it in good faith."

6.—THE FREEDMEN ON THE SEA ISLANDS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

A series of admirable letters have recently been written to the Superintendent of the Freedman's Bureau, by Wm. H. Trescott and John Townsend, Esqrs., of South Carolina. In these letters the frightful condition of things is faithfully depicted, and the Bureau implored to change its course of action, and accommodate it to the policy and plans of the President.

Mr. Townsend says: "Is this thriftless and reckless waste of their property calculated to conciliate the good will of the white population towards the freedmen? Or can this *vagrancy*, accompanied, as it must necessarily be, by idleness and waste of time, lead to anything else than *want* and *starvation;* and these again to robberies, crime, and violation of the public peace? How fearful, then, must be the responsibility of those who, being entrusted with the management of the *labor* of the country, upon which depends the sustenance of the population, nevertheless, inaugurate (or, perhaps, only permit), a system of measures which make that labor utterly worthless, and which must lead to crimes and disorders in society, fearful to think of. If these evils be traced, link by link, to the originating *main cause*, they will be found to arise in the confident expectation which every negro now cherishes, of "getting his share of the lands," as they

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are in the practice of expressing themselves; and he thinks himself justified in that belief, by perceiving that there is now no discipline exercised over him—no restraints upon vagrancy; but that every one can ramble from his former home, without any ostensible business or employment; *enter upon the lands of other people on the seaboard*, during the temporary absence of the rightful owners, and take possession of such portions of them as he may fancy, whilst the Freedmen's Bureau remains passively by, doing nothing to prevent it; but, on the contrary, much to encourage it, by the impediments which it allows to be thrown in the way of the rightful owner in recovering his property.

"If, then, robberies and crime shall grow up out of famine and starvation; if these be owing to the *worthlessness* or *want* of labor, arising out of the refusal of the negroes to enter into any contracts for work; and if this refusal is based upon expectations to obtain lands, engendered by the action of the Freedmen's Bureau on the seacoast, then the verdict of all impartial men will be, that that Bureau will be responsible for all the calamities which the want of food, next year, shall entail upon the country."

Mr. Trescott says: 1. "As we have said, the conduct of the slaves of the South during this war has been wonderful. They have, by their general fidelity, vindicated the character of their masters by such a demonstration as the extremest slaveholder could scarcely have anticipated, and the bitterest abolitionist cannot falsify. Their masters feel it, and we say, without fear of contradiction, that throughout the length and breadth of the South, there is to-day among the former slaveholders a feeling of universal kindness to the new freedmen, and a general recognition that if the Government succeeds in converting the former slave into a free, thrifty, intelligent and industrious laborer, great as is the boon conferred upon him, far greater will that be conferred upon his master.

2. "While it is very uncertain whether white labor can be employed in the production of Southern staples, it is certain that black can. The immediate wants of the South, the high price of cotton, the capability for remunerative production still existing in the soil, all combine to secure instant and well-paid employment to the freedmen. Already agents from the rich lands of the Mississippi offer for free black labor such wages as cannot be had elsewhere, except for the work of skilled mechanics. And the lands of the South once restored, those planters who can recommence, and the Northern capital which will take the place of those entirely ruined, will insure such a return in wages to free black labor as will exceed any return of profits under the system of freehold distribution, for it excludes the risk of loss and the responsibility of ownership.

"The question, then, seems fairly to be this: Having made the former slave free, will the Government take the next most obvious and most natural step, and using the present kindliness of feeling in his former master, and the existing condition of the agricultural wants and interests of the South, secure him the opportunity of becoming a well paid, industrious and independent laborer, or will it place him in direct antagonism to all the prejudices and interests of the entire Southern people among whom he is to live? For to assign him these forty-acre lots, the Government begins by an act of odious spoliation, and puts him in a position of direct and bitter hostility to the former owners.

"In the next place, it puts him in a position where the want of capital and systematic direction of labor assure the certain deterioration of the soil, the reduction of the means of support, and, by forcing the rivalship of white labor, his certain extinction. And lastly, it places him on the seaboard, exactly where the commercial wants, the interests, the enterprise of the whole country will not allow him to remain. By fraud or force he will be driven away. For let us ask, If the Island of Hayti, with its institutions and its population, formed a county, we will not say of Virginia or Carolina, but of New York or Ohio, or even of Massachusetts, does any one believe that for ten years it would be allowed to exist as an obstruction to the magnificent development of those great Commonwealths? Would it not perish utterly and miserably, or be transferred, like the Indian tribes who have cumbered the soil of other states, to its place of speedy decay?

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DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

1.—SOUTHERN RAILWAY ENTERPRISE.

We cannot fail to pay a tribute to that fore-sightedness and energy in the South which, in the calm following war, is taking hold of railroads with an unprecedented vigor, and restoring them and increasing them without a parallel there. The conduct is one of the first importance to State and city wealth and the general welfare of the region, and is no less important to the whole country. It means the rehabilitation of the South, and paves the way to those exchanges which both North and South are solicitous for. At the close of the war there was not an efficient road between the Potomac and the bay. Grant, Thomas and Sherman, had completed the work which Johnson and Beauregard and others began. In some places the track was torn up for a short distance; in some the bridges were burned; in some the rails were wrenched away and destroyed for many miles. Since the close of the war these roads have been repaired, renewed and enlarged very wonderfully, so that they now drain nearly all of the territory originally sapped by them, and something more. The Government has lent aid, to be sure, but the credit is chiefly with the South.

To day a project is under way for building the road from Cincinnati to Knoxville, Tenn. The Chamber of Commerce of the former city agreed to furnish $1,000,000, conditioned that Tennessee would find the remainder. The road is to be finished in two years. Another road is projected from Kentucky, through Memphis, into communication with the Gulf roads, and another between Montgomery and Nashville. The road from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Galveston, six hundred miles long, is likely to be begun before long. Another railway is building between Little Rock and Memphis, in which General Sherman wishes to employ the force of negro regiments of Arkansas. A road has been begun between Alexandria and Fredericksburg, Va., fifty miles long, running nearly to Mt. Vernon. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company propose building from Lynchburg to Danville, Va. Another road will soon be built from Harper's Ferry to Salem, where it joins the Virginia and Tennessee roads. The Manassas Road Company is beginning to rebuild its bridges, and the Leesburg road is getting ready to run. A new road will soon be finished from Washington to Point Lookout. The North Carolina roads are being renewed, and trains will soon run from Richmond to Memphis. Charleston is to be connected with the Ohio river by the South Carolina road, and the Atlantic and Gulf road is being pushed by shipments received at Savannah. The road from Savannah to Augusta, via Millens, is due now, but that from Savannah to Macon awaits awhile. The Mississippi Central progresses. The Edgefield and Kentucky, the Virginia and Tennessee, Mississippi Central and Memphis and Charleston roads had $1,075,000 appropriated to them at the last session of the Tennessee Legislature. The Iron Mountain road of Missouri, is being repaired, and the Vicksburg and Shreveport will soon be running again. The Memphis and Ohio road is now running over the Natchez river to Brownsville, in the first time for some years. The New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern and the Mobile roads are both being pushed forward to completion.

Here are some pretty practical proofs that the South is really taking hold of the most important matters, and that a beginning is being made for the industry of the future, which is not more a need for the section than it is a value to the country. The building of railways is but one branch of internal improvement. It cannot prosper without public confidence. They must be well convinced of the enduring character of peace, and persuaded of the engrossing nature of future business, who essay these great undertakings while money is so scarce there, and so many obstacles have to be met. The existing energy only shows what we may now look for in the Southern States, and what a varied and active business will soon be conducted there.

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EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANIES.

We give place cheerfully to the following criticism on the article by George Fitzhugh in a late number of the REVIEW, entitled "The Uses and Morality of War." It is from the pen of M. A. Richter, Esq., author of the *Municipalist*:

As there will be forever good and bad men, gentlemen and rowdies; so we will have good and bad times, peace and war. Men are not angels; virtues and vices, reason and passion make the species, "homo." Still, as there is no morality in vices, and not much of reason in passion, there cannot be morality or reason in war, generally speaking. Washington, a good authority in war-matters, depreciated all wars, except for defense. Civilization condemns dueling, and all violence among individuals, except for self protection. We all, however, know that, providentially, from evil some good may spring up. Therefore a defensive war, how much it may be regretted, may be far from being an unmitigated evil. On this ground the defensive war of the thirteen Anglo-American Colonies is approved by the world. The very King George, who fought it seven years, was at last so much convinced of its unrighteousness, that he even indemnified them for losses in negro property, a most significant fact to be appreciated, as a rare act of plain common-sense justice, in all times.

Mr. F. will be so kind as to admit that the writer of these lines is not indulging in "chimeras," when he ventures to defend the cause of peace against his aspersions, *e. g.*, "that over-pacific individuals, sects, nations become knavish, cowardly, mean and contemptible, depraved in morals and intellect, and finally the the easy prey of more warlike, virtuous and intelligent people,—that peace begets universal, cheating," etc. Of our good people in particular, he says: "All education was directed to money making, and we had the best fed bodies and the worst fed minds of any people in Christendom."

How is that Mr. F.? Are our churches, colleges, schools, literature and arts, a total failure; nothing but nurseries of coarse materialism or dollarism? No doubt that materialism prevails among us. Still, this is not a product of peace, but the *obvious effect* of the colonization of this country by enterprising adventurous Europeans, *all eager to make a living and a fortune besides.* This natural speculative spirit has been immensely stimulated by the unrestricted industrial liberty (nothing to say of political liberty here) of such "prospecting" men, spread over a vast fertile area, inviting to grand exploitations, alas! too often at the expense of the aboriginal possessors of the land. This "master passion" for the dollar has not only "swallowed up the rest" as Pope has it, and roused the energy of the people to a very high pitch, but has, under a lax administration of the law, also induced them to speculate in horrible war. Thus we got of late again a four years' war, of rapine and conquest of the worst kind, as the official documents prove. And consequently, the United States have ceased to be a free-will confederation, and are now a "republic, whole and inseparable," or a new "military nation," also proved by official documents.

Peace is the effect of reason—state—law. That among our Free States a four years' war could be waged, so demoralizing and ruinous in its effects; even changing our whole political constitutional system,—proves, that there was no reason, law and statesmanship at work. If anything is to be complained of the working of peace in this land, it would be the loss of reason and statesmanship, and the creation of savage vandalism, and reckless lust for rapine and dominion. When "noble woman" comes forth to relieve the victims of this war, does it, on the other hand, not prove, that the women did not lose in times of peace religious charitable feeling? Mr. F. will, after a sober second thought, admit, that the eternal wars of the Romans ended in imperial power and despotism. War always has destroyed the republics. Vide the history of Rome, Greece, France, Mexico! A republic whole and indivisible *i. e.*, a military democracy, will and must end in monarchy, and the sooner the better, to check the over-bellicosity of war-writers, war-speculators, war-partizans and war-hero worshippers.

Prof. Draper tells us in his book on our Future, that we got up an "imperial power." Well, we got it by war, *i. e.*, brute force, and what we get by force, we must maintain by force, as this sublunarian world goes. If peace means rest, sleep, indolence, as Mr. F. thinks, then he is entirely mistaken in regard to our society. There is never peace of this kind, but an eternal, eager, restless strife, and battling for wealth and influence. Everywhere the prin-

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cipal effect of industrial and political liberty is an ardent love of wealth, offices and power, causing a fierce, sometimes reckless, but *bloodless!* industrial warfare. That's all right, as the species "homo" is. It is prove-bial, that it takes three, some say, five "Jews" to make one Swiss; that in the United States the "Jew" ceases withall; that an Englishman sends his son abroad with the advice: "Go my son, make money, honestly if you can, but ——make money," and that the Germans say: "Steal something to get something, but leave every man his own."

Thrice woe, if, in such a stirring, busy, energetically active society, government, instead of preserving *order*, by a good and firm administration of the law *as it is*, is indulging in chimeras and ideals, and is fostering avarice, sectional hatred, rapine, commotions and war, by meddling with private labor, relations and industrial affairs in general!

But enough! We are at peace again. Let us be thankful for it, keep it faithfully, make the most of it as intellectual, energetic men, and never plead for war. Why, by all heaven, make in free society use of bloody savage violence, instead of reason and statesmanship? "No political change is worth a single drop of blood," so said very wisely Daniel O'Connel, the great Irish agitator!

"The camp has had its days of song!
The sword, the bayonet, the plume,
Have crowded out of rhyme too long,
The *plow*, the *anvil* and the *loom!*
Oh, not upon our tented fields
Are freedom's heroes bred alone,
The training of the workshop yields
More heroes true than War has known!

"Who drives the bolt, who shapes the steel,
May with a heart as valiant, smite,
As he, who sees a foeman reel
In blood before his blow of might!
The skill that conquers space and time,
That graces life, that lightens toil,
May spring from courage more sublime
Than that, which make a realm its spoil.

"Let labor then look up and see,
This craft no pith of honor lacks,
The soldier's rifle yet shall be
Less honored than the woodman's axe!
Let Art his own appointment prize,
Nor deem that gold or outward height
Can compensate the worth that lies
In tastes that breed their own delight.

"And may the time draw nearer still,
When men this sacred truth shall heed,
That from the thought and from the will,
Must all that raises man proceed;
Though pride should call out, calling low,
For us shall duty make it good;
And from truth to truth shall go,
Till life and death are understood."

To Harper & Brothers we are indebted for their usual favors:

1. *James Louis Petigru.* This is a brief biographical sketch, beautifully executed, from the pen of William J. Grayson. Mr. Petigru was for nearly half a century regarded to be one of the first jurists in South Carolina, and his reputation was, in the largest sense, national. Although he differed always with the public sentiment of the State, he was esteemed and respected by all classes for his social virtues and personal character. He earnestly opposed secession. The present memoir is made up from the papers of Mr. Petigru, and is prefaced with a finely engraved steel portrait.

2. *Expeditions to the Zambesi and its Tributaries, and the Discovery of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa*, by David and Charles Livingstone. With maps and illustrations.

The authors are well known to the literary and philanthropic world for their valuable explorations into the interior of Africa, which have appeared in several elaborate volumes.

The object of this work is to give a clear account of the country previously unexplored, with its river systems, natural productions and capabilities, and to make clear the misery caused by the slave trade in its inland phases. The authors have spent eight years in Africa since the preparation of their last work. The labors of Livingstone, Barth, Ellis, Burton, Reade, Anderson, Speke, Davis, Wilson and Du Chaillu have now taken away from Africa its title of *terra incognita*. The Harpers advertise all of these works.

3. *Frederick the Great*, by Thomas Carlyle. The sixth volume has at last appeared, which closes the work. It contains a very complete index of the whole, together with several beautiful maps and a steel portrait of Frederick at the age of 78, mounted on a superb charger. This volume embraces the fifth campaign, which closes the seven years war, and exhibits the great statesman and warrior in the afternoon and evening of his life. The

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account of his death is exceedingly interesting.

4. *Maxwell Drewitt:* a Novel, by F. G. Trafford.

5. *Agnes:* a Novel, by Mrs. Oliphant, author of the "Laird of Norlaw," &c.

These constitute Nos. 266 and 264 of Harper's Library of Select Novels, published in cheap style.

From HURD & HOUGHTON, New York, we receive—

1. *The Letters of Mozart*, translated by Lucy Wallace, with a portrait and facsimile, in two volumes. In these letters is strikingly set forth how Mozart lived and labored, enjoyed and suffered, and with a degree of vivid and graphic reality which no biography could equal. There are delineations of countries and people, of the progress of the arts, theatres and music. The inspiring genius of Mozart will move the world for generations to come.

2. *Chastelard:* a Tragedy, by Algernon Charles Swinburne. The personages are Mary Stuart, Mary Hamilton, Darnley, Murray Randolph, &c., which suggest the subject, the country and the time.

3. *The Criterion; or, The Test of Talk about Familiar Things.* A series of Essays by Henry T. Tuckerman. The subjects are—Inns, Authors, Pictures, Doctors, Holidays, Lawyers, Sepulchres, Actors, Newspapers, Preachers, Statues, Bridges. The Essays are of the most agreeable description, and are in the author's best vein.

From ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH:

1. *O Mother Dear Jerusalem!* The Old Hymn, its Origin and Genealogy. Edited by William C. Prime, author of "Boat Life in Egypt." Two hundred years have passed since this grand poem was ushered upon the world. It is full of power and beauty. It was sung by the martyrs of Scotland, and has been chaunted by the lips of kings, queens and nobles. The style of issue is exquisite.

2. *Life of the Rev. Robert Baird, D. D.*, by his son, Henry M. Baird, Professor in the University of New-York.

The Christian world is very familiar with the labors of Dr. Baird. His extensive travels in Europe, and the works which he published upon the condition of the Church and of Protestantism are matters of familiar knowledge. He was an able and zealous man, of great industry and piety, and the record of his labors will instruct and interest the philanthropist, the scholar and the theologian everywhere.

3. *The Perfect Light; or, Seven Hues of Christian Character*, by Julia M. Olin.

Seven beautiful historical sketches are furnished by the author of "Women in France and Italy," noted for their eminent virtues in the lower as in the higher ranks of life.

From MASON BROTHERS:

1. *Primary School Edition of Webster's Pronouncing Dictionary.*

2. *The Song Garden*—First Book.

Messrs. Mason publish all the school editions of Webster's Dictionary, and a series of school music-books progressively arranged for every class of students, from the youngest to the oldest.

From JAMES POTT, 5 Cooper Union, New York:

1. *The Churchman's Reasons for his Faith and Practice*, by Rev. N. S. Richardson, D. D., author of "Reasons why I am a Churchman." Second edition. The work discusses the Episcopal Church as a visible society, the unity of the Church, Christ's ministry, the Christian ministry, American Methodism, fruits of modern systems, popular objections against the Church answered.

2. *Sermons on the Book of Common Prayer*, by Bishops and Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church. There are nine discourses, by Francis Vinton, J. D. Huntington, W. Stevens Perry, Morgan Dix, George Burgess, J. Cotton Smith, A. C. Coxe, William Bacon Stevens and T. W. Coit.

3. *Household Prayers*, for four weeks,

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with additional prayers for special occasions, to which is appended a course of Scriptural reading in the family for every day in the year, by Rev. J. E. Riddle, M. A.

The American edition is edited by the learned, eloquent and popular F. L. Hawks, D. D., so well known to Christians North and South, and is a most convenient compilation of the book of household prayers published by the Rev. Mr. Riddle several years since in England.

4. *The English Language.* Elementary Primer No. 1. By Francis L. Hawks.

We are very happy to announce that Dr. Hawks has undertaken to prepare a series of this kind, and from his eminent qualifications predict the greatest success to it. No one better understands the English language, or has a higher appreciation of the duties and difficulties of an instructor. The principle to be carried out in these books has worked successfully with the author, and under it, with a judicious, intelligent and patient teacher, the child rapidly overcomes the wearisome and disgusting task of mastering the simple elements of the language.

From D. APPLETON & Co:

1. *Origin of the Late War;* Traced from the beginning of the Constitution to the revolt of the Southern States, by Geo. Lunt.

The author is an eminent lawyer of Massachusetts, which will give an especial interest to his labors. He shows where the responsibility for the late conflict in large part belongs, and (whilst he does not justify the course of the South) fastens it upon the radical and disorganized spirits who, in disregard of the Constitution and the most plighted faith, kept the country in continual agitation and turmoil. He reviews the course of Northern politicians, the press and the pulpit, and arrives at the conclusion that the free institutions of the country are placed in condition of greatest peril. He sees nothing in store for the negro but evil. "If it should seem," he says, "to be a logical conclusion that the doctrine of negro equality and negro suffrage should follow even upon the present deplorable condition of the colored population, the question may thence arise, whether the premises themselves were well laid down which could lead to consequences so much out of the order of nature and practice."

The work must exercise a wholesome tendency, now that good men everywhere are endeavoring to harmonize the disjointed elements of the country, and bring order out of chaos.

2. *Stonewall Jackson,* a Military Biography, by John E. Cooke, formerly of General Stuart's staff. The volume is published in exquisite style, with a steel portrait of Jackson, and many handsome maps.

North and South, and in Europe, the name of Stonewall Jackson looms up as one of the greatest heroes of the war, and perhaps of modern times. The magnificence of his strategy and his indomitable energy were the admiration of friends and foes, whilst his personal character, like that of the Chevalier Bayard, was beyond reproach. By some he was facetiously styled the inspired madman.

In the work before us the author furnishes a full biographical sketch, and discusses the various battles and campaigns in which the name of Stonewall most largely figures, and does justice alike to Federal and Confederate forces.

3. *Literature in Letters,* by John P. Holcombe, LL.D. The work consists of a selection from the correspondence of distinguished persons, in reference to arts, manners, criticism, biography, history and morals. Our language, says the author, abounds in letters which contain the most vivid pictures of manners, and the most faithful and striking delineations of character, which are full of wit, wisdom, fancy, useful knowledge, noble and pious sentiment.

From VAN EVRIE, HORTON & Co., 162 Nassau Street, New York:

1. *The Old Guard.* Vols. 1, 2 and 3, for the years 1863, '4 and '5. The work is illustrated with steel portraits of the leading American statesmen. It is published

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in monthly form, and devoted to the principles of 1776 and 1787. The Editor is C. Chauncey Burr. We know of no publication which is doing so much for the preservation of the old principles of American liberty and states rights, and none which deserves to be more widely circulated and read. It lashes with terrible stripes every description of radicalism and heterodoxy in our political schools. We are obliged to the publishers for three handsomely bound volumes.

2. *The Constitution of the United States*, with Notes and Explanations of the most eminent statesmen and jurists, with Historical and explanatory Notes on every article, by C. Chauncey Burr, author of the History of the Constitution.

3. *History of the Union and the Constitution* (pamphlet), by C. Chauncey Burr.

4. *The Negro's Place in Nature*, a paper read before the London Anthropological Society, by Rev. James Hunt, F. R. S., President of the Society (pamphlet), with introduction by Dr. H. Van Evrie.

5. *Anti-Abolition Tracts.* No. 1, Abolition and Secession; No. 2, Negroism; No. 3, The Abolition Conspiracy to destroy the Union, etc.

From the AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, New York, we receive the following:

Eccentric Personages, by Wm. Russell, LL.D. These are a series of biographies of such characters as Beau Brummell, Lady Stanhope, Beau Nash, Margaret Fuller, Daniel De Foe, Jonathan Swift, Lady Montague, John Abernethy, etc., etc. The work is a most popular and readable one, and will undoubtedly go through a very heavy edition.

We are indebted to FRANK MOORE, Editor of the Rebellion Record, for a copy of his very handsomely executed and issued work, entitled, *Diary of the American Revolution.* 2 vols. in one.

The material for these volumes is taken from Whig and Tory newspapers published during the war, and is very curious and often amusing. Private diaries and contemporary writings are also consulted. Mr. Moore made free use of the collections of the New York and other Historical Societies, and his work will undoubtedly find a place in every American library.

From ORANGE JUDD & Co.:

1. *Mysteries of Bee Keeping.* This volume, by M. Quimby, practical bee keeper, contains the result of twenty-five years' experience. He gives directions for using the movable comb and box hive, together with improved methods of propagating the Bee. Such a work should be on the table of every Southern cultivator, now that we are called upon to diversify our industry.

2. *The Rural Annual and Horticultural Directory*, 1866. This is a cheap almanac, of much value to farmers, and is from the office of the American agriculturist one of the best journals for the farm, garden, and household.

From J. SMITH HOMANS, Editor Bankers' Magazine:

The Merchant's and Banker's Almanac for 1866. This has been noticed by us before. It contains lists of National and State Banks, and Private Bankers, all over the world; names of Cashiers, Savings Banks, lists of standard works for Bankers, and prices for a great number of years of iron, coal, copper, etc. The daily price of gold for four years is given, and engravings representing leading banking buildings in our country and Europe. Price, $2.

From TIFFANY & Co., New York. Their circular: The magnificent accumulations of valuables and gems, which are presented by some of the large establishments at the North are truly bewildering to the observer. The wear and tear of the war seem to have had no effect. They are as grand and as gorgeous as if peace and prosperity had never ceased to smile. The house of Tiffany & Co. is one of these. They have added new branches to their vast business. That of fancy stationery, of which they send us the circular, is the last.

The large stock has been selected with an especial regard to prevailing fancies,

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from the best domestic assortments and the celebrated houses of De La Rue & Co., of London; Marion, Bertot, and others, of Paris, and various European manufacturers.

In the specialty of monogramatic illustrations they have the services of an artist, whose skill and genius are well known, and in card designing and engraving, the printing of illuminated initials and borders, and the general decoration of correspondence papers, their style is exquisite, as it is also in monograms, heraldic insignia, etc.

Judge Gayarre's excellent Comedy of Errors, entitled, *Dr. Bluff in Russia*, will be appropriately noticed by us in another issue.

☞ Please note directions on the 4th page of Cover to subscribers, postmasters and agents, and will all the friends of the Review aid the Editor in re-establishing the work upon its former flourishing foundation?

The address of the Editor will be Nashville, Tenn.

Articles upon the condition and property of the South, and upon the workings of emancipation, are solicited.

☞ The Office of the Review at Nashville, and the Branch Office in New York, will execute orders upon receipt of the funds, with small commissions, for any articles of Southern or Northern manufacture advertised in its pages, or any other articles which may be required by planters, farmers, interior dealers and others. It will also act as agent for the sale of country estates, which upon the receipt of five or ten dollars, will be mentioned more or less fully at the close of the Editorial columns.

☞ Errata, February No.: Mr. Stein is made to use the word "embankment," on page 186, 2d line, instead of "embouchure;" page 187, line 36, read "bank it up," and in two places read "assumed" instead of "assured;" page 189, line 43, read "Hydrodgnomics."

DEBOW'S REVIEW ADVERTISING INDEX.

All advertisements in the Review will be regularly noted in this index. Our terms are the same as before the war, and considering the large circulation of the Review in every part of the Union, and especially in the Southern States, its limits should be occupied. Merchants and manufacturers of the South, and those having lands for sale, would do well to imitate in advertising the enterprise of Northern cities. Our pages are open to all, and it is from this source only that the Review can be made remunerative.

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MONTHLY.

AGRICULTURAL COMMERCIAL INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS & RESOURCES.

May, 1866.

J. D. B. DE BOW, Editor and Proprietor.

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The Pacific Guano resembles Peruvian Guano in appearance, odor and composition, the difference being in the proportions only of the same elements of fertility. The following comparison will show the composition of each:

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From this comparison it will be seen, that while Peruvian Guano contains more ammonia, the Pacific contains nearly twice the quantity of the far more essential elements of soluble and bone Phosphate of Lime. It is now established beyond controversy, that the value of ammonia in guano is limited chiefly to its solvent effects on the earthy phosphates; hence having, as in this guano, so large a per cent. of the earthy phosphates already soluble in water, the larger per cent. of ammonia can be dispensed with.

The additional quantity of earthy and soluble phosphate of lime found in this guano, more than compensates for the difference in *ammonia*—especially when we consider the fact which is now established by the best authority, that an acre of cultivated soil receives, by absorption from the atmosphere, from rain and dews, *more ammonia* than is consumed by any crop. *See Baron Liebig's Nat. Laws of Husbandry.*

The defect in Peruvian Guano unquestionably arises from its deficiency in earthy Phosphate of Lime; and it is a fact capable of demonstration, that unless applied in larger quantities than its cost will justify, its continued use must lead to exhaustion, because it does not compensate the soil for the loss sustained in producing the crop. Pacific Guano, on the contrary, while its effects fully equal Peruvian, more than compensates for this loss by reason of its large per cent. of earthy phosphates; hence increased fertility must follow its use.

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DE BOW'S REVIEW.

ESTABLISHED JANUARY, 1846.

MAY, 1866.

ART. I.—COMMERCE AND FINANCE IN HISTORY.—NO. II.

We can only advert to the most noteworthy phenomena of the operation of Commerce and Finance in effectuating, or affecting, the grander changes of History, and then hurry on. It is worth inquiring—for we are not aware that the inquiry has ever been distinctly made—how far the long retention of power by Augustus, and his firm constitution of the Imperial Government, were favored by the stability which the Empire restored to the finances of Rome, by the encouragement which peace, under the strong arm of a military despot, extended to commerce, and by the security which it afforded to the industry and enterprise, cherished and recompensed by it. "*L'Empire, c'est la paix.*" The Empire of Augustus was the peace of the world. "*Pax Romana.*" The third closing of the Temple of Janus was no longer the trivial symbolism of the condition of a single city. It was a most serious and solemn event, and marks the completion of the first volume of the History of Humanity.

It is a proof of the profound implication of financial impulses with other causes of Civil War, that, after the overthrow of Antony, the restoration of domestic peace and the closing of the Temple of Janus, the value of property doubled at Rome, and the rate of interest fell to two-thirds of what it had recently been. With the decline of the Empire the rate of interest rose again to a frightful disproportion, as may be seen from the decrees of Constantine on the subject. The reign of Augustus, too, was as remarkable for the augmentation of public and private revenues, and for the multiplication of productions, as in France has been that of Louis Napoleon himself. Like Louis Napoleon, too, the Emperor Augustus diligently consulted the interests of his private fortune, as is evinced by the

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anecdotes of Suetonius, and by the testimony of the Ancyrane Inscription. In that memorable and instructive monument he punctiliously announces to posterity the vast sums which he had brought into the exhausted Treasury of the State; the large amount of taxes, dues, and benevolences which he had remitted; the ample expenditures devoted to public works; the liberal donations made by him to colonies and municipalities; and the numerous and bountiful distributions of subsistence and money bestowed upon the people from his public purse. The sums are all specified, with the precision of a transcript, from the account-books of a bank, but it would avail nothing to our purpose to report the figures here. If he had no *Crédit Mobilier* at his back, as the agent and screen of his financial schemes, he proved himself as able and successful a financier as Isaac, or Emile Póreiro, or any of the house of Abraham, and developed prodigiously the public revenues and his own. The marked prominence which is given by Augustus to the financial transactions of his long reign in the unique record of the Lapis Ancyranus, may assure us both of the financial disturbances which attended and preceded the long Civil Wars, and the immense financial, commercial, and industrial advancement which characterized the Empire. At any rate, this prominence reveals what was held to be in contemporary estimation, the principal claim of the Emperor on the gratitude of the Roman world, and what was the principal cause of that adhesion to his authority which rendered his sovereignty so acceptable and peaceful after the defeat and death of Antony. The suggestions of this lapidary testimony may also impress most strongly upon our minds the general importance of financial and commercial influences in History, and their special importance for the proper understanding of the movement which transmuted the Roman Republic into the Roman Empire.

"Non ragionam di lor, ma guarda, e passa."

We cannot discuss these great events, and their various causes; we can take only one hasty glance, and pass to other examples.

The immeasurable luxury and extravagance of the Romans, which were amazing under the latter Republic, but became almost incredible under the Empire, created a rapid and accelerating reflux of the tides of gold and silver to India, and the further East; and, while they impoverished the Roman world, and gradually denuded it of the precious metals, they ministered to that accumulation of metallic treasure in the countries beyond the Euphrates, which kindled the imagination

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of the Orientals, blazes in the tales of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, and excited the adventurous enterprise of the rising commerce of Europe in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. The mines of Europe were exhausted, and in great measure abandoned, while this continued drain to Asia, and especially to India and China, was proceeding. The tide did not set westward again till the period of the Crusades. Then it infused life, and vigor, and health into the petty States of Italy; and, if it did not give birth to the Free Cities of that Peninsula, it certainly brought to them riches and prosperity; and bestowed power, and glory, and art, and letters, and refinement on Venice, and Pisa, and Genoa, and indirectly on Florence and Milan, and their brilliant contemporaries.

A long lapse of time had, however, intervened between the decline of the Roman Empire and the culmination of the Italian Republic. Nearly the whole breadth of the Dark Ages lies between these extremes. Nearly seven centuries passed between the extinction of the Western Empire and the return of wealth to Lombardy, Venetia, and Tuscany. They had been centuries of calamity and distress, of unproductive exertion, of brutal wars, and of penury, to the greater part of Western Europe. The stagnation of industry had been aggravated, if not also in large measure occasioned, by the excessive scarcity of the precious metals, and the absence of any other circulating medium, consequent upon the Roman exportation of gold and silver to the East, and the cessation of mining in the former auriferous and argentiferous regions of Europe. Moreover, along with this deficiency of the precious metals, commerce was impeded and trade confined within narrow boundaries. Unquestionably, the disintegration of States by Teutonic invasion; the comminution of populations by the action of the feudal system; the perils and uncertainties of communication, resulting from domestic wars and barbarian inroads, operated powerfully in suppressing commerce. But these potent causes operated in concurrence with the financial embarrassments engendered by the destitution of the precious metals, which prevailed throughout those troubled generations. The student of Gibbon, the reader of Savigny, Guizot, and Ozanam, is fully aware of the wretchedness attendant upon a failing revenue and declining incomes, which constituted the most general and notable phenomenon of the Roman Empire in its decay. He knows the miseries and oppressions which resulted from these influences. He is acquainted with the ostentatious poverty of the Emperors, and of the Imperial Treasury. He is cognizant of the unavoidable exactions by which the existence of land owners, and merchants, and arti-

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sans, and cultivators of the soil, was rendered so intolerable that they fled from their estates to the barbarous hordes which encompassed the Empire on all sides, or welcomed their usurpations of Roman territory and Imperial jurisdiction; he remembers that the Empire was covered with Bagandæ—confederated beggars—and roving banditti; he calls to mind the swarms of mendicants who, from the Milvian Bridge or Golden Mile-Stone at Rome, radiated in all directions, and infested every church, monastery, or place of public concourse; and he understands the multiplication of eleemosynary institutions of all sorts, in consequence of the still greater augmentation of the helpless claimants of beneficent aid. The very name of Charity was in these ages perverted from its appropriate signification, of Christian love, to the mechanical routine of alms-giving, by the endless demands then presented for the dole of the compassionate. It would certainly be wrong to ascribe all these melancholy incidents of a dissolving civilization to the mere diminution of the money circulation of the Empire, or to the obstruction of commerce and industry, because these were themselves, in part, the effects of other co-existent causes. But the financial and commercial embarrassments of the time were assuredly among the most potent agencies in extending and deepening miseries, and in promoting the wretchedness by which they were themselves promoted. Causes seldom act singly in the great transactions of society, nor do they operate in a chain of undisturbed succession. They are usually conjoint in their origin, and conjoint in their operation; and, while operative, they act and react upon each other, modifying, at all times, both the effect produced and the degree and character of the several forces which conspire to the production of that effect. Hence arises the difficulty of discerning the true affiliation of events in History. Hence arises also the necessity of not ignoring the effectual action of any cause, because other causes are present and co-operating. Hence, too, arises the urgency of estimating all the concurrent causes, instead of being content with the easy but shallow procedure of accepting one as sufficient and exclusive.

The influences, whose action we have just been noting, continued to propagate their disastrous consequences throughout the decline of the Roman Empire, and long after the Empire of the West had been occupied by the rude and vigorous tribes of Germany. It was only by a slow and suffering experience that some vantage ground was gradually regained, and the new societies of Europe placed in a condition to provoke or profit by the changes which might re-open to that portion of the earth a career of advancement, distinction, and happiness.

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But in Asia, whither the accumulated treasures of the Roman Republic and Empire had drifted, a new people—a nation previously unknown to fame—had gone forth conquering and to conquer; a mighty Empire had arisen, like an exhalation, or like the plague of frogs from the festering slime of the fertilizing Nile. It had fretted its hour upon the stage, and was already in the agonies of dissolution, when the arms of Europe were directed to the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. The current of the precious metals, which had been setting Eastward so strongly under Hadrian and the Antonines, had communicated to the commerce and industry of the East that impulse and animation which its ebbing waters withdrew from the Western regions of the world. The Arabians profited by this change of the tide. They were in a position and in a condition to profit by it. We owe to the singular and unanticipated discoveries of very recent years the late explanation of the startling phenomena of Saracenic ascendancy, of Saracenic conquests, and of the Saracenic Empire. The exploration of Singhalese antiquities, and the detection of a long and ancient series of Singhalese records enable us at length to complete the solution of the triumph and career of Mahomet and his successor. When the Prophet of Islam appeared, and succeeded in uniting all the populations of the extensive peninsula of Arabia by presenting to them a novel creed, which could be accepted with enthusiasm by all, the Arabians of the coast had long been engaged in an increasing and prosperous commerce with India and China; with the Islands of Spice, and the lands of silk, and porcelain, and ebony, and sandalwood; with the regions of strange productions, and of rubies, emeralds and diamonds. Their eyes had been long opened by the magic salve of commerce to the knowledge of the wealth and wonders of the earth. The wild stories and wilder adventures of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments are filled with the glorified memories of this remote and ancient commerce, and like the legends which the merchants and travelers brought back from the distant lands visited by them. Ceylon was for ages the convenient station, midway between the extremes, where the Arabian merchants, from the Gulf Ormus all round the almost interminable shore to the Gulf of Akabah, gathered in crowds to exchange the products of Arabia Felix, and the commodities brought from the adjacent Continent of Africa and from the further west; for the various and valuable merchandize of the more distant Eastern world. How early this commerce had commenced there is as yet no means of ascertaining. Fragments of china are found amongst the earliest relics of Egyptian antiquity. Did they pass through the hands of Arabian traders?

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The antiquity of Petra may furnish a delusive hint. But Arabian commerce was probably enlarged when Tyre and Sidon and the other Phœnician cities were overshadowed by the Babylonian Empire. It were probably further extended when Babylon sunk beneath the Persian arms, and when Egypt became a Persian province. The destruction of Tyre and the foundation of Alexandria would rather stimulate than impede this prosperous trade. The overthrow of Carthage by the Romans, perhaps, prevented its being wrested from Arabian hands, in consequence of Hanno's anticipation of Vasco di Gama's circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope, by the establishment of an Ocean line of transportation round the Continent of Africa, seventeen centuries before this was achieved by the Portuguese. The epithet employed by Horace, in the reign of Augustus,

> "Ioci, beates Arabum invides
> Gazis,"

ceases to be an unmeaning or poetic hyperbole, if the cities of littoral Arabia had been at that time enriched for eight hundred or a thousand years by an active and uninterrupted commerce with Cis-Gangetic and Frans-Gangetic India. This trade would be encouraged and its profits enhanced by the luxurious habits and gorgeous magnificence of the Romans under the Empire, and by that boundless expenditure and unmitigated display which increased with the increase of private fortunes and with the concomitant decline of this Empire itself. All the accumulated wealth of the previously civilized kingdoms, republics, and powers of the earth had been appropriated by the long course of Roman conquest and the avidity of Roman plunder: and all that survived the waste of centuries returned in the direction from which it had come, and furnished forth the motive-power for Eastern industry, and the reward for the still-growing Arabian commerce. This must have been stimulated and recompensed still further when the caravan routes were impeded and rendered hazardous by Parthian and Turcoman incursions, by revolutions, disturbances and dissensions, in Persia; and by the long wars between Persia and the Roman Empire, from the reign of Trajan, and especially from that of Diocletian. The early career of Mahomet, as a wandering merchant,—a daring adventurer, half-military, half-mercantile,—is only a typical illustration of the character of that carrying-trade by the internal routes which had fallen into the hands of the Arabians, co-incidently with the expansion of their maritime transactions, in consequence of the contemporaneous condition of the great monarchies of the world.

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In this series of changes, proceeding continuously through many centuries,—in this gravitation of commerce, and of the metallic basis of commerce, to the cities of Arabia, we find an explanation of the rapidness and development of the Saracenic power, and an evidence of the long discipline and preparation by which the Arabian tribes were trained for their sudden and dazzling career. All that was wanting was the fire from heaven to fuse together the disconnected elements of a great and wealthy nationality, and to crystallize them into a solid and definite form. This vital spark was communicated by the simple creed of Mahomet, which furnished a common faith and inspired a common effort—which brought together and animated all the previously dissociated forces of wealth and energy,—adventure, numbers, industry, and commerce,—and, by the suddenness and completeness of the union, launched on the arena of History a nation, irresistible in its youth, enjoying, and fitted to enjoy from the commencement all the fruits of an advanced civilization; capable of perpetuating and of extending that civilization while the Western and European populations were sunk in lethargy, or struggling with barbarism. The rapid rise, and instantaneous wealth of the successive capitals of the Caliphate—Cufa, Bassora, and Bagdat, and afterwards of Cairo—was due to the translation of the lines of commerce, along with the seat of Empire, to more favored localities. Hence, too, it is that Arabia itself counts for so little in the development of the Empire, after the institution of the Empire by the successive of the early fanatical Caliphs. But, as that Empire extended its conquests in the North, and East, and West, and became tranquillized and consolidated, the trade, and with it the circulating medium accumulated in the East, returned gradually to the ancient routes, and was concentrated once more on the banks of the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Nile.

It is needless to follow the phases through which the Caliphate passed in its maturity and in its decline. We cannot yield to the temptation of lingering around

> "A goodly place, a goodly time,
> When it was in the golden prime
> Of good Haroun Alraschid."

It is equally unnecessary to point out the influence exercised by the Caliphate upon the commerce and revenues of the Byzantine Empire. These wide topics might furnish abundant and suggestive illustration of the action of these great motive powers in determining the prosperous and adverse fortunes of states; but they cannot be admitted into these hasty deliberations, and the inquiry must be renounced.

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The Western conquests of the Saracens drew in their wake a portion of the wealth, and of the sources of wealth, which had helped to generate the first manifestation of Saracenic supremacy. The Saracenic victories, and the migrations of mingled warriors and traders, which constituted Saracenic conquest, led back a portion of the wealth of Asia and of the world through Cairo and Cairman, to Seville and Cordova, and the fertile valley of the romantic Guadalquivir. As the Eastern Caliphate declined, and was rent in pieces by internal feuds, or Tartar encroachments, the Ommiad Caliphate in Andalusia received a large share of the genial influences, and rose in power, splendor, magnificence, industry, commerce, arts, letters, and refinement. Thus a new turn in the tide of trade initiated by foreign hands the restoration to Europe of the wealth which in antecedent ages had been exported to the East.

The effect which was produced upon the rising nations of modern Europe by the example and contagion of the Saracens of Spain has been often, though scarcely sufficiently, exhibited in general and special histories of the Middle Ages, in numerous essays, and in many incidental notices. But the example could operate only feebly and slowly until commerce was revived by some powerful incentive, and until an accession was made to the almost exhausted store of the precious metals, adequate to the purchase of raw materials and other commodities, and to the employment of labor. When the grand and beautiful cathedrals of England were built, the customary wages of the laborer were only a penny a day. The scarcity of money was so great as to be scarcely conceivable now. We are informed by Roger de Hoveden, in 1194, therefore when industry had decidedly revived, that "The price set upon a bull shall be four shillings, and upon a cow the same, upon a plough-horse the same, upon a sheep with fine wool ten pence, upon a sheep with coarse wool six pence, upon a sow twelve pence, and upon a boar twelve pence." These valuations are contained in the instructions prescribed to the first justices in Eyre, commissioned in England. But in the Byzantine Empire, which was within the sphere of commerce and nearer to the wealth of Asia, prices varied but little during the four or five centuries which followed the division of the Empire. For many centuries the Bezants of Constantinople furnished all the coin of the Christian nations of Western Europe —and their whole amount of coin, hoarded or in circulation, has been largely estimated at $160,000,000. "Britain, especially, was so exhausted of the precious metals in the form of money that, in trafficking, what the Saxon writers call living money was usual and legal." "This consisted of slaves and

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cattle of all kinds, which had a value set upon them by law, at which they passed current in the payment of debts, and the purchase of commodities of all kinds." (*Price.* Inquiry into the Precious Metals. Vol. I. p. 313.) But, besides the need of a circulating medium, there was also a further necessity before either trade or industry would flourish. A considerable enlargement of chattel property was required, in order that it might become of sufficiently general importance to secure its protection by the State against the lawless or legalized rapacity of feudal barons and roving banditti. And an increase of both property and currency was essential before the regal or public revenues became adequate to the maintenance of any regular system of police, or to the establishment of a truly national judiciary. Such resources were only painfully and gradually acquired by the state, as the multiplying interests of the people and their augmented products rendered sensible the need of such security, and enabled the community to provide or the sovereign to exact the means for their support. The history of Europe from the close of the Eleventh to the commencement of the Fifteenth Century is filled with startling transactions and wide-spread mutations, which remain unintelligible till their solution is sought in the concomitant movements of trade, industry, and finance.

The Crusades did not merely animate the enthusiasm of the Christian populations of Europe, and reveal to them the sense of a common interest, a common civilization, a common destiny, and a common faith, through the presentation of a common religious aim; but they revived the trade of Europe with Asia and the East; they re-animated the long-languishing commerce of Europe, they recalled the long-lost treasure; and, by these means, stimulated all the branches of industry, and roused both the dormant sentiment of art, and the desires of improved political and social condition.

Thus we may refer to these erratic but chivalrous enterprises, undertaken under the inspiration of an ardent passion, which was more sagacious than any cool contemporary reason, and more profound than most retrospective criticism, both the communication of the motive power to modern industry and the accumulation of the means by which that industry was sustained and developed. The commerce of the maritime States of Italy, which was cherished and augmented by those oft-repeated expeditions, and by the constitution of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, revived industry throughout the European nations, established Lombard bankers and brokers in all the principal cities, and generated a daily growing internal trade, with a daily increasing circle of manufactures. This is, however, only one of

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the many phases of advancement thus engendered, and one of the earliest.

It is neither an accident, nor a phenomenon unconnected with the commercial impulses due to the Crusades, that those Crusading Centuries were distinguished by a new and brilliant display of philosophical genius, and by a rapid development of liberal political sentiment. As the years passed on, and the first re-action of the Crusades began to diffuse its influences, and to exercise a cumulative force on the contemporaneous generations, we witness the rise of the Free Cities of Italy and their splendid prosperity; the multiplication and growth of the Communes; the more varied and wider activity of all the industrial classes; the consolidation and regulation of the public authority; the crystallization of the loose feudal aggregations into definite nationalities; the augmentation of wealth and the comforts of life; and the revival of Letters and the Fine Arts. To this period belong the commencements of nearly all our modern Literatures; to these generations appertain the beginning, if not the completion, of all the noblest Cathedrals, Churches, Monasteries and Hotels de Ville, which exhibit the grace and grandeur of Gothic architecture. Let it be repeated, however, that these results are not attributed, immediately or exclusively, or, in all cases, principally even, to the financial and commercial stimulation generated by the Crusades. In many instances they were only secondary effects, in some, they were deduced by a long and circuitous process of derivation. As has been already remarked, few great mutations in social or political conditions can be ascribed to any solitary cause. The ulterior consequences are produced by the consociation of the numerous series of intermediate causes, which have called into existence and action by, or coincidently with, the first moving cause—the *primum mobile*—and its dependent influences. Still, though the ultimate results spring from many concurrent impulses, as all of those impulses received a part of their being, or of their energy, from the primary momentum impressed, it is just to regard that original and continuously-transmitted pressure as an important member of the chain of causation. It is, consequently, injudicious and delusive, in the highest degree, to omit or overlook all consideration of its potency, in the study of the remote developments which have proceeded principally, or partially, from it.

As time wore on, and other generations sunk, overpowered by the burdens of life, and transmitted the duties of life to still succeeding generations, the same forces, gathering strength with time and with the progress of their action—*vires acquirit eundo*—and moving along the same line of action, to the production

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of ampler, but analogous effects, occasioned new revolutions in society and new phenomena in political affairs. We do not remember ever to have seen attention distinctly called, in any professed history, to that surprising explosion of democratic sentiment, that insatiable appetency for republican institutions, that singular concurrence of popular revolutions, which so signally characterized the Fourteenth Century. The march of Democracy was as plainly and generally manifested in that period as during the French Revolution and the passing Nineteenth Century. The incidents of those times, furnish as abundant material for the philosophical reflections of an Alexis De Tocqueville as Democracy in America, or the Democratic movement in Europe. Cola di Rienzi and Philip Van Artevelde have inspired English poets and novelists, as well as foreign authors, by the meteoric brilliancy of their revolutionary career. James Van Artevelde has, in some degree, participated in the literary prominence of his younger and less illustrious kinsman. But, except in the notes to Burke's Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs, in a reference of Coleridge to Burke's note, and in Stephen's Lectures on the History of France, there is no appearance of the profound political convulsion which is represented by the career of Marcel in Paris. When shall we look for any truly philosophical or historical appreciation of the wide-spread insurrection of the Jacquerie in France? When shall we look for any satisfactory explanation of the disturbances headed by Wat Tyler in England?—disturbances which had been foreshadowed and prepared by the political faction of John of Gaunt, and by the religious innovations of Robert Greathead and John Wickliffe. We do not overlook the establishment of the Confederation of the Swiss Republics, because this manifestation of the Democratic tendency was mainly due to special causes, and because this subject has been fully treated by the historians of Switzerland.

Confining our attention to the other instances noted, we observe commotions, of a similar character, simultaneously pervading Italy, France, the Netherlands and England; and Germany and Spain might, perhaps, be added to the list. There must have been some community of impulse in their production, some conjunction of like forces throughout Western Europe, to occasion this peculiar and premature set of political currents in the same direction. The Democratic tendency of the times is abundantly revealed in the phenomena. But the Democratic tendency affords no explanation, because it is the thing to be explained. The recent and progressive emancipation of the serfs furnishes a part of the solution, but not the whole, and itself requires interpretation. That emancipation

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had not been effected by legislative enactments: for every legislative tentative had been met with indignant protests and resolute resistance. It had been silently and gradually brought about by ecclesiastical influences, and by the recognition of the unprofitable expense of serf labor, and by experience of the increasing efficiency and economy of free labor. That is to say, the social condition was changing, and changing under the influence of more active industry, more zealous competition, more enriching trade and a more intense stimulation of money. The fervent prosecution of Alchemy, and the anxious search for the Philosopher's Stone, indicated both the urgent need of gold and a lively perception of its increased uses. But the social state was more profoundly affected than even these manifestations reveal. We have some experience, at this time, of the mode in which the abrogation of slavery causes, as its first effect, a multiplication of the miseries of the recent slaves and an increased destitution among the poorer members of the rest of the laboring population. But we have not yet fully discerned how these afflictions are aggravated by a concurrent expansion of the volume of circulation, and by a contemporaneous expansion of the metallic currency of the world, by the yearly accretion of the precious metals. The last of these topics, in its most obvious aspects, has only within the late months exercised the anxious inquiries of reflective and practical men in Europe. Such considerations have not yet been suggested in connection with the extraordinary outburst of the revolutionary spirit in the Fourteenth Century. And yet, it seems to us, that, if due attention had been paid to the movements of commerce and finance, in the composition and interpretation of History, it would have been discovered that the social and political phenomena of that agitated period, were due, in the main, to the social discords which had been generated by the amazing commercial and financial advancement of that and the preceding ages.

If not a familiar observation, it is one whose truth will be instantaneously recognized, that periods of sudden manufacturing, commercial and monetary prosperity are not favorable to the stability of governments, the tranquility of society, or the well-being of the poorer members of the community. The routine of generations is broken up; the channels of business are deranged and violently altered; prices rise, and wages do not rise in proportion; or, the wages of labor rise out of proportion to the price of other things; there is a progressive fall in the power of money, if not always in its apparent value; the burden of these changes weighs ruinously upon certain classes of the population, while it elevates, in a more than cor-

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responding degree, the profits and fortunes of others. Everything is disordered. The times are out of joint; the waters have overflowed their banks; the landmarks are submerged and swept away; the torrent rolls on, gathering force and depth as it rolls; it hurries on, to their speedily-reached goal, those who can ride on the crest of the flood and preserve their steerage in the midst of the deluge; it drowns, mangles, or casts lifeless on the strand, those who attempt to resist the inundation, who endeavor to wade where formerly they walked dry-shod, or who stand idle and unmoving in perplexity and despair. If the advantages of a sudden enhancement of prosperity could be equitably distributed throughout the whole of the population, none of these results would occur. But this is impracticable, or if not positively impracticable, is contrary to all experience. In point of fact, the greater and the more rapid is the augmentation of wealth in such memorable eras,—and we are at this time passing through one of them,—the greater is the inequality and disproportion of the benefits which flow from it, the larger and the more sudden become the fortunes of those who acquire wealth, the more grinding and intolerable become the distress and the penury of those whose charactero r condition disables them from riding on the whirlwind when there is no chance of directing the storm. A profound infraction of the social continuity ensues. The chasm which divorces the rich becoming richer from the poor becoming poorer widens and deepens every day. Unusual bitterness between classes is generated by this vast disproportion of wealth; because, to most of the sufferers, it appears to have been effectuated either by the fraud or extortion of those who prosper, or to be owing to the wildest and most immoral caprice of destiny. The respect for property is entirely destroyed, both by the acrimony thus generated and by the disturbance of all settled notions in regard to the legitimate modes of accumulation by the patient industry and long-continued exertions of successive generations. Wealth ceases to represent labor and frugality, and comes to represent adventurous audacity, accident, greed, rapacity, or dishonesty, in popular estimation. This feeling is further inflamed by the contemplation of the character of many of the favourites of fortune, and by contrasting that character with the innocent dispositions and blameless manners of many of her discarded and disinherited children, who have been crushed to the common level by the displacement of the weights in the balance. Hence arise social discord, desire of innovation, disregard of ancient laws, prescriptive usages and settled rights. Hence proceed democratic aspirations, with the prospect of agrarian license, insurrection, and revolt—tending to revolution, but not always achieving it.

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This is a very hasty and insufficient indication of the character of those mighty forces which were operating throughout Europe during the ages of reviving commerce and industry, and which eventuated in the republican fervour and democratic explosions of the Fourteenth Century. Hasty and imperfect we are obliged to leave them, because we are not explaining the historical phenomena of the times, but are simply illustrating the action of commerce and finance in causing and shaping the phases of History. If the solution presented in this and in previous instances approximates to the truth, the necessity of a diligent study of these complicated and wide-ramifying influences in any satisfactory history is at once made manifest, and a more comprehensive, as well as more practical interest is communicated at once to historical studies. It may be added, moreover, that the significances of these forms of human activity and development lose their narrow and special characteristics when viewed in this aspect, and are raised to a much higher dignity when regarded as amongst the potent agencies in fashioning the condition of societies and in regulating the destinies of nations.

Infinitely various are the forms which the operation of these great motive powers assumes: and the change of form is perhaps most marked in passing from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century. The revolutionary tendency, which has just been noticed as characteristic of the former of these ages, passed away as soon as the social equilibrium was in some degree restored by the more equable diffusion of the benefits arising from the spreading commerce and more productive industry of renascent civilisation. In connection with the subject of our study, the most important phenomenon of the latter age was the discovery and development of the mines of Mexico and Peru. It is almost superfluous to point out how the wealth of these mines was won in consequence of the maritime adventure and spirit of geographical discovery which constituted the distinguishing features of the Fifteenth Century. And it would be equally superfluous to dilate upon the fact that this adventure and these discoveries had been instigated by the antecedent stimulus given to commercial enterprise. Thus, again, commerce is seen to be a principal motive power in accomplishing those grand national mutations which History commemorates: and thus, again, commerce is the occasion of inaugurating a financial revolution which alters the whole economy of the world, and modifies both the internal and the external relations of all civilized States. Let it not be objected that the results attained were not contemplated in the prosecution of those plans which became their cause, that the mines of Mexico

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and Peru were undreamt of by Columbus and Vasco di Gama and Don Henry of Portugal. This is true; just as true as that the advancement of industry and commerce, and the disenthralment of the masses throughout Europe, were unimagined in the heroic fervor of the Crusades. But this is the law of life, and the law of social progress. The ultimate issues are unseen by the agents in their production. Step by step they proceed to the accomplishment of definite objects immediately desired; the indefinite objects, unanticipated and unthought of, which are found in the retrospect to have been achieved, are more numerous and incomparably grander than all that had been distinctly contemplated in advance. We are all led by certain desires towards uncertain ends; a larger wisdom than man's sagacity, a loftier aim than human appetency, shapes the destinies of individuals and of nations. The sum of the issues that will eventuate from any course of social action cannot be foretold, but when the fulness of time has come, and their accomplishment can be at length studied in the past, then they may be explained and referred to their due causes. It is a narrow intellect and a most restricted vision which are unable to see what they were unable to foresee.

The opening of the mines of Mexico and Peru, and the influx of the precious metals into Spain, and through Spain into the other countries of Western Europe, produced a gradual, but general, revolution in finance, commerce, industry, manufactures, and in all the forms of public policy, and all the conditions of social existence. We are obliged to abridge even our brief notices, and to bring our hasty illustrations to an abrupt conclusion. We shall not—we cannot—occupy the brief remainder of this paper in exhibiting the mode in which these fresh tides of gold and silver operated in stimulating the lust of universal dominion in Charles V. and Philip II., and in sustaining their assaults upon the liberties of Europe. We may not explain how they concurred in both provoking and upholding the resistance of the United Provinces; how they instigated and sustained the heroic warfare of Elizabeth and the rising navy of England against Philip and the Spanish Armada; how they became implicated with the wars of the Reformation; how they disturbed the finances of States, and affected the necessities, the revenues, and the policy of princes. We cannot show their connection with either the glories or the embarrassments of the reign of the Maiden Queen, with the contentions of the Stuarts and their Parliaments, with the great Rebellion, the ascendancy of Oliver Cromwell, and the Restoration of Charles II. The whole constitution of society throughout Europe, the whole order of industry, the public economy, the

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relations of sovereigns to their subjects and of nations to each other, were profoundly disturbed and modified by this enormous accession of the precious metals to the treasure of the civilized world. The depression of the ancient dominations, the elevation of unanticipated powers, the rise of new States, the aggrandizement of obscure potentates, internal discords, revolutions and foreign wars, were all partially generated by this impulse. Nor did the agitation of the waters subside entirely till after the Treaty of Utrecht. Even then the movement so strongly communicated was propagated in altered forms. The struggle for commercial ascendancy ensued upon the temporary restoration of the equilibrium of currency. The contests between England and France and Spain, for colonial empire, were deflections of the ancient current, rather than wholly new currents, and substituted commercial for purely financial phenomena. Thence grew the American Revolution, and from the American Revolution the French Revolution and the Empire of Napoleon.

The exile of Napoleon to St. Helena and the Treaty o Vienna restored peace, if not tranquility, to Europe for more than thirty years. During this interval the re-discovery of the gold mines of the world relieved the increasing restriction of the monetary circulation of Europe, and favoured the expansion of the trade and manufactures of England and of the United States. But it afforded neither prognostication nor illustration of the profound effects which were to result from the discovery and development of the gold mines of California and Australia.

We are now living in the midst of the confusion and disturbance resulting from this vast and sudden augmentation of the metallic treasure of the world. In the din and hurry of events, we are unable as yet to appreciate either the extent or the exact character of the commotion excited. Nor can any cool or precise estimation be yet attempted, because the evolution of the effects is only incipient, and because the new sources of the precious metals are not yet fully explored, as every year adds fresh auriferous realms to the amazing production of those previously in operation. But we may be assured that we have re-entered, under ampler auspices and a mightier exertion of similar forces, upon the path which was traversed by the nations of Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, and may anticipate analogous changes, though in grander proportions and with accelerated velocity.

We know that nearly all prices are enhanced—that incomes cannot now command the same relative enjoyments which equal revenues did in former years. We know that the rapidity with which fortunes are acquired, and their magni-

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tude are wonderfully increased; that the chasm between the rich and the poor widens every day; that small capitals are becoming more and more impotent in the hands of their owners; that private fortunes are becoming consolidated into corporate capitals, that numberless enterprises of vast and perilous range are daily undertaken, and are pushing improvements, commerce, and manufactures into the remotest regions of the earth, and into its most secluded corners. We apprehend, with an instinctive shudder, that both societies and governments are convulsed and throbbing with the agony of a complete transformation. We discern the spectral phantoms of mighty, but yet undetermined, changes—which are preparing to transmute present forms and types of existence into other and ampler shapes. But all is still indistinct—"without form and void—and darkness is upon the face of the deep." By most persons the disturbance of forces, elements and organizations, is rather recognized by a vague feeling of discomposure and dread, than by any clear understanding of the mutation in progress. Dim and formless as the rising creations still are, the throes which precede and accompany their nativity are thrilling through the whole framework of the civilized world. Their completion must precede their adequate interpretation. All that can now be done is to recognize the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep, and the immediate dependence of this portentous commotion upon the increased production of the precious metals by the discovery of the auriferous wealth of California and Australia, and therefore upon financial stimulation. Having done this, we shall be enabled to sympathize with and to acquiesce in the prescient sagacity of the Poet of the passing age:

"Even now we hear with inward strife
A motion toiling in the gloom—
The Spirit of the years to come
Yearning to mix himself with Life.

"A slow developed strength awaits
Completion in a painful school;
Phantoms of other forms of rule,
New Majestics of mighty States—

"The warders of the growing hour,
But vague in vapor, hard to mark:
And round them sea and air are dark
With great contrivances of Power."

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ART. II.—THE POLITICAL CRISIS. DUTIES OF THE HOUR.

In the present anomalous condition of our country, what course do wisdom and policy demand of those to whom the management of public affairs is committed? Two principal plans have been proposed, as widely divergent as opposite points of the compass. The tendency of the one is conciliating, that of the other exasperative. One of the two must eventually prevail, and it can hardly be a matter of indifference which becomes effective; for there is scarcely an individual within the bounds of our country, however humble or obscure he may be, who will not be to some extent affected by the result; while every great and commanding public or private enterprise, and, indeed, the welfare of the entire nation are vitally concerned in the issue. Let us endeavor to take a calm and dispassionate view of the subject, unbiassed by party prejudice or sectional animosities. Let us candidly consider what counsels are best and safest in our present emergency.

As a nation we have just passed through an ordeal which has no parallel in the history of the world. No government was ever yet so formidably assailed, no rebellion was ever so systematically, so perseveringly conducted, and with such gigantic means, such devoted energy, such deliberate purpose; and yet no government was ever yet so signally triumphant—no rebellion was ever more thoroughly suppressed. For years which embrace the personal recollections of most men now living, a feeling of jealousy and enmity has been growing up between the two sections of our country—the North and South—and there have never been wanting evil-minded demagogues on either side to take advantage of every subject of discord, and by fair or foul means to aggravate its tendency and to exaggerate its importance, until it finally culminated in feelings of deadly hatred and a deliberate purpose of final and complete separation.

It has become fashionable at the North to hold the South wholly responsible for all the consequences that have resulted from this attempt at separation. The immense expenditure of treasure, the loss of productive industry, the destruction of public and private property, and those far greater and incomputable items—the corruption of morals, the sacrifice of life, the impairing of physical energies, and the sorrow and suffering of millions of bereaved and impoverished relations—all have been laid to the exclusive charge of the South, as if the North had been entirely blameless in the matter. But is this right? Is it just or reasonable? When we consider that the

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South neither made nor attempted to make any aggressions on the rights or even the prejudices of the North, that she never assailed any of its principles or prerogatives, but acted only in defense of her own clearly defined constitutional rights; that she was for years the victim of hostile and invidious legislation, that an institution in which most of her wealth was involved, which was deemed essential to her prosperity, and which was, moreover, guaranteed to her by the solemn compacts of a Constitution which ought to have been respected by the North as well as the South, was assailed by every lawful and unlawful means with which responsible and irresponsible agents could reach it; when we consider that she was reviled and persecuted, that the best and wisest of her sons were insulted, maligned and vituperated with a virulence that has no precedent in the English language, and that these assaults formed the staple of harangues in popular and religious convocations, in public assemblies and private circles, in the substantial as well as ephemeral literature of the North, all repeated through a long series of years, growing more vindictive and fiendish with every repetition; when we consider these things, it must be admitted that the South was not without provocation in taking that course which many of her people thought, and honestly believed, to be the only course which could secure them in the peaceable enjoyment of their own rights. They declared themselves absolved from the political compact that bound them to the Federal Union, and however mistaken they may have been in fact, it may fairly be claimed for them that, in seeking this remedy, —a peaceful separation, which the theory of our government admits to be the inalienable right of an oppressed people—they should at least be held excused, if not justified.

True, it is claimed that the South never has been oppressed, and I am free to admit that in my opinion her oppressions were never such as to justify a dissolution of the Union. But no one will contend that she has had no cause of complaint, and we know of no rule that should authorize her bitterly vindictive opponent to determine the amount of oppression which would justify her in resorting to even forcible means, if necessary, to obtain redress from the wrongs which that opponent was so maliciously bent upon inflicting. She was undeniably forced into a defensive position, and may be excused if her judgment was somewhat biased when adjudicating her own cause. It may further be plead in her excuse that the war which followed was not of her choosing. A necessary consequence it doubtless was of her own act; and yet it was the opinion of many of her prominent men, and the ardent wish of all, that the North would willingly acquiesce in a dissolution

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of that Union which had become so extremely distasteful to both sections.

It may be a matter of little or no moment, though perhaps not improper to state, that for one we never indulged in anticipations of a peaceful dissolution of the Union, and that firm principle and policy were opposed to secession. Entertaining for the American Union a profound reverence, the result of education and reflection; foreseeing for it a destiny of glory and grandeur, proudly pre-eminent among earth's greatest nationalities; and having, moreover, no extravagant faith in the ability of any fractional part of a dissevered government to attain to even a secondary position in the family of nations, we could not but feel that every thing which a people ought to prize was placed in jeopardy by the first overt act of hostility, and that all our dreams of national aggrandizement were from that moment doomed to disappointment. But, seriously as we deprecated the course pursued, we were by no means disposed to pass indiscriminate censure upon those who thought and felt differently. Among the elements that were operative in the attempt at dissolution, there was doubtless much of passion and prejudice, but these were not the spontaneous growth of the South, and there was certainly not wanting a far higher and nobler sentiment.

But, whether right or wrong, there can be no difference of opinion as to the nature or extent of that terrible retribution which the South has suffered. It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the effects of the late desolating war. Where five years ago every thing wore the cheerful aspect of affluence and refinement, where happiness and prosperity abounded, where were apparent domestic and social amenities such as can scarcely be found in any other portion of men's earthly heritage, there is now desolation, poverty, sorrow and suffering; fields are lying waste and unfenced that were then teeming with rich abundance; heaps of ashes and naked chimneys now mark the sites of thousands of splendid dwellings; hopeless misery and helpless despair now brood in sullen silence where but recently princely hospitality and every social and domestic virtue were found in their most attractive forms. In fact, in almost every part of the South the march of hostile armies, the deadly carnage of fiercely contested battles, and all the horrors and devastations of ruthless war may be traced in ruins, blood, and new-made graves. Admit, if you please, that the South was wrong; but has she not suffered a sufficient atonement? Could Christian charity, could refined humanity, could even justice itself demand more of those so severely chastened and scourged? Is it not, then, manifestly the dictate

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of every feeling and principle that ought to control the actions of a refined and Christianized people to extend a lenient policy to those who were lately in arms against the Government?

But setting aside every consideration of feeling and equity, let us view the subject as a question of political economy. The natural resources of the States lately in rebellion are unsurpassed in richness and variety by any equal extent of territory on the face of the globe. They abound in almost every valuable mineral, and nothing is wanting but the fostering encouragement of a liberal government to make them a source of individual wealth and of large public revenue. The leading agricultural productions are all of a kind that enter largely into the commerce between this and other nations. Their extent is such as to control the markets of the world, and some of them are almost without any competition. With all the resources of these States developed to their utmost capacity, there is no section of our widely extended country that would contribute in an equal degree to the prosperity of the whole or to the reduction of our enormous public debt. Cramped and crippled as these States now are, by the effects of a gigantic and devastating war, they are in a condition to contribute but little to the relief of the public burden; and, with the unfriendly policy marked out by some of the leading politicians of the North, there is hardly a chance of their doing more for years to come. If kept in a state of territorial vassalage, with unfriendly denunciations continually thundered in their ears, and prosecutions and confiscations held *in terrorem* over them, the owners of the soil have but little encouragement to invest either their energies, or the little that is left them of their former ample means, for the development of that boundless hidden wealth that might contribute so materially to our national prosperity.

We confess ourselves unable to appreciate the force of those arguments which urge a vindictive policy toward the Southern States. It certainly cannot be defended on the score of magnanimity nor humanity, its justice is by no means self-evident, and it appears to me to be subversive of the dignity and true interests of the country. Those States have done what they could to repudiate the errors by which they were led astray. There is scarcely a man in all the South who is not willing to take the oath of allegiance, and with an honest purpose, too, of keeping it inviolate, and of becoming a loyal and useful citizen of the United States. The stern logic of the late war, if it has not corrected entirely the prevailing fallacy by which these States were led into rebellion, has at least convinced every one of the absolute necessity of submission to a government so prompt and able to vindicate its authority. Every one is ready

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to acquiesce in the results of the war, and to accept its decisions as final and irrevocable, and it needs only a kind and magnanimous policy on the part of the North to render that acquiescence cheerful, and to restore the Union on a firmer basis and with a far more cordial fellowship than ever before existed. The prime cause of all our former enmities and bickerings is now removed, and by that removal the South has been reduced to a condition that appeals strongly to the sympathy of every heart not actuated by purely vindictive sentiments. With the extinction of slavery the resources of every one have been more or less crippled, while with many it has involved the loss of their entire wealth, and reduced them, as it were in a moment, from affluence to poverty. But, great as is their loss in a pecuniary point of view, scarce a murmur is heard at the result, and nothing is now wanting but kindness and conciliation, on the part of those who can well afford to manifest those generous qualities, in order to convert this present calamity into a signal and lasting blessing.

It is fortunate for the country that we have at the head of our affairs a man who is well qualified to grapple with the emergencies of the times, one who has the wisdom to comprehend the requirements of this anomalous condition, and in whom are united that sterling honesty of purpose, that sincere devotion to the public welfare, and that firmness in the discharge of a high and honorable trust which will carry him triumphantly and honorably through the responsibilities of that high trust. The history of nations has furnished but few political problems of such difficult solution as the one presented in the present crisis of our affairs. To work out this problem successfully requires a high order of statesmanship. Had the selection of a Chief Magistrate been made with a view to such a contingency it is quite probable that Andrew Johnson might have been left in the quiet walks of private life. The strange vicissitude, therefore, by which he was raised to that high station, is well calculated to confirm the faith of those who recognize an over-ruling Providence in the management of our public affairs. For the course he has marked out, and the firmness and perseverance thus far manifested in his efforts to reconstruct the Government, and to restore peace, happiness and prosperity to our distracted country, seem to designate him as peculiarly fitted for that arduous duty. Indeed, the strange combination of circumstances by which he was raised to the position he now occupies, the singular fortuity by which every other part of those wicked schemes by which he was so unexpectedly elevated were frustrated, have worked out a result so signally adopted to the exigencies of the times, that it would

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seem almost impious to doubt the interposition of a superhuman agency.

But will the President be able to contend successfully against the factious opposition of the bigoted radicals, who can neither comprehend the wisdom nor appreciate the magnanimity of his policy? His course is doubtless beset with many embarrassments, and no means which malicious ingenuity can suggest will be spared to defeat his patriotic designs; but we have faith in his sterling integrity of purpose, and would not distrust the beneficent designs of that Providence which has hitherto watched over the destinies of this nation. With the history of the past so fresh in our recollection, we need not be greatly troubled at the puny efforts of those who are striving with all their might to intensify and perpetuate the animosities that have hitherto been productive of so much evil. The result can hardly be doubtful; and yet the radical violence, the bitterness of party rumor and sectional hatred, by which the opposition in Congress is characterized, cannot fail to produce lasting mischief.

It is difficult to imagine what end the radicals in Congress propose to themselves by the course they are now pursuing. The good of the country is certainly lost sight of in their programme; for the true policy of any Government unquestionably is to conciliate its people and promote harmony and friendship among all; whereas, implacable enmity and bloodthirsty vindictiveness characterize all their measures relating to the South. It seems to be their leading desire to estrange, as far as possible, the two sections, and to render them even more hostile and odious to each other than they have ever before been. In their hatred of the South they seem to have mistaken severity and acrimonious zeal for wisdom and statesmanship—an error common to contracted minds. And yet there are not wanting among them men of intelligence, however much their deification of a single idea may have cramped and biased their judgment. One thing, however, is certain; if their aims are honorable and patriotic, they have read history to little purpose not to have discovered that a harsh, revengeful, vindictive policy never yet restored harmony to any people, never yet promoted the welfare of any nation, and never failed in disgrace and ruin to its authors. From such men as Senator Sumner and a few others a more enlightened course might have been expected, though the inevitable tendency of abolitionism seems ever to have been to denaturalize and inhumanize its victories. The antecedents of Stevens are said to have been such that nothing better could be expected of him. Suppose their places were now occupied by such men as Daniel

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Webster and Henry Clay, and others of that illustrious galaxy that once adorned and honored our national councils. It needs but the simple mention of their names to suggest a magnanimity and wisdom commensurate with the greatness of the occasion—impossible for the mind to associate those names with that narrow, bigoted policy, by which spiteful demagogues are so ambitious to manifest their sectional prejudices.

Whatever excuse there may have been for bitterness of feeling and severity while the South occupied a position of hostility to the Union, no such excuse now exists, for the South has abandoned that position. She has shown every disposition to accept as final the decisions of the late war, and to submit unmurmuringly to her changed condition. The ordinance of secession has been everywhere revoked, the statutes of every State that had thus far had an opportunity of acting have been purged of every obnoxious act, their constitutions amended in conformity with the new order of things; and what shows still more conclusively her sincerity, she has called to offices of honor and trust, both in State and Federal affairs, only those who were known to be most favorable to the restoration and perpetuity of the Union. What more could be required of her? The North and West owe it to themselves and to the common good of the country, to repudiate those who are so fatally bent upon perpetuating those party and sectional animosities that have hitherto been so disastrous, and which can never result in any thing but evil.

ART. III.—PECUNIARY INDEPENDENCE—WHAT IS IT?

We believe good men and bad men, slaveholders and non-slaveholders, Northerners and Southerners, all alike, desire to become at least moderately independent of their pecuniary circumstances.

The desire we think not only natural, but very meritorious. It incites to energy and industry, and promotes economy and frugality. In fact, without this universal desire, and the action it begets, society would stagnate and retrograde, and civilization gradually disappear. Were all content to live on the proceeds of the labor of their own hands, there would be very little work done by any; for no one would, by his own labor, be willing to produce more than the simplest necessaries of life, in a society where all were poor and plain.

Yet while all desire to become independent, not one man in ten thousand understands what constitutes independence, nor what he is engaged in whilst successfully endeavoring to achieve independence.

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As vulgarly understood, to be independent means to be able to live on the income of one's property without labor. The vulgar error consists in this, that men think that property or capital is productive, and begets income without robbing any one. "Where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise." Yet, cruel as the procedure is, it is our duty, in self vindication, to dispel the pleasing illusion that makes independent men, with pharasaical self-complacency, "thank God that they are not as other men."

Now, their property does not breed, does not increase of itself, but merely enables them to command the labor, or the results of the labor, of other people, without consuming or expending any part of that property. Property-holders, or capitalists, pay not a cent to the labor which they employ, or for any of the products of labor which they buy, so long as they do not expend more than their incomes.

Property-holders have nothing wherewith to pay the wages of labor, or to pay for anything they purchase, except their property; and so long as that remains intact, they are living without labor on the unrequited labor of other people. They are masters without slaves, and those who labor for them slaves without masters. Or rather, they are mere joint-owners of an undivided, undefinable interest in the laboring class. Whilst the laboring class, although slaves to the property-holding-class, have no particular individual masters. An ingenious Chancellor could readily divide the laboring-class among the capitalist-class, for a given amount of capital confers on its owner the command of a certain amount of labor. For example, a man worth twenty thousand dollars commands the labor of twenty human beings, taking them in families. The man worth forty thousand the labor of forty, and so on.

The man exerting himself to become independent is engaged in the slave trade. The man who has become independent is a slave-owner. We believe the usual appraisement of the value of a male adult immigrant is one thousand dollars. We think they are worth two thousand each. Worth to whom? Why to our property-holding-class, who at once command their labor for less than if they were imported from Africa, for free labor is cheaper than slave labor. But there never was, nor ever can be, any trade except the slave trade, simply because there is no *productive* or *valuable* property except property in man.

Yet there must ever be, in civilized society, masters and slaves, and it is better to be a master than a slave.

It is therefore right and meritorious to become independent, though we thereby become masters of our fellow men, and

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can live without labor on the unrequited labor of other people. The relation of master and slave may be concealed from view, but can never be disrupted, so long as the few hold property and the many have none.

We are all struggling to acquire property that will give us the command or ownership of human labor. But men, no more than horses, are good to eat, and ownership of their labor is ownership of themselves.

Slavery and the Slave Trade are unavoidable, where property exists. Let the efforts of all good, wise, and practical men be directed, therefore, to devising some means to secure the better treatment of the laboring class by their masters, the property-holding-class. They are most cruelly treated now.

ART. IV.—THE CAUSES OF COMMERCIAL GREATNESS.

A REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE EAST INDIA TRADE.

It is nothing but the densest ignorance which congratulates itself upon a perpetuity of commercial greatness because it is now possessed of it. The inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, Babylon, Thebes, Carthage, Rome, Athens, Alexandria,—all once seats of imperial power and renowned commercial magnificence,—thought themselves secure in the trade and commerce which had made them what they were. Babylon in the East, and Tyre in the West, for centuries monopolized the commerce of the East. Caravans from India traversed the deserts of Mesopotamia before Greece or Rome came into view. Carthage rose into commercial power by trade with the interior of Africa and by the gold and silver mines of Spain. After the destruction of Tyre, Alexandria became the great *entrepot* of ancient commerce, monopolizing the trade of Europe, Asia and Egypt. Indeed, the entire shores of the Mediterranean Sea have been dotted with grand and mighty cities. Where are they now? Why deserted? Does New York possess any elements of vitality more lasting than these cities enjoyed? Fine harbors do not make cities. The harbor of Tyre is to-day as good as when she was the *entrepot* of the commerce of the East Indies, when her ships went forth "even to the pillars of Hercules." Alexandria has a good harbor now, but no trade. Venice, Lisbon, Antwerp and Amsterdam have just as good facilities for trade as they had when they were respectively the leading cities of modern Europe. But why all these changes in commercial emporiums? The world surely is not governed by chance. The Great Creator of the Universe works by fixed and uniform laws, and it is the province of man to discover those laws and place himself in harmony with them. He then secures his own happiness as well as the advancement of science and civilization.

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The wealth of a nation is that portion which is left of production over consumption, and it may be set down as a fact, that holds good throughout all history, that populations in temperate latitudes have never grown rich without tropical trade, unless they deprived a portion of society of the just rewards of their labor, by slavery, vassalage, or serfdom. The climatic necessities require that one portion of the year shall be mainly occupied in providing for the exigencies of the other portion. Besides, no commerce really can be said to exist between people that produce like results from their labor. The hatter does not trade with the hatter. The farmer of Illinois is not the patron of the farmer of Indiana. There must be dissimilarity of occupations and productions to form the basis of commerce. Without this essential element, there would have been no need of caravans ships, canals, steamers, railroads and other agencies of commercial intercourse. This great and all-important fact should be kept steadily in view, and with it, as a key, we shall be able to unlock to our readers the theory of commerce and the secret of all the glory and the splendor of ancient emporiums of trade, as well as the cause of their downfall.

Europe, proper, possesses no tropical region. Hence her products are almost exclusively those of the temperate zone. Some of the islands of the Mediterranean do raise a few semi-tropical productions; but, as a general statement, it may be said that Europe is utterly deficient in those articles so essential to a high state of civilization and refinement. Asia Minor is similar in climatic characteristics to Europe. It occupies the same parallels of latitude, and, therefore, is not essentially dissimilar in its natural productions. On the Euphrates, it is believed, the great master race of mankind was created by the Maker of All, and from thence spread over the world. Babylon became the first great city of the East. Situated on the Euphrates, and only separated from India by Persia, she was the first seat of the East Indian commerce, the coveted prize of all the ancient and modern world. India has been the pivot upon which the wealth of the Eastern hemisphere has turned. As cities and nations have monopolized it they have risen to imperial splendor, and when they lost it, have at once fallen from their proud positions as the commercial emporiums of the world. Whatever commerce a city may have preserved, if it lacked the East India trade it lacked the one thing needful. The essential element of diversity of productions was wanting. The interchange of the commodities of the temperate for the tropical region is the only way, then, that a lucrative commerce can be established. No nation in a temperate latitude has ever made a mark in the world, by simply exchanging the ordinary productions of this latitude. If, for instance, the North American continent extended only to Mason & Dixon's line, we cannot conceive of our country differing essentially from Norway or Sweden, and hence it could only enjoy a limited commerce. The bulk of our trade is not with Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. These are comparatively unimportant countries to us, and

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they might be buried out of sight, without affecting us materially; for, as we go North, the power of production becomes feebler, and the surplus over-production less, until, finally, both cease altogether and man only produces enough for his own subsistence. As we go South the case is exactly reversed. Less and less labor is required to provide against climatic necessities, and hence the more is left for productive employment, and a large surplus, of course, exists over consumption. This surplus represents so much labor, and it is the foundation of all the capital and wealth of the world. From the earliest times the tropical regions of Asia were cultivated, and its manufactures produced by vassals, serfs, or slaves. These persons received but a small share of the products of their labor, and this being monopolized by the ruling classes in India, laid the foundation of that trade and commerce which has made that country famous as the source of wealth. When we consider that for centuries, over 150,000,000 of this subject-population have existed in India, under the most favorable circumstances of climate, and themselves enjoying only a moiety of the results of their incessant labor, we can easily understand that the apparently fabulous stories of "the wealth of Ormus and of Ind" were not entirely the result of gross exaggerations. We lay it down, therefore, as a proposition which is not susceptible of successful contradiction, *that the exchange of these East Indian or Asiatic productions has ever formed the basis of the lucrative commerce of Asia and Europe, and that no city in the Eastern Hemisphere ever rose to the rank of a first class commercial emporium without it.*

India or Hindostan is about the size of the entire area of the United States. From the earliest ages it has been densely populated, and is supposed now to contain 200,000,000 inhabitants. When we contrast this vast population with our meagre 30,000,000, and the great wealth we have accumulated, we can form some idea of the riches which this people might produce, if they were at all industrious. But when we consider that at least 150,000,000 of these are compelled to labor, and that a form of involuntary service has always existed in India, we can form some idea of the immense commercial results which that country has produced. Its surplus productions, both of raw and manufactured articles, have ever been enormous. In no place in the world would gold buy so much as in India. In other words, in no place was labor so cheap. Hence the articles brought from India yielded an enormous profit to those merchants or cities monopolizing them. We have no exact data upon which to base statements as to the profits of the India trade in ancient times. If we may believe the statements of Pliny, that India silk, sent to Rome, brought its weight in gold, we can form some idea of the profits of the Alexandria merchants who imported it. We have, however, very positive statistics of the first profits of the India trade to England. Mr. Thomas Mun, one of the first Directors of the first British East India Company, in a tract published in 1621, says that the amount of produce brought from India up to that time

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had cost £366,288, and had been disposed of for the enormous and apparently impossible sum of £1,914,600, or five hundred per cent. more than cost! A nation that could monopolize such a trade as this, and lay the world under tribute to it in this way, would rapidly accumulate wealth.

The productions of India consist of cotton, calicoes, silks, pearls, drugs, porcelain, ivory, pepper, cloves, mace, nutmegs, indigo, balsams, precious stones, shawls, etc., etc. Her curious and exquisite productions of silks, shawls and cotton manufactures were fabricated almost as cheaply by hand as they have in modern times been furnished by machinery. When it is recollected that it required the most elaborate and intricate machinery, capable of performing the duties of an almost unlimited number of laborers, before Great Britain could compete with India in the commonest manufactured goods, we can form some idea of the cheapness of labor there, and the relation it bears to our labor. For the purpose of illustration, we will suppose that an article which it would require ten men here, each one day's labor to produce, is imported from India. There it cost only the price of one of our day's work; hence its advance in value, as soon as it is brought into our market, is that of nine days' labor, or nine hundred per cent.

It is thus seen that the cheapness of labor in any given locality becomes the gain of that locality, which secures the results of that labor for less than its equivalent, as compared with its own standard. If the labor of a white man in Great Britain and a coolie in Hindostan cost exactly the same there would be no profit in exchanging the result of the one for that of the other. It would be exactly similar to the old story of "swapping jackets;" but as the coolie in India lives on a few pounds of rice per year, and wears little or no clothing, and hence gets no pay for his labor, and as he works nearly the entire year round, while the laborer of Great Britain is, in all respects, the reverse of this, we see at once why the India trade is productive of wealth. Even if her productions cost the bullion, it is like the husbandman sowing seed in good ground—it will bring forth a hundred fold. Whether, therefore, we regard India in the light of her diversified and profuse tropical productions, which could be obtained by the ancient world from no other source, or whether we contemplate her as the earliest manufacturing locality, we see how, by the cheapness of her labor, she has ever contributed to add to the wealth of the world, and in fact, been the link necessary to complete the chain of lucrative commerce.

It will be impossible to fully understand the effect of the India trade without a glance at its history. First, it should be borne in mind that the shores of the Persian Gulf in the East, and of the Mediterranean Sea in the West, were, from the beginning of the world to the time of Christ, and for fifteen hundred years afterwards, the seat of all the important commerce of the world. Modern European commerce has all originated since the year 1500, and is therefore only 360 years old. For ages, therefore, in the past, the cities

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of Assyria, of India, of Syria, of Egypt, of Arabia, of Carthage, of Rome, of Greece, etc., etc., have been from time to time the seats of commercial power and wealth, and have arisen when the laws of trade have been complied with, or fallen when they have been disregarded. It is quite certain that the ancient Assyrian Empire, of which Nineveh and Babylon were the principal cities, was the first nation that enjoyed the East India trade. Both were situated upon rivers that flowed into the Persian Gulf, and they were connected by canals which evinced a superior knowledge of the principles of hydraulics. Roads for caravans were constructed across the desert and united Phœnecia and Palestine with Babylon. There were several of these roads leading in different directions. The one to the East, a celebrated military and commercial road described by Herodotus, led from Sardis to Susa, in ninety days' journey, and was furnished with stations like our modern stage routes. It also admits of no doubt that a large coasting trade was carried on from Nineveh and Babylon for many hundred years with India, and perhaps even China. There was surely a considerable overland trade through Media, Hyacania and the centre of Asia. In fact, Babylon seems to have been the great center of the trade of the world; she is called by Ezekiel "the city of merchants." The merchants of Tyre on the Mediterranean sent her their cedar-wood and various articles, for which they received India goods, which they distributed over the then uncivilized Western world. The Tyreans, or Phœnecians, were the first navigators, and before Rome was known, or Carthage founded, those enterprizing people became a nation of traders, exploring and establishing colonies wherever they went. They founded Gadez (modern Cadiz) and some suppose, coasted as far as Gaul, Britain and Holland. Carthage was one of the most noted colonies of Tyre, and became the seat of a lucrative commerce with the interior of Africa before Rome rose to power.

Babylon had an extensive market for her East Indian commodities, the trade of which was of course, monopolized by her. Its profits were doubtless enormous, and she sold her spices, cotton, precious stones, ivory, silks, etc., for such fabulous prices that she drew the bullion of the whole world to her emporium, and thus enjoyed "the balance of trade." As to the wealth of the ancient Assyrian empire, we can form no statistical computations, but the researches and explorations of Layard prove that it must have been immense. At the downfall of the effeminate Sardanapalus, rather than give up the luxuries he enjoyed, it is said he set fire to his palace and burned himself up in it, with his wives and his treasures. These treasures were a "thousand myriads of talents of gold and ten times as many of silver." As a myriad contains ten thousand, and one single myriad talents of silver is about $16,000,000, one would be lost in attempting to estimate the amount. If we set down this account as fabulous, as no doubt it is, still the evidences are abundant that the ancient Assyrian empire rose to amazing wealth and splendor, and the great secret of it was the monopoly of the East India trade.

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After the downfall of the ancient Assyrian empire, and its division into several parts, the trade of India was successively secured by several nations. The Jews enjoyed the monopoly of it in the time of Solomon, and that was the golden period of the Hebrew people. David conquered Idumea, and thereby secured the ports of Elath and Esiongeber, two towns situated on the eastern shore of the Red Sea. From these two ports went forth Solomon's triennial expeditions to Ophir and Tarshish; and there can be no doubt, from the productions said to have been produced,—ivory, spices, gold, silver, etc.,—that it must have been the East Indies, although the gold, or a portion of it at least, may have been obtained from the eastern coast of Africa. The death of Solomon, however, was the downfall of the glory of Jerusalem. The revolt of Jeroboam, and the stiffneckedness of Rehoboam, produced the most disastrous results, and turned the course of wealth described in the ninth chapter of Chronicles, the proceeds of Solomon's East India "ventures," and the Syrians recovered the ports on the Red Sea. Tyre was greatly benefited thereby, and soon enjoyed nearly the entire monopoly of this trade for many years. The Syrians established for this purpose the seaport of Rhinoculura, lying between the confines of Egypt and Palestine; but at one period the main business appears to have been done by caravans across Mesopotamia to Gerre, a seaport town south of the mouth of the Euphrates, in the Persian Gulf. At all events, they enjoyed the trade, and, at the same time, the protection of the Persian monarchs. Tyre attained her greatest pre-eminence as a commercial city about 550 to 650 years before Christ. At that period the Tyrean merchants were the factors and agents of the civilized world, and emphatically "ruled the wave" as the greatest maritime nation of the world. Gold, silver, lead, iron, slaves, horses, mules, sheep, goats, pearls, precious stones, coral, wheat, balm, honey, oils, spices, gums, wine, wool and silks, are some of the articles mentioned in the commerce of Tyre.

Tyre retained her proud pre-eminence until the war of Alexander the Great with the Persian Empire: waged, without doubt, mainly to obtain the monopoly of the East India trade. She long resisted his conquering march, but was finally forced to succumb. No man was more sagacious in commercial matters than Alexander, and with a wise forethought he founded a city on the Mediterranean, naming it after himself, which eventually even rivalled the famous Tyre. From the foundation of Alexandria (332 B. C.) Tyre gradually declined, until the denunciations of the prophet came true: her palaces were levelled in the dust, and she became "a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea."

Alexandria was so located that there was less overland carriage for goods from India than by any other route that ever had been in use. They were first carried in ships from Berenice, which coasted along the shores until they reached the mouth of the Indus. Subsequently, during the reign of the Ptolemies, the mariners ventured to sail with the western monsoon from the straits of Babelmandel

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across the Indian Ocean. The cargoes from India having been landed at Berenice, where thence conveyed by caravans to Coptos on the Nile, where they were transferred to lighters, and sent down the river to Alexandria, whence they were distributed all over Europe. Alexandria added to her India trade almost every other natural advantage. She was the depot of the grain trade of Egypt, and yet great as this trade was, it was, after all, the India trade that caused her chief wealth and magnificence. This wonderful city long maintained her proud pre-eminence as a commercial power, and, had it not been for the discoveries in navigation, and their effects upon the localities of trade, would no doubt at this moment have been the London of the Nineteenth Century. As science and learning follow in the footsteps of commerce and wealth, so Alexandria became the seat of the schools and philosophy of Europe and Asia. Thither Egyptian, Grecian and Brahmanical philosophers wended their way. Merchants of all countries and all climes congregated there from the Indus and the Ganges in the East, to Spain and Gaul in the West. The Alexandrian library was the astonishment of the world, and for 300 years this remarkable city was the great *entrepot* of commercial trade. Then it was besieged and taken by the Romans, who removed most of its works of art to Rome. This, however, did not materially mar its prosperity, which was not seriously affected until the founding of Constantinople and the removal of the seat of empire thither. After this it began to decline, and was greatly injured by the war of the Saracen; but it would undoubtedly have recovered from even all these calamities, had it not, in 1497, received a blow by the discovery of the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, which almost swept it from existence.

It was not until after the death of Alexander the Great, and therefore subsequently to the founding of Alexandria, that Rome began to assume a position as a cultivated and civilized city. The Romans were not originally a naval or sea-going people. Carthage taught her the first lessons in this, as the Portuguese subsequently did the nations of modern Europe. Yet Rome was not slow in comprehending the advantages of the wealth that flows from well-regulated commerce. About 300 B. C. she made a treaty with Carthage, which proved the bone of contention forever after, and the direct or indirect cause of the celebrated Punic wars. Her first war with Carthage was for Sicily, an island producing more articles of a tropical character than any other country in the Mediterranean. Then she took Sardinia, and followed up her conquest by subduing all the Eastern nations, Macedonia, Syria and the Grecian cities of Asia. She had all the world under tribute to her. She drove the Carthagenians out of Spain, possessed herself of the "golden Cherosenesus," and by her precious metals and the labor of her millions of half-starved slaves, amassed enormous wealth. She finally conquered Alexandria, and even went so far as to destroy Aden, a seaport in southern Arabia, lest it should fall into hostile hands, and thus interfere with her monopoly of the lucrative East India traffic. Rome

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was the northern port whence the East India goods were distributed to the northern and western nations of Europe, who, as these luxuries became cheaper, consumed the more of them, and as civilization advanced, demanded the more. The profligacy and the consequent downfall of this city, with the intestine wars that followed, drove that trade away, and Venice gradually loomed up as the distributing point of the trade of Europe. During the 14th and 15th centuries she monopolized the East India trade via the Alexandria route, and her merchants became the wealthiest of Europe. The adventurous Portuguese, however, struck the blow in 1497 that dispossessed the proud Venetians of all the fancied stability of their port as a commercial emporium. The imperial palaces of the Doges sunk into decay as the golden stream of wealth from India was directed to another channel.

From the moment of the discovery of the passage to India by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, the commerce of the world was revolutionized. The glory of the Mediterranean had departed. The shores of that *mare internum*, so long the seat of opulent cities and the theatre of great exploits, now began to give evidence that the learning, art and civilization which had followed in the pathway of commerce were rapidly seeking other localities. While Greece and Rome enjoyed the advantages of the traffic with India, either through Syria or Egypt, they rose to the highest pinnacle of commercial prosperity, and to the proudest distinction in art, science and learning. But kingdoms that were supposed to be immovable, and cities said to be "Eternal," faded away and sunk into poverty and decay as the tide of the tropics swept around instead of across the African Continent. We now come to a new era in the East India trade, and we shall make the glance at it as brief as possible.

The Portuguese were not slow in taking advantages of the successes of their maritime explorations. The Pope declared the route to India the exclusive property of Portugal, and for nearly one hundred years no other European nation interfered with them. Lisbon rose to be the first city of Europe, and this, "the golden period of Portugal," is recounted with no little pride by her historians. In 1580, however, Portugal came under the control of Spain, and the revolt of the Netherlands followed. "The coercive policy" of Philip the Second was the downfall not only of Portuguese commerce, but prepared the way for the decline of Spain herself. The Dutch gave no quarter to Spanish or Portuguese commerce. They expelled the latter from the Moluccas, formed trading establishments in the Persian Gulf, and thence along the coasts and isles of India to Japan, and especially to Ceylon and Java. For years this was a lucrative trade, and the Dutch realized vast profits on their East India ventures.

Amsterdam now became in turn the *entrepot* of the India trade; and being also the grain mart of the Baltic, she rapidly rose to the rank of the first commercial city of Europe, which she maintained from 1580 to 1750. In 1700 her tonnage is estimated to have been

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900,000 tons, while that of England was only 261,000 tons. The wealth of the Dutch traders was immense. In the eighteenth century they were the money-lenders of Europe; and previous to 1788 had lent sixty millions of pounds sterling to England alone!

The temptations of lucrative commerce, however, soon found their way to England. The Dutch, after the English were compelled, by the war with Portugal, to get their East India products of them, raised the price of pepper 200 per cent., and this, as well as the growing maritime prosperity of England, caused that country to bestow more attention upon East Indian possessions. The French gradually acquired most of the possessions of Holland in India; and then commenced the great contest between France and England for the mastery of the Continent. There had been an East India Company in England since 1600, but it had been hampered by restriction, and though profitable to the stockholders, had not done much towards developing commerce. It was not until 1744, France and England being at war in Europe, that war broke out between the French and English in India. The success of Clive in the subjugation of the country to English rule, belongs to the familiar history of the day.

It is not so generally recollected, however, what was the cause of the terrible and bloody war with Napoleon. England had now not only possessed herself of India, but by her discoveries and colonial possessions in the Western hemisphere, was laying all Europe under tribute to her. She was monopolizing not only the Eastern but the Western world, and turning the trade of the tropical regions of both hemispheres to her ports. Her power, unless checked, would overshadow all Europe. This was really why France embraced with joy the revolt of the American Colonies in 1776, and the sagacious mind of Napoleon conceived, after our independence, his "continental system," the declared object of which was to free Europe from the tribute she was forced to pay England for the colonial or tropical goods which she received from her. The combination of Europe under one monarchy would, of course, have afforded a means of controlling the commercial power of England, the interest of which was to have free intercourse with all the ports of the Continent, and draw from them their wealth to enrich her emporium. Hence, the wars between England and France were the same old contest over again. The Assyrians against the Egyptians, Solomon against the Edomites, Alexander the Great against the Tyrians, the Romans against the Macedonians and Egyptians, and the Dutch against the Portuguese, are all historical parallels and forcible illustrations that this world is governed by uniform and general laws, and that mankind in different generations are really performing the same feats upon different stages of action.

England was successful, and the consequence is that to-day she is the maritime nation of the world. The amount of wealth transferred from India to England from 1750 to 1830, has been estimated at two thousand millions of dollars! Nor is this at all unreasonable.

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The first Dutch East India Company in twenty years divided among its stockholders 30,000,000 guilders, more than four times the amount of its capital, besides owning vast amounts of property in colonies, fortifications and vessels. It is a significant fact that England did not begin to rise in wealth with any rapidity until she obtained the monopoly of the India trade. Since then she has far outstripped every modern nation, and to-day has more wealth, *per capita*, than any other people on the earth. Not long since the writer read a report in the papers of a state dinner of the Queen, where all the vessels were of gold, and it has been stated that were the wealth of England equally divided among the people, each man, woman and child in the kingdom would have $10,000 a piece. This, no doubt, far exceeds all the wealth of the ancients, even that of Crœsus, Sardanapalus or Solomon.

It seems, therefore, to admit of no doubt that the great law of commerce, fixed by the nature of things, is that wealth springs mainly from the tropics, and that the exchange of commodities of dissimilar latitudes constitutes the main basis of all lucrative trade. As nations have conformed to this law, they have risen to the pinnacle of commercial power and splendor. As they have neglected or disobeyed it, they have sunk into poverty and forgetfulness. It is not pretended that this brief sketch is anything like a full account of this interesting subject. The writer has only given the outlines, and traced its history only in the more important respects. There were many cities and localities that enjoyed at times a portion of the commerce of India, especially various towns in Asia Minor, Persia and Arabia, but the sketch given is sufficient for our purpose, viz., to show that India, the tropical portion of the eastern half of the world, has been the great source of its wealth, and that the monopoly of its commerce has been the foundation of all the commercial emporiums of ancient and modern times.

The history of the tropical regions of America, brief though it be, is but a counterpart of the history we have just related. Spain had the most important and the most fertile portion of this Continent under her control for many years. While Portugal was extending her commerce in the East, Spain was pushing her discoveries and colonies in the West. The enormous wealth that flowed into Spain from Mexico, when conquered by Cortez in 1518, and from Peru and Chili when conquered by Pizarro and Almago in 1528, is a matter of authentic history. The estimated income of Spain from her American colonies was $30,000,000 yearly in gold and silver, and $20,000,000 in cochineal, sugar, tobacco, cotton, hides, etc., etc. The revolt of the Spanish American colonies, and the want of any adequate system of labor in them since then, have not only destroyed them as a source of wealth to the mother country, but to every other nation. The latter cause has also destroyed, to a great extent, the value of all the colonial possessions of the European nations on this Continent. Hayti, a revolted colony of France, exported, in 1790,

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while a colony, products to the value of $27,828,000. A short time ago her total exports were stated at $5,000,000.

The British West India islands, with one or two exceptions, do not show so great a decline in their productiveness. The great efforts made within the past few years to introduce Asiatic laborers into them, on nearly the same principle of labor that has made India the source of such enormous wealth, has materially increased the production of those fertile islands. A vast amount of wealth, however, has gone to Europe from these islands, as they have passed successively from the hands of one power to those of another. Cuba, to-day, furnishes to Spain the most important and the most valuable of her commerce, and yields the largest extent of her revenue. No nation, at present, can be said to be achieving great wealth from a monopoly of the trade of the tropical region of this Continent, simply because it is very imperfectly and only partially cultivated. Leaving the islands and going to the mainland, we find the entire Continent, from the Equator to the 30th parallel of latitude, little better than an uncultivated waste. Brazil is the only oasis in the South American desert of decrepitude and decay. Our Gulf States, embracing only about five degrees of semi-tropical climate, have been the only really productive region in the warm latitudes on this Continent. The staple productions are similar to those of India, though superior in quality and really more important now to the civilized world than those of that country. The control of those productions, their exchange, their shipment, with the commissions, freights and revenues arising from them, have constituted a lucrative source of commercial power and national prosperity. As the East India or the tropical region of Asia built up Great Britain, it would seem that we, as a people, would be unworthy children of an honored sire, if we did not learn from so eminent an example how to turn the tropical region of this Continent into our source of commercial glory and national wealth. If we make use of the means and advantages which the God of Nature has placed in our hands, we shall build up an empire here, before which all the glories, art, wealth and learning of the past shall be utterly eclipsed.

It is now 247 years since New York was founded. This is nearly as long as Alexandria was a great city, longer than Venice revelled in her magnificence, and more than twice the length of the period that Lisbon was the center of European commerce. Two hundred years ago New York only extended to Wall street and its population was only 1,500. One hundred years since it extended to the present City Hall Park, and had a population of 13,000. New York could not and did not grow during its colonial vassalage to Great Britain, for the restrictions placed upon her commerce would not allow it. In 1800 her population had increased to 60,489. And this period may be said to have been the date of her actual birth as a maratime and commercial city. The operation of a uniform system of revenue laws, incident upon the formation of the Union, gradually concentrated business in this locality. Our old merchants

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will remember when the Southern States did an active and direct trade with Europe, but the natural adaptation of Northern men for the sea, who live like the Phœnecians did, on a sterile and rock-bound coast, soon made them the carriers to Europe of Southern productions, and New York, as possessing a fine harbor and a favorable locality, soon became the entrepot of American commerce. Merchants soon found in all parts of the country that a city becoming the depot of the manufactures and productions of all countries and climates, possessed rare advantages for procuring assortments of goods. New York rapidly rose under this system. Still, she labored under serious disadvantages. Externally, she was all that could be desired, but internally she lacked those fluvial communications by which the goods of her merchants could be distributed, and the grains and produce of the agriculturists received in return. This was one great reason of the commercial power of Alexandria; all the exhaustless fertility of the Nile poured into her port. New York had only the Hudson, a river reaching to the North, and not remarkable for the fertility of its borders. Had the St. Lawrence poured the waters of the Great Lakes into the harbor of New York, her internal trade would have corresponded with the external. The sagacity of De Witt Clinton supplied, as well as man's ingenuity could supply, the deficiencies of nature. The opening of the Erie Canal in 1826, gave New York another acceleration, for it brought her in water communication with thousands of miles of the richest and most fertile lands of the temperate latitude. Thus was the city built up. The key to its prosperity has been its relation to Southern productions, for these were the great cause of its external trade, which developed and rendered necessary its internal traffic. Had there been no staple of foreign commerce, there would have been no great necessity for the Erie Canal. First, because a vast amount of agricultural productions which now reaches tide-water, would not have been needed. There would not have been the population here to have consumed it, had it not been for foreign trade. And secondly, the quantity sent abroad could have been easily obtained from the sea coast, if all portions of our country had been compelled to confine themselves to grain and production.

To show conclusively that New York owes her maritime power to the agricultural productions of the Southern States, it is only necessary to mention one singular but impressive fact: The tonnage of the country has kept pace, *pari passu*, with the cotton crop, the number of bales of cotton forwarded being always just about the same as the number of tons of shipping. It is also worthy of mention that whenever the quantity of shipping has been increased beyond one ton to a bale of cotton, the inevitable effect had been to produce depression in freights and loss to the shipper. To show what the North reaped, in one item alone, from Southern productions, we have only to recur to the value of the freights. Their total value is estimated at $28,000,000; of this large sum, $3,500,000 comes from the North, and the balance, $24,500,000, is from the South. But this was only a small item of the profits upon Southern

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productions which the North and New York city principally reaped from this source. It is estimated that the South used to send North, per annum, $522,000,000 in value, which forms the basis of a thousand millions of exchange, and lays the foundation of the large financial operations of the North. It is not the purpose of the writer to go into the details which make up this aggregate.

This vast wealth, therefore, concentrated mainly in New York city, has rendered it the metropolis, the Alexandria of the western continent. The diffusion of the profits arising from commerce and trade is felt in every ramification of business. It increases the value of real estate, improves the wages of the laborer, gives employment to thousands, builds our marble stores, erects the palace homes of our merchant princes, paves our streets, lays out our magnificent parks, creates aqueducts rivalling those of Babylon or Rome, patronizes art, encourages science, aids learning, and introduces all those refined and luxurious enjoyments of the mind and taste which are the irrepressible yearnings of the human soul, as they have been the dream of the poets in all ages and in all climes. New York city, then, has been the commercial emporium of the Western world, simply because she has monopolized the trade and traffic of the tropical and semi-tropical regions of this continent. But suppose there be no productions, or a very limited amount of production in our Southern States, what then? It is now very certain that we shall have not over a quarter, perhaps not more than a fifth of a crop of cotton this year. Can New York city sustain her commercial position upon such a basis as this? Indeed, is it not time that New York merchants looked this matter fairly in the face, and throwing aside prejudice, proudly meet the naked truth. Will they permit mere political or party affiliations to interfere with the demands of commerce and trade? A few plain facts only need to be considered.

The white race is adapted to temperate latitudes, and never has there been, nor can there be, a white laboring population in the tropical regions. The physiology of the races, if generally understood, would demonstrate the truth of this statement; but it is sufficient for our purpose to state the *fact*, that no *productive white labor has ever existed in the tropical regions.* Perhaps one of the saddest experiments of this kind ever known to history is related by Macaulay, in his graphic account of the attempt to found Caledonia, by a colony of rough and adventurous Scotchmen, under the lead of a man named Paterson, on the Isthmus of Darien, in 1699. Scotland was in a furor of joy over the idea that she was to become the possessor of the Indies of America. Streams of wealth were to flow into the laps of her citizens. A company was formed, and every effort made to render the project a success. In August, 1699, four ships, with thirteen hundred men on board, sailed for Caledonia. In October letters were received from New York announcing that a few miserable men, the remnants of a colony which was to have been the garden, the warehouse of the world, their bones peeping through their skins, and fever written in their faces, had arrived in

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the Hudson. They had been compelled to seek safety in flight, and but few had been successful, for nearly all had either died before leaving the Isthmus or on the passage from it. Macaulay, commenting upon the infatuation which led to this calamity, says:

"None of Paterson's dupes considered how colonists from Fife or Lothian, who had never in their lives known what it was to feel the heat of a distressing midsummer day, could endure the labor of breaking clods and carrying burdens under the fierce blaze of a vertical sun. It ought to have been remembered that such colonists would have to do for themselves what English, French, Dutch and Spanish colonists employed negroes or Indians to do for them. It was seldom, indeed, that a white freeman in Barbadoes or Martinique, in Guiana, or at Panama, was employed in severe bodily labor. But the Scotch who settled at Darien must at first be without slaves, and must therefore dig the trench round their town, build their houses, cultivate their fields, hew wood, and draw water with their own hands. Such toil, in such an atmosphere, was too much for them. The rate at which the emigrants died was such that none of them seemed likely to live till November. Those who were not laid on their beds were yellow, lean, feeble, hardly able to move the sick and to bury the dead, and quite unable to repel the expected attack of the Spaniards. The cry of the whole community was that death was all around them, and that they must, while they still had strength to weigh anchor or spread a sail, fly to some less fatal region. The voyage was horrible. Scarcely any Guinea slave-ship has ever had such a middle passage. Of two hundred and fifty persons who were on board the St. Andrew, one hundred and fifty fed the sharks of the Atlantic before Sandy Hook was in sight. The Unicorn lost almost all its officers, and about a hundred and forty men. The Caledonia, the healthiest ship of the three, threw overboard a hundred corpses.

All history and experience confirm the above experiments. The labor of the negro is the essential requisite for the cultivation of the tropical regions, but the very inertia of his nature prevents him from laboring, except under the stimulus of the white man's mental vigor and constitutional activity. He must be forced to do what constitutionally he is not inclined to do, and thus it is, that it has been truly remarked that *the muscle of the negro and the brain of the white man* are the essential requisites for industry and production in the tropical regions.

If, therefore, the negro does not labor, the result will be the loss of production in the entire Gulf-State region. The three great staple articles of cotton, rice and sugar will be blotted out of the list of American productions. *They are so blotted out now*, and they will continue to be, unless the negro labor is organized upon some substantial basis. The effect upon New York, upon the North, upon our national prosperity, can easily be understood by every person who has taken the pains to peruse this article. No matter what people may say about present prosperity, based upon the feverish inflation of a paper currency, the definite future cannot be mistaken.

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New York city must fall from her pinnacle of prosperity if the tropical and semi-tropical productions of this continent are destroyed. These were ever constituted national wealth, and it is now simply a question how are they to be secured? The great and mighty field of enterprise before New York merchants—of a thousand times more importance to them than are the gold fields of California or the silver mines of Idaho—is the development of the tropical region of this Continent. Thirty degrees of latitude, embracing the most beautiful and fertile lands the sun of Heaven ever shone upon, lies an uncultivated wilderness. Even in its natural state it is a land almost literally overflowing with milk and honey. It only needs to be touched with the spade to laugh. A race adapted by the Creator for the climate is given us, and shall we allow them to cumber the ground, to die out and rot out in idleness and return to savagery, or organize some system of labor which shall insure production, and at the same time secure their own civilization and Christianization? This is the problem to be worked out. It is, no doubt, susceptible of solution. At all events, upon it depends not only the commercial greatness of New York city, but the future well-being of the entire country.

ART. V.—CHARMS OF RURAL LIFE.

A year or two prior to the war, the Hon. Wm. Grayson, of Charleston, one of the finest scholars and most versatile writers of the South, amused his leisure hours with the composition of an exquisite poem on the subject of Country Life which he dedicated to the elder Wade Hampton.

This beautiful production with which the Author, now alas! no more, furnished us an early copy, though printed in beautiful style in his native city, was but little circulated, in consequence of the political troubles, and comes up now before us, a waif from the wreck of the past.

We determine to give the Poem the benefit of our wide distribution, in the hope that "war's stern bugle" having sounded the last note, it will tend to restore and cement the genial and kindly virtues among us.—EDITOR.

THE COUNTRY.

Hoc erat in votis.——HORACE.

The Argument.

THE POET'S WISH FOR COUNTRY LIFE; FEW APPRECIATE IT; THE MULTITUDE PREFER GOLD OR POWER; THE COUNTRY THE CHOICE OF SAGE, POET, STATESMAN, WRONGED BY THE WORLD, OR WEARY OF IT; PRODUCES THE BEST DEFENDERS OF A NATION; THE IRONSIDES OF CROMWELL, THE SWISS, THE CLANS OF SCOTLAND, THE ARABS, THE ROMANS; THEIR PRAISES OF COUNTRY LIFE; THEIR CHARM STILL APPRECIATED IN THIS FAR WESTERN WORLD; OUR PEOPLE, LIKE THAT OF ROME, ADDICTED TO RURAL PURSUITS AND, LIKE THEM, DESTINED TO GREAT ENDS FROM SMALL BEGINNINGS; THEIR PROGRESS; THE FRONTIER HUNTER, THE SETTLED FARMER, THE EARLY PREACHER; THE PEOPLE, A NOBLE ONE; PROMPT TO DEFEND THEIR COUNTRY—BENNINGTON, KING'S MOUNTAIN, NEW ORLEANS; FORTUNATE, IF THEY ADHERE TO THEIR RURAL OCCUPATIONS AND, IN ADORNING AND IMPROVING THEIR HOME, FOLLOW NOBLE EXAMPLES.

The Sabine farm amid continuous hills
Remote from honours and their kindred ills,
Its chrystal fountain, and inviting shade
By groves of ancient oak and chestnut made,

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Where flocks and herds, in noonday heats repose,
Or linger grazing, at the evening's close;
Where bees abroad, on thyme or willow reap
Their harvest sweets, and rivulets murmur sleep;
The sunny fields, the modest mansion there,
The sober plenty of the rustic year,
Friends, leisure, books—the Muses' various art—
That calm and banish from the Master's heart,
The thorns, the cares, prolific passions yield,
As noxious weeds, are vanquished from the field,
This made the poet's prayer—alas, how few
Enjoy the bliss or deem the blessing true!

How few from gold's alluring visions fly
Or shun ambition with undazzled eye,
Turn from the specious gifts their sorceries give,
And taught by Time's long lesson learn to live;
Law's fairy fortune fled, a bankrupt scheme,*
Napoleon's boundless rule, a baseless dream;
Chained to his rock, from arms and power apart,
With vulture memories feeding on his heart,
In broken accents of imperial sway
And stern command, he breathed his soul away,
In vain—nor less in vain the lesson fraught
With gentler lore, by nobler spirits taught,
When, for the pomp and pride of war and state,
Untainted by the pleasures of the great,
They seek the happiness that never cloys
Of homelier pleasures and serener joys;
In vain—new schemes bewilder and betray,
New crowds pursue, where honours point the way;
Alike the dupes of vanity and lies,
If won, or missed, the hard contested prize,
From the drained cup, the insensate revellers crave
A deeper draught, insatiate to the grave,
Crushed the fond scheme! yet haunted by its ghost
They clutch the shadowy form, the substance lost,
As storm tossed seamen seize the broken mast,
Cling to the wreck, and struggle to the last,
The foundered demagogue of party strife
Cleaves to his purpose and intrigues for life;
Fallen from the topmost pinnacle of place,
He rails and wrangles, at the miry base,
And as the drunkard hugs his hapless doom,
Raves and harangues, like Adams to the tomb.†

* Law, in the pride of success, had peers and princes of France at his door, soliciting his favours.

† Adams alone of all our Presidents lingered on the stage of public life after the close of his official term. We prefer the example of Washington as indicating better taste and sounder judgment.

"Superfluous lags the veteran on the stage."

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In ancient Elis, to the Olympic game,
From towns and states when joyous myriads came
For fame, or gain, or idler crowds to see,
With tranquil eye, defeat or victory,
In calm spectator and exciting strife,
The Sage of Samos viewed the scenes of life,
Claimed, as his own, the cool observer's part,
Disdained the racer's speed, the wrestler's art,
The craft of state, the trader's busy care,
To dwell with nature, in a purer sphere,
Her games, her strifes, her various tribes explore,
In field or wood, by sea or river shore,
With Holbrook's eye, to watch their changeful mood
And hoard the wisdom won from solitude.

Such the calm shelter for his weary age*
Of Milton's prayer—the peaceful hermitage:
Such the pure life by Rydal's grassy mead,
Mountain and lake that Wordsworth loved to lead,
That Shakspeare sought, contemptuous of the bays,
The town's poor pleasures, and uncertain praise;
That Cowper found a healing balm to cure,
Or soothe the ills that stricken hearts endure;
That Shenstone dressed, with taste and love allied,
That Scott adorned on Tweed's romantic side,
That Horace wished, that Mantua's poet knew,
That Cowley praised and Thomson's pencil drew.

Here Statesmen wronged or wearied seek repose,
Relief from labour and retreat from foes,
Zama's great victor, in his rural home,
Scorned or forgot the ingratitude of Rome,
And Tully from the noisy Forum came,
In lettered ease to find new fields of fame;
Waked from long slumber when the boundless rage
Of license ruled the spirit of the age,
On trampled altars, when the tiger mood†
Of France ran riot with the taste of blood,
From Burke's retreat, arose the voice of power
That checked and quelled the phrenzy of the hour,
Abashed the exorcis'd demon slunk away,
And Truth and Order reassumed their sway.
But not for Poet, nor for sage alone,
To calm and teach, is Nature's influence known;
Her subtle spells and plastic powers controul
The spirit's power and form the heroic soul;

* And may at last my weary eye
Find out the peaceful hermitage.—Il Penseroso.
† Voltaire described the French character as half ape, half tiger.

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She bids the heart with patriot ardour glow,
She hurls its vigour on the invading foe,
Awakes its wrath for violated laws,
And points its sword, in Freedom's sacred cause.

Of such the iron bands that formed and taught
By Cromwell's skill, in Naseby's battle fought,
No placeless lackies taught to cringe and bow,
In city haunts, but yeomen from the plough;
The sword of Gideon disciplined to wield
They drove the Stuart's gay pennon from the field,
Made distant tyrants on their mad career
Of carnage pause, and bigots pale with fear;
From Piedmont's caves, no more the dying cries*
Of stifled multitudes for vengeance rise;
On Savoy's hills, religious murders cease,
And child and mother pray and sleep in peace.

In Alpine valleys such the hardy host,
And such the clans of Scotland's rugged coast,
Stern on their native hills as when afar
Their Slogan's voice, amid the din of war,
Thrilled on the fevered matron's slumbering ear,
In Lucknow's walls, and spoke of succour near:
Resistless there, with fierce avenging wrath,
Through rebel ranks, they clove their crimson path;
Maid, mother, children, hailed the tartaned brave,
And blessed the hero sent of heaven to save.

Such be our champions, children of the field,
Strong with the vigour healthful labours yield,
Not the pale growth of cities, of the gloom
Of cellars, cripples from the mill or loom;
Gaunt in-door workmen, never trained to bear
The summer's heat or winter's biting air,
Whose faculties are cramped and cabined in
To cut or point the wire that forms a pin,
Or polish needles, or like spiders spread,
In muslin webs, the attenuated thread;
Weak, toiling artists, fated to supply
Wealth's idle wants and labour till they die;
To swift extinction doomed, but Nature's hand
Marches new levies from the teeming land,
Recruits the decimated ranks, sustains
And lends new vigour to their feeble veins.

* Avenge, Oh Lord, thy slaughtered saints whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold—
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese.—MILTON.

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Mother of men! Thy rustic vigour gives
Alone, the heart by which a Nation lives;
Strong in thy strength, untamed the Arab roves
His waste of sand, and guards his spicy groves,
Unconquered by the Turk's destroying horde,
Assyria's arrow, or the Roman sword,
While all his holy cities sink the prey
Of vice submissive to the stranger's sway.

From fields and folds the martial Roman came,
The dauntless spirit, the athletic frame,
By labour nerved, on rustic plenty fed,
To health and vigour by endurance bred,
In warlike virtues trained by rustic cares,
To scorn the toil of camp, the battle's fears,
Yet prompt, with crowns of triumph on his brow
The sword renouncing, to resume the plough,
He flew his eagles till the wasting blight
Of city vices checked their onward flight.

Nor versed in arms alone! he learned to praise
The fields he cherished in immortal lays;
To teach the art that guides the farmer's hand,
When with the plough to turn the fertile land,
How wed to ash or elm the yielding vine,
What cares attend the fleecy flock or kine,
Or horse of nobler breed; what signs betray
The storm, or promise the serener day,
What nice experience aids the roving bee,
To make and store his vernal luxury;
How guard the grassy mead with bank and drain,
What seed the valley asks and what the plain
Which soils, or rich, or stoney, readiest suit
The olive's wealth, the orchard's blushing fruit,
Unfold the varied purpose of the year,
Its simple pleasures and abundant cheer,
Spring's fragrant breezes, summer's cool resorts,
Autumn's gay feasts, and winter's bracing sports.

So with unequalled dignity and grace
The Mantuan bard instructs the rustic race,
With stately ease and elegance describes
The forest's grandeur and its leafy tribes,
The tall Narycian pine, Dodona's oak,
And sacred beech, where Jove in whispers spoke,
Cedars of fragrant green, the flexile yew,
That gave its vigour to the Parthian bow,
The sea of box on green Cytorus' sides,
The Alder flourishing where Mincius glides,
Caucasian woods, that winter storms delight

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To rend and scatter from the mountain height:
Warm with the theme, his kindling verses glow,
With growing beauty, brightening as they flow;
Oh, blest of Heaven! the wrapt enthusiast cries,
Too greatly blest; whom Nature's hand supplies,
Far from the selfish clamours of the crowd,
Far from the gilded mansions of the proud,
With plenty, peace, security, content,
A life in simple cares and pleasure spent,
Safe slumbers in the shade of caverned rocks,
The rural music of the lowing ox,
Of bird, or breeze, or sound of rustling trees,
Of pebbly brook at play, or murmuring bees,
Where frugal wants and quiet toils engage
Laborious youth and venerable age;
Where Justice left her parting footsteps driven
From earth's pollutions to her native Heaven;
Oh, who! what God, what Muse's present aid,
Will lay their votary in the sacred shade
Of Hœmus, and his joyous days prolong
In Tempe, smitten with the love of song,
From wealth afar and power's delusive smile,
The world's vain cheats, its arrogance and guile.

So sang the poet; Latium's echoes caught
His strains, the rustic listened as he taught,
Fresh joys in rural haunt and hamlet played
And statesmen found new pleasure in the shade.

Away from Tiber's banks, in climes remote,
Still loved and honoured lives the Poet's note,
Where nobler streams reflect a bluer sky,
Where greener fields and broader valleys lie,
Where deep in forest hid and mountain glen,
Cradles of States, add nurseries of men,
A sturdy brood, like Rome's undaunted race,
Trained to the plough and hardened to the chase,
To empire rushing from the Atlantic shore,
Climb the blue hills, the distant plains explore;
Their course, nor toil retards, nor foes restrain,
Stream, mountain, desert, check their speed in vain;
Weak, too, at first—like Rome's yet infant state,
When Gaul's barbarians thundered at her gate—
They braved the tomahawk of savage strife,
The midnight warwhoop, and the bloody knife,
Till now resistless grown in manhood's might,
Swift and unswerving as the eagle's flight
Their onward march—they see and follow far
In western skies, the light of Empire's star,
And stay the advancing standard only where
The broad Pacific stops their bold career.

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So from his fountain of dissolving snows,
At first a feeble rill Missouri flows,
Now, loitering with the idle sedge at play,
Now, murmuring at the pebble in his way,
Beneath o'erhanging boughs a verdant arch
Of hemlock, stealing now his quiet march;
Then, through the rocky cleft, the torrent toils,
Along the roaring rapid foams and boils,
Till, with the tribute of a thousand streams,
Broad in the sun the boundless river gleams,
Pours, in full flood, his deluge on the plain,
And rolls resistless to the distant main.

First in the march the hardy hunter dares
Each untried peril, and the way prepares
For feebler steps; amid the stately pride
Of oak and elm, the quiet brook beside,
Where, far and wide, before his searching eyes,
Savannahs blossom, and dark forests rise,
His rifle, axe, and dauntless heart invade
The unknown secrets of the woodland shade;
With logs to measure notched, and roughly cut,
Course after course, he rears his homely hut,
Of shingle forms the roof, the narrow door
Of timber squared, of trampled clay the floor;
One room supplies his wants, one chimney place
For all his household, spreads an ample space,
Warms, through the day, his cabin home and lights,
With knots of pine, his busy winter nights;
Beside the blaze—white-headed urchins near
To watch or help—the hunter mends his gear;
His wife apart prepares the evening meal,
Or plies the labour of the loom or wheel;
Rough hounds along the floor, at ease retrace,
In sleep, the fortunes of the morning chase,
With twitching limbs and dreamy yelps pursue
The buck, and drag him to the ground anew.

No costly forms of furniture provide,
For idlers, ease, complacency for pride,
No sofa's length invites the lounger here,
The bench or block supplies the easy chair,
White beechen trenches, spoons of polished horn,
And cups of shining tin the shelf adorn,
Or massive table, by the wall apart
Secure from paint and innocent of art;
O'er chimneys nailed, broad horns in antlered state
Of bucks sustain the rifle's idle weight,
Or bristling on the oak as trophies stand,
And tell the skill that guides the hunter's hand.

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Now, on the forest, the long war begins,
A bloodless field, the hunter ready wins;
To left, to right, with skillful arm he wields
His conquering axe—the stately hickory yields,
Majestic oaks, submissive meet their fate,
The strong earth trembles with the falling weight;
Well dried by sun and wind, on spring's return
In crackling fires, the gathered branches burn,
And leave a fertile space—the hoe subdues
And turns the soil to mellowing showers and dews;
With bounteous harvest, every field is spread,
Broad gourds for dishes, yellow maize for bread,
The climbing bean, the pumpkin's ample round,
Spread their wide leaves and shade the cumbered ground.
Expectant children watch the coming cheer,
Feast on the ripening pod and milky ear,
And the glad matron to her standing store
Of bear or venison, adds one dainty more.

When summer's toils are past and summer's sun,
Nor yet grim winter's sleety storms begun,
When on the hills afar, in smoky haze,
The Indian summer veils its mellow rays;
From northern hills, when chilling breezes strew
The wood and glen with leaves of altered hue,
Gold, crimson, purple, showers, that mingling fly,
And swept by winds in rustling masses lie;
When in his hollow, with industrious care,
The squirrel hoards his wonted winter fare
Of shining nuts, and from their airy height
The cry of passing geese is heard at night;
Impatient of repose the hunter eyes
The rifle's length and to the covert flies,
Now, the bear's glossy spoils reward his search,
Or bearded goblers from the morning perch,
Now stealing on, with cautious step and slow,
He stalks the buck, or strikes the barren doe,
Far to their haunts, pursues the flying game
And thins their numbers with unerring aim.

If long harassed to distant wilds they flew,
The ready hunter changed his homestead too,
Though fair his cabin home, a fairer fills
Boone's fancy, beckoning from the distant hills,
Though rich his valley land, a richer lies
Beyond the ridge—a hunter's paradise—
Away he roams to wood and waste unknown,
Hand, eye and rifle, his defence alone,
Skilled, savage wiles with subtler wiles to meet,
He drove the Indian from his dark retreat,

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By mighty streams, in forests dim and dread,
Bearded their chiefs and scorned the thought of fear;
A captive, tortured, with unflinching will,
He bore and braved the torturer's baffled skill,
Fled from their toils, with vengeance fired by pain,
Took the long rifle and the woods again.
Unyielding kept his stern determined way,
And held his conquests with a monarch's sway.

But not in thought alone of forest strife,
Or woodland sport, was spent the hunter's life;
From some steep mountain's lingering crest of snow
He gazed, transported, on the scene below,
When spring's light touch had waked the forest trees,
And new-born blossoms wooed the balmy breeze,
When over prairie wide, and forest glade,
Hill top, and valley, herds unnumbered strayed,
Of shaggy buffalo, tall elk, and deer,
At pleasure browsing, careless yet of fear—
Unknown the rifle—to the hunter's breast
Stole gentle thoughts that whispered peace and rest,
Old memories of boyhood's home and friends
By Yadkin's* banks, and with the vision blends
A deeper feeling—shadowy thoughts arise
Of awe, instinctive, pointing to the skies
From Nature's aspects—but not long the charm
That stops the step, or stays the hunter's arm,
Down, with swift foot, he takes the craggy pass
And the buck's blood imbrues the springing grass.

Off with their game, the children of the chase
Impatient pass, a more laborious race
Subdue the forest; from the mountain brow,
Along the vale, obedient to the plough,
Broad farms are seen; the clouds drop fatness there,
In fertilizing showers; from earth and air,
Things whisper happiness; with audible voice
Streams murmur gratitude, the hills rejoice,
Pouring from maple founts, their sweets in spring,†
And filled with corn, the valleys laugh and sing.

In quiet pastures, feed unnumbered flocks,
The frisking colt, the slow, laborious ox;
Herds of fair form engage the farmer's care,
And droves of swine, the sylvan banquet share;
Fit emblem of the Epicurean sty,
To-day that revel and to-morrow die,
Their mast and maize, the greedy host consume,
Feast to the knife, and fatten for their doom.

* Boone removed to Kentucky—the dark and bloody land—from the banks of the Yadkin.
† The maple is tapped for its sugar in early spring.

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In cottage yards, familiar sounds are heard,
The sharp, shrill challenge of the martial bird,
The noisy, restless hen from Guinea's coast,
And quacking ducks, and geese a cackling host;
There struts the gobler's state, with crest of pride,
The radiant peacock marches at his side,
Bright tints expand, like gems from monarch's won,
And spread their gorgeous circle to the sun:
Alert and hungry, with inquiring cries
And side-long glances shot from shining eyes,
They watch the matron at her morning stand,
The brimming basket, and the liberal hand,
Rush to her call, with flapping pinions greet
The scattered feast, and scramble at her feet.

No foe to fear, exulting children play,
And gather nuts or flowers the livelong day,
Detect the clustered grape with prying eyes,
And climb the vine to win the purple prize;
Wild echoes on the hills, to shouting boys
Shout in reply; with sympathetic joys,
The dog, their blythe companion gambols round,
Chases the flitting sparrow from the ground,
And clamorous at the oak's deep rooted base,
Bays the shy squirrel in his pride of place.

Embanked and guided now the mountain rill,
No longer idle, turns the exacting mill,
The log-built cabin and rude fence are gone,
Trim painted pales enclose the grassy lawn,
And elm or oak beside—a leafy screen—
With lattice windows of contrasted green,
White mansions gleam, and garners statelier still,
Rise through the vale or crown the adjoining hill;
Close in the rear, an ample garden spreads
With roses gay, a maze of walks and beds;
Orchards with minstrel music never mute
In blossom blush, or glow with autumn's fruit,
And on the new-mown field the tedded hay,
With grateful fragrance cheers the brightening day.

Along the valley, spires, in calm repose,
That forest trees half hide and half disclose,
Arrest the eye, with wiser lessons fraught
Than Grecian sage or Roman ever taught;
There, in the grave's sad refuge slumberers lie
And wait their joyous summons to the sky;
For savage yells and shrieks of earlier days,
Swells the soft solemn voice of Sabbath praise;
While teachers toil with earnest zeal to find

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Each easier access to the rustic mind;
And where from Nature's scenes the Indian drew
Of Nature's author all the love he knew,
To purer faith, they bid her forms convey
A clearer light, to guide the rustic's way;
He sees, with pensive eye, the forest round
Restore its faded foliage to the ground,
Learns from the swelling bud and opening flower,
More grateful thoughts, for genial dew and shower;
And when with heavier hand he turns the soil,
Digs, breaks and harrows with redoubled toil
And sees as deeper sinks the rugged share,
That richer harvests fill the closing year;
So too he finds, when troubles harder grow,
And the torn bosom's ploughed with sharper woe,
From seeming griefs, celestial pleasures rise,
And the heart's harvest blossoms for the skies;
He feels the heavenly husbandman's controul,
And learns how sorrows fertilize the soul.

Such thoughts they gain from men in humble guise,
Though rude in garb, in saintly wisdom wise,
Trained by no college to their simple creed,
And bold and hardy as the flocks they feed,
The Bible furnishing their pulpit lore,
The leathern saddle bags, their worldly store,
The horse, their help, companion, friend, they go
Through summer's burning heat and winter's snow,
Climb the rough mountain, swim the icy stream,
Dare the wolf's howl, and brave the panther's scream;
The fallen leaves their bed, at evening's close,
Broad sheltering oaks invite them to repose,
Their steps no danger, toil, nor want delays,
The forest echoes to their song of praise,
As, strong in faith, through pathless woods they ride,
The sun or mossy trunk of trees their guide,
And, steadfast like the sun to place and day,
Hasten to teach the borderer how to pray,
Religion's pioneers, to do, or bear
What martyrs suffer, or what heroes dare,
They preach with simple eloquence, reprove,
Sow, in rough hearts, the seeds of Christian love,
Rough hearts but honest, no devices there
Clothe glib hypocrisy in forms of prayer,
Plain, as their homespun garb of household dyes,
But pure, the faith that leads them to the skies.

Time's grand historic picture never drew
A nobler race, brave, self-dependent, true;
No tenants cringing to a landlord's will,

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They till the land, but own the land they till;
No serfs of kings, they vote the tax they pay,
And make themselves the laws that they obey;
With sturdy axes, from the forest hew
An empire's space, and rule what they subdue;
No tythes nor customs, rents nor dues betray
Their rights and filch their hard earned crops away;
No nobles govern, whether wise or fool,
Drones, madmen, knaves, yet privileged to rule,
Born for preserves, parks, patronage and place,
Stars, garters—playthings of a noble race,
While landless laborers ever toil and strive,
But taste no portion of the sweets they hive,
Yet boastful of the bliss their fates afford,
And always prone, like Moore, to love a lord;
The passions, Reason labours to restrain,
With all her force, yet ever strives in vain,
Thus nursed by laws, assume a darker shade,
The noble pamper, and the mass degrade,
With subtle power, the multitude debase,
And, for a people, form a populace.

Stript of a birthright in their native soil,
No arts can elevate the sons of toil;
No mastership in gems or gold bestows
The ennobling thought, the humblest peasant knows
Whose field's his own—a labour then of love,
The daily toil, the nightly vigil prove;
The joy of home about his cottage clings,
A joy unknown in palaces of kings;
The simplest flower with softer beauty blows,
A richer fragrance blushes in the rose,
Stocks, stones, acquire a magic power to charm,
And foster memories for the yeoman's farm;
Though rude the clime, each tropic grace unknown,
He loves it still, if rugged, 't is his own.

By drooping boughs of fir, or gloomy pines,
Where bound in chains of ice Penobscot shines,
He wields his axe, and with a master hand
Strikes the broad forest from the subject land;
On swelling streams, when snows dissolving lend
Their aid, in spring, compacted rafts descend,
Guided by skillful hands—the impetuous tide
Sweeps the huge masses to the Ocean's side,
There the tall pine, again before the gale,
Bends to the blast, and spreads the bellying sail.
In caves and dens, he hunts the torpid bear,
Through banks of snow, pursues the struggling deer,
Rouses the antlered elk—a nobler chase—

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In wilds where spruce and hemlock interlace
Their dusky limbs; in vain the quarry flies,
Where, drift on drift, the wintry labour lies,
He reels, he stops, he feels the fatal blow,
And the deep crimson stains the treacherous snow.

With graver step, the plodding farmer goes
A field, in milder climes, where Lehigh flows,
Or where, reflecting towns, on either side,
And States, Ohio glides, in beauty's pride,
By fertile valleys, fields of waving maize,
Long grassy slopes, where flocks unnumbered graze,
Green meadows, orchards flushed, on every spray,
Or white with fragrant promises of May;
Round hills that every gift and charm combine,
The purple clusters of the distant Rhine,
The mossy rock, dim glen and sunny glade,
And the wide stretch of ancient forest shade,
Where quiet farms in sheltered nooks appear,
And health and plenty bless the circling year.

In climes where fields of tropic vigour rear
Rich crops that task the Southern farmer's care,
Cotton of snowy fleece, luxuriant cane,
And rice with drooping heads of golden grain,
Where safe from fortune, sable labourers share
The feast, rejoicing, that their hands prepare,
Stern in resolve, and ardent like his skies,
To tread the shining path where glory lies,
Frank, courteous, brave, tenacious of his claims,
Prompt to abandon gain for nobler aims,
The dauntless yeoman laughs at war's alarms,
And bids defiance to the world in arms.

These make our country's strength, the nerve, the bone;
The love of country dwells with these alone;
Or North, or South, their healthful vigour gives
The crimson stream by which a nation lives;
Trained to the rifle's use, they fear no foe,
And war confront, though heroes strike the blow;
Twice over ocean England's warriors came,
Proud in their strength, and vaunting of their fame,
Twice back defeat has scourged the broken host,
Their honour dimmed, and shamed their idle boast;
Though trained to arms, the bravest of her brave,
They won and kept no conquest but a grave.

In Vermont's valleys, when the startled ear
Of matrons heard the sounds of battle near,
And for their homes and hearth, not empty fame,
To arms, the host of sturdy farmers came,

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By Spartan speech inspired, with Spartan blow,
Starke's levies crushed the mercenary foe,
With slaughtered warriors heaped the crimson plain,
Turned to the field and drove their teams again.

And, South, when gathered hosts of yeomen sped
Their secret march to King's broad mountain head;
In buckskin shirt arrayed, from forest farms,
The hunter's knife and rifle all their arms,
Their bed, the earth, their tent, the tree or skies,
Their stores what woodcraft wins, or chance supplies,
The rugged borderers came—three bands divide,
Surround and climb the wooded mountain side,
In turn they yield, in turn advance to meet
The foe's attack and press his slow retreat,
Here Campbell charges—to the mountain height
Here Lacey leads, here Cleveland cheers the fight,
Fiercer with every shout the onset grows,
On every side at once the hunters close
Around the conquered host, and mingling now,
On the bare summit of the mountain brow,
They pause—their wild huzzas of victory fill
The wood and vale and roll from hill to hill;
Williams, faint, bleeding, hears with kindling eye,
Starts at the sound, and dies as heroes die.

From Biscay's coast, when England's navy bore
Her war-trained armies to our Western shore,
Proud of their fame, in serried ranks they stood,
At early dawn, by Mississippi's flood,
In fancy saw his feeble legions fly,
And clutched the spoils of easy victory;
But vain the plunderer's hope, the warrior's wrath,
Grim in his lair, a lion in the path,
A stern old chief, of iron heart and hand,
Marshalled his host, the champion of the land,
Girt with strong arms and hearts—more brave and true
Crusade or courtly tourney never knew,
There, with no stirring sound of trump or drum,
From boundless forests troops of yeomen come;
Where glides deep Cumberland, in regal pride,
Where Holston rushes from the mountain side,
Where Tennessee with bold imperial sweep,
Rolls his full tribute to the distant deep,
Where, in a wilderness of vine-clad bowers,
Sequatchy lingers through his vale of flowers,
Left in the forest haunt, the hunted deer,
Left in the furrow's mould, the shining shear,
Swift, silent, steady, through the pathless waste,
Active and strong, the willing hunters haste,

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With nerve of iron, skilled, and falcon's sight,
To tame the bounding deer, the eagle's flight,
Along the rampart's line, at ease, they lie
And watch the foe—with courage stern and high
They come—before the rifle's fatal ball,
The leaden hail of battle, hundreds fall;
From ocean's tempest as with sullen roar
Wave breaks on wave, along the unyielding shore,
Row after row, as autumn's towering cane,
Falls at the reaper's stroke and loads the plain,
Before the rampart, sinking hopelessly,
Line heaped on line, the charging squadrons lie,
In vain, his rallying shout the leader cries,
At every rifle's flash, a Briton dies,
In vain, he leads the desperate charge again,
He sinks his sword, his hand deserts the rein,
Fought his last field, brave Packenham no more
Hears the faint echo of the battle's roar;
Fast to the shelter of the welcome fleet,
With shattered ranks, his sullen bands retreat,
And ne'er again shall foot of hostile host
The tale forgotten, dare the fatal coast,
While hunters cheer the hound, while yeomen strain
Their smoking teams along the furrowed plain,
Draw health and vigor from the wood and field,
And live contented with the joys they yield.

How great their blessing! if the bliss they know,
And shun the scenes polluted cities show,
Nor leave the silent woods serenely sweet,
For filth and noise, the sewer and the street,
And dazzled by a false refinement brave
The specious ill, the feverish pleasure crave.
Court idle courtesies where selfish pride,
And glossing vanity alone preside,
Endure the chilling smile, the hollow phrase,
The covert sneer, the patronizing praise,
Wealth's petty arrogance, detraction's lies,
And the base brood of social treacheries,
There, the frank voice of truth is seldom heard,
There, smiling slander murders with a word,
There, villany assumes a softer name,
Keen fraud's a dodge, and swindling leads to fame,
Sharp knavery is laughed at and excused,
The clerk's base theft is confidence abused,
Thieves are defaulters, rogues are in arrears,
And cunning scoundrels, dextrous financiers;
Like swine or sheep in reeking pen or fold,
The independent voter's bought or sold;

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In every heart the rage for money burns,
Commerce to gambling speculation turns,
All grasp at gold to squander and abuse
Its power, at once rapacious and profuse,
Bulls, bears, sneak off, like Schuyler in disgrace,
But other swindlers fill the abandoned place;
Extremes of want and wasteful luxury meet,
Banks fail, yet flourish, quacks delude and cheat,
These trick with promises to cure and they
Defraud, with bankrupt promises to pay;
While fashion's thoughtless crew of idlers nurse
The growing ill, and swell the country's curse;
For them the mouthing player struts and prates,
Lives the licentious life he personates,
And foreign dancers, with indecent arts,
And fiddlers come, while pristine worth departs;
Athwart the glare of theatre or ball,
The shadowy forms of vice and misery fall,
To drunken orgies, gay saloons entice,
Grey-headed seniors leer at flaunting vice,
The gambler's toils around his victim close,
And crime unwhipt of justice bolder grows;
No longer murder stabs and steals away,
But stalks defying in the light of day,
Riot and drunken rowdies haunt the street,
Mob matched with mob in brutal conflict meet,
Then in the coarse debauch of midnight crown
The day's exploits, and care and conscience drown.*
No! for the fevered city's glare and noise,
Change not your purer scenes and calmer joys,
On the glad fields, if bounteous seasons pour,
In golden harvests, wealth unknown before,
Adorn your homes—with taste and skill impart,
New charms to Nature by the help of art;
Teach plants of other climes and stranger flowers
To breathe their fragrance on your native bowers;
With fairer herds, the dairy's wealth increase,
On growing flocks, bestow a softer fleece,
Give to the courser wings to sweep afar
Your country's pennon through the storm of war;
Enclose, drain, till with nicer hand, prepare
Field, meadow, orchard, with increasing care,
Help, with more open hand, the neighbor's need,
Or, with the plough, each generous feeling speed,
The genial board, prepare with fresh delight,
Yet warmer make each hospitable rite,
Like him—long honored in his native land

* The description of city life, here given, applies to the *great cities only* of the United States and Europe.

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Late mourned—the noble heart, the bounteous hand,
Prompt with his purse to aid each civic end,
Prompt with the sword his country to defend,
In war, no bolder breast, no stronger arm,
Adorning peace with every social charm,
To whom no sorrow ever sighed in vain,
Who felt a dream of meanness like a stain
Whose frank, warm Nature made his ample hall
A home for friends, a place of joy for all,
Like Hampton—flocks and herds and homes improve,
And give due honour to the field and grove.

ART. VI.—COTTON MANUFACTURES — GREAT FIELD FOR THE SOUTH.

The necessities of slavery restricted the Southern people to the pursuits of agriculture. This must now be changed. Free labor, white or black, will seek other channels. The fact is patent, and it becomes capital and enterprise to be on the alert.

We desire to discuss this subject in the REVIEW, and wish for the latest information. Those who have practical knowledge on it, will please communicate with us.

In the absence of later information, we publish the excellent paper prepared some years ago by General Charles J. James, of Rhode Island, who demonstrated the capacities of the South for Cotton manufactures. His figures, altered to suit the circumstances, will be applicable to the present times, and the causes which counteracted his policy, are ceasing to exist.—EDITOR.

In the first place, the planter employs the labor of about half as many horses and mules, as field hands. In the second place, the cultivators of his cotton-field must be his best, able-bodied hands, while two-thirds, at least, of the operatives of the cotton mills are boys and girls. In the third place, the planter has to employ the labor of such boys and girls many months in the year, to gather his crop in the fields. All these, together with other matters that might be named in connection with the culture of cotton and its preparation for market, would very nearly cancel the demand for the labor of the 240,000 British hand-loom weavers, and, especially, when we consider that the latter are not employed much over one-half their time, and, even then, at rates of wages which, without the aid of public charity, would not prevent starvation.

It may be said, perhaps, that we have not taken into consideration the amount of wages paid by the British manufacturer, while, for slave-labor, the planter pays none. True—but, be it remembered, the value of the hand is $500 at least; the interest on which is $30 per annum. Then, the planter feeds and clothes his hands, furnishes them with dwellings and fuel, and with medical attendance in time of sickness; and maintains them when, from old age or other cause, they become unable to labor. Thus, the average cost of labor is probably quite as great to the cotton planter, for a given number of hands, as to the British manufacturer; and, reckoning his entire num-

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ber, old and young, male and female, and bringing in the amount of labor performed by his mules and horses, he has as many to provide for. True, again, the British manufacturer has to disburse a small portion of his proceeds for other materials than cotton and labor—such as coal, oil, starch, etc. But the planter, on the other hand, has his land to clear, his bagging and bale rope to furnish, his cotton to gin, press and transport to market, etc., etc., which meet a great proportion of all the cost of manufacturing, except cotton and labor. In short, taking everything into account, the net products and profits of manufacturing cotton in Great Britain, will exceed those from the culture of cotton for that purpose in the United States, by more than one hundred per cent. In other words, the ratio of the profits made on 480,000,000 pounds of cotton manufactured in Great Britain, the planter should receive, as his net proceeds, at least $60,000,000, whereas, he receives at most, but $30,000,000. And why is there this enormous difference? Two replies are at hand, each of them satisfactory and conclusive; and each of them plain and simple.

In the first place, the planter sends his cotton abroad to be manufactured, and thus loses the profits of the process, when it might as well be done at home. In the second place, he produces a surplus of the article every year, sends it to Europe in surplus supplies, has to solicit sales, and hence must submit to have purchasers make their own prices, and give him for the article just what they please. This he may know from the fact, that an occasional short crop, or a temporary deficiency in the supply, creates a corresponding advance in prices; while, when the demand has been fully cancelled, prices fall again to their usual level, and probably below it. Let us now take another view of this subject, and call the attention of the cotton planter to the principal cotton manufacturing States in our Union; and where, we venture to predict, we will find the balance against him as great in proportion as in Great Britain, although labor is considerably dearer in this country than in that. Could or would the cotton planters of this country employ all the capital and labor now appropriated to the culture of cotton, to a business as lucrative as the cotton manufacturers of Great Britain, they would in the ratio of the present market value of that article now shipped to the British market realize at least $120,000,000 per annum, instead of $30,000,000 now returned to them. This difference appears enormous, but such is the fact. The entire cotton crop of 1840, as per official statements and returns, was 790,479,275 pounds. Assuming 25 per cent. for the increase since that period, which is probably a near approximation to the truth; the crop of 1848 was 985,098,93 pounds. Assuming, also, six cents a pound as the return to the planter; the entire amount realized for the crop was $59,285,945,58. Though persuaded that this estimate is a high one, we will yet increase it, and put it down in round numbers at $60,000,000 for the sake of convenience. Taking our former estimates as a basis, to produce this quantity of cotton, would require 3,991,036 acres of land, the value of which, at $25 per acre, would be $99,775,900. There would also be required the labor

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of 395,200 hands. The value of this number of able-bodied slaves, say as before, $500 each, would be $197,600,000, and which with the cost of cotton gins, horses and mules, etc., etc., will amount to at least to $300,000,000. Let us now inquire what is done by the appropriation of capital, labor and skill, together with the material in the cotton mills of our principal manufacturing States.

In five of the New England States, there are employed, about 75,000 operatives, manufacturing cotton fabrics. The capital employed in the business as estimated at $42,982,120, and the gross product at $309,180,143. Deduct thirty-three and a third per cent. from the latter sum for cost of all materials, labor excepted, say $13,639,381, and you have as net product of labor, $27,278,762. This sum is a trifle less than the entire amount received by the Southern planter for all the cotton he ships to Great Britain. Yet this is realized on the employment of a capital of something less than $43,000,000; while the planter employs, as has been seen, to produce that cotton, capital in land, slaves and fixtures to the amount of $150,000,000. The difference in the interest on these two sums, per annum, at six per cent. is no less than $6,420,000, a very desirable item in favor of the Eastern manufacturer. Again, to produce that result, we have also seen that the planter must employ, at least, 180,000 hands, able-bodied persons, whereas the Eastern manufacturer employs only 57,000, being less than one-third part of the number, and who create, by their labor more wealth than the former. In proportion to the capital and labor employed, the planter should realize more than thrice the amount of the manufacturer, but does not, in fact, realize quite as much. Yet, not less than two-thirds of the whole number of operatives in cotton mills are women and children. These are plain and unembellished facts, based on, and borne out by, the most authentic data that can be obtained; and which we shall, hereafter, attempt to illustrate more fully and verify more substantially by the exhibition of practical details and known results, too simple to be misconstrued, and too well authenticated to admit of doubt. In fact, the superiority in the increase of wealth and population of the manufacturing States compared with that of the cotton-growing States, affords almost incontestible proof of the fact, that manufactories create wealth with much greater rapidity than the cotton culture—if not, then, whence arises the difference? for there certainly is a great difference. Labor and skill are more judiciously distributed in the manufacturing States than at the South and more economically applied. With the planter, the object is to work a certain number of hands—to make all the cotton with them that he can, and to sell it for what others may be disposed to give. The market is glutted—cotton must be sacrificed at a low price. Instead of diverting a portion of his means to some other and more profitable object, he exerts himself to produce more cotton this year, that, by increase of quantity, he makes up his loss in price; instead of which he enhances the supply, reduces the price still lower, and still continues at the mercy of foreign brokers. As a general thing, this is not the way

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with the people of the manufacturing States. Their object is to pursue any certain branch of business no further than it is found profitable. When it ceases to be so, they relinquish it and try their hand at some other. For this reason, labor is properly distributed and economically applied. In other words, people are careful that labor should be employed on objects most productive, and in such a way as to insure the greatest result in the shortest time. So of skill, materials and capital.

Would a Northern climate admit of the culture of cotton, and had a Yankee, in either of the New England States, a cotton plantation, with all the requisites for the prosecution of the business, the moment he found he could make more money by the manufacture of that article, than by its production, it would be farewell to cotton growing; and the next thing you would hear on his premises, in the way of business, would be the clatter of the loom and the hum of the spindle. Yankee folks are said to be full of notions; and such notions constitute the great secret of their prosperity. If Southern planters would act on a similar principle, they would much benefit themselves. A gentleman well versed in the statistics of cotton-growing, in the finest regions of the southwest, has calculated that, to supply cotton for a mill of 10,000 spindles, say 1,800,000 pounds per annum, would require the product of ten of the best plantations in the country; which, with their slaves and fixtures, would be worth $738,000. The product, as above, would amount to $108,000; from which, deduct the cost of operating, such as overseers, materials, carriages, etc., which he estimates at $28,000, and you leave to the planters $80,000 The mill to manufacture this cotton will cost, with all its machinery complete, $210,000, and require a working capital of $40,000—or say the entire capital, including mill and machinery, would, at the outside, be $250,000.

To manufacture the above amount of cotton into sheetings of one yard in width, of the fineness of No. 14, will cost, including the cost of the cotton, steam-power, transportation, insurance, labor, and, in fact, every item of expense, a little short of $232,000; to which add $15,000, the interest of the capital, at six per cent. per annum, and you have the entire cost of the manufacturing the above 1,800,000 pounds of cotton. This cotton will make 4,500,000 yards of cloth; which, at seven and a half cents per yard, (a low price, by the way,) will be worth $337,500, leaving a balance, after having paid every expense, of about $106,000. Thus, you see, by the labor of 275 operatives, mostly women, girls and boys, there will be created, actual wealth to the amount of $106,000, from 1,800,000 pounds of cotton, besides the amount paid to them for labor. To produce that same cotton, worth in market $108,000, required the labor of no less than 600 able-bodied hands, besides one-half that number of horses and mules. The capital employed to produce this result is $738,000. The manufacturer's capital is but $250,000. If, therefore, the planter could by any means remove these plantations into one of the New England States, with all their slaves, fixtures, etc., and they

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should continue to produce cotton as abundantly as on the Mississippi and Tombigbee, though now nominally worth toward a million of dollars, the owner of the cotton mill, which cost but $250,000, would not exchange it for them, and would evidently be a loser by the bargain if he should. This will at once appear obvious, when we state that over and above the cost of the working of the plantations, already named, there would be expended, for overseers, etc., $20,000 more; and reducing the net income to $88,000—less, by $18,000, than the net product of the cotton mill. Under these circumstances, the mill owner would much rather keep his mill, and employ his hired operatives, than to take in exchange the plantations with their slaves, etc. The reason: he can make the most money by his mill. But this comparison applies not only to a cotton mill in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island or Connecticut, but even in the best cotton growing States, at the side of the best cotton plantation in that State. This statement requires no labored argument to confirm it. Every species of property designed for the creation of wealth, is valuable in the ratio of its productiveness, without respect to its actual cost. One plantation may have cost $50,000, and require an outlay of $20,000 per annum to work it. Another may have cost $20,000, and be worked at an expense of only $5,000. Without respect to this difference of cost and expenditure, every one knows that, if the cheaper establishment yield a greater profit than the other, it is, of course, of most value to its possessor. Thus, if a planter own cotton lands which cost, with all his slaves and fixtures, $700,000, or more, and yield a net profit of $80,000 per annum, the cotton mill at his side, the capital of which is but $250,000, including the cost of the establishment itself, which yields a net profit of $100,000, is intrinsically worth more to its possessor than the planter's cotton lands and slaves. Every planter knows his common-place statement to be true. But, after having admitted all this, the cotton planters and capitalists of the South raise the inquiry: Suppose we wish to go into the manufacturing business, though we had plenty of the raw material, how shall we obtain the labor and skill qualified for the work, and of both of which we are deficient?

Up to the year 1767, not a pound of cotton had ever been spun in any part of the world by machinery. Though a considerable quantity was manufactured in India, and some in England, yet all was done with the aid of the old spinning-wheel and hand loom, precisely as is now the case with the families of our Southern planters. When, therefore, Hargreaves in 1757, and Arkwright in 1769, brought out the spinning-jenny, only eighty years since, Great Britain possessed neither the requisite labor nor skill, trained to the business, nor yet the practical cotton-machine builder, nor the raw material. All these were to be created and inducted into the business. But British enterprise did not falter. The business was taken in hand and prosecuted with vigor. In the course of four years, it was in successful operation. From that time to the present, Great Britain has lacked neither manufacturing labor, skill nor materials. The result of the

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business, at the present time, we have already seen. About sixty years since, not a solitary cotton spindle had been made or driven in America. It is doubtful if any person had ever seen one. About that period, an attempt was made, on a small scale, to spin cotton with machinery in Rhode Island, but failed for want of proper skill. This, however, was not long wanting. The arrival in this country of the celebrated manufacturer, Slater, supplied the deficiency, and we have now only to look around, and to examine the statistics of trade in this country, to learn the great results of the truly wonder-working power of the cotton spindle and the loom. At the time the process of cotton spinning by machinery was first introduced into New England, the people might have laughed at the idea, and said, How shall we, entirely unaccustomed to building and operating cotton machinery, obtain the skill, and train the labor for the work? But others far-seeing and shrewd, came to the conclusion, and their conclusion was the correct one, applicable in all cases, that you have but to open a productive field, and there will be labor and skill enough found to cultivate it. The issue has proved the truth of the conviction. Those aids have never been required, but they have been at hand. And should the number of mills in the United States be doubled within twelve months, probably not one of them would have to delay for a day, the commencement of manufacturing operations, in consequence of a deficiency of labor and skill. A vast proportion, if not all required, would undoubtedly be found among us. If not the first demand would call from Great Britain as many of her now half-starved and starving operatives, as might be required. But, without calling for aid from Europe, a full supply may at all times be obtained in New England, to manage and supervise the operations of the cotton mill, and there are thousands of persons at the South, who would gladly and gratefully accept such employment to earn a livelihood, much superior to that which their present means can possibly afford; and would quickly become qualified for the work of operatives, under the charge and direction of good superintendents and managers. There is nothing hypothetical in this statement. Experience has shown it to be true to the letter.

As respects all raw materials, especially those of a bulky character, economy dictates that, all other things being equal, they should be wrought on the spot on which they are produced, in order to make the most valuable return. For instance—iron ore, a material abundant in Russia and Sweden. Were that material to be shipped to this country in its crude state, there would be a heavy charge for the transportation of the foreign matter combined with the metal, which must eventually be borne by the original owner. And all that the iron would bring in this market, after having been smelted and manufactured into bars, over and above the cost of the ore, would be so much wealth created here. The extra charge for freight is saved, and the additional value of the iron is retained at home, by its being manufactured on the spot on which the ore is found. Of this, the

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original owner takes his share, and the balance is distributed for labor, etc., in the community. The community is enriched by so much, therefore, in consequence of the operation. There may be some exceptions to this rule, but, from what we have seen, there is none in favor of the transportation of cotton to a distant market. The rule is founded on a general law. Labor and skill are marketable commodities. These, like all other commodities, will, as a general thing, seek the best market. Suppose all the labor and skill at hand are necessary to the production of a quantity of cotton, sufficient to supply the demand of the manufacturer—the planter then would manufacture his own produce, but lacks the mechanical skill. Let it be known that he is in want of an engineer, managers, overseers, operatives, machinists, carpenters, masons, etc., for the purpose, and you will soon see that, instead of finding it difficult to obtain such, he will very probably, be overrun with applications. In a comparatively short period, hundreds of factories might be erected and started at the South, and fully supplied with every description of skill and labor wanted. Thousands would resort there with the hope of doing better by a change, induced by the prospects which new enterprise in a profitable business hold out, of permanent employment and higher wages. Even should the planter, who goes into the manufacture of cotton, find it necessary to import his operatives from Europe at his own expense, he would still be a great gainer by the transaction. In a mill of 10,000 spindles, he would require 275 persons. Suppose he should procure them in England, and pay the expenses of transporting them thence to this country at fifty dollars each—the transportation of the whole would amount to $13,750. This would be once for all. Another such transaction would never be necessary. His mill will also require, as seen, 1,800,000 pounds of cotton. To place that cotton in a Northern manufactory, will cost including every charge, at least one cent per pound, or $18,000 dollars. This amount all comes into the cost of manufacturing in the Northern mill, and goes, of course, into the price of the manufactured article. This amount will, therefore, be saved by the Southern planters who manufacture their own cotton. It pays, in one year, all the cost of transporting the above number of operatives from England, and leaves a balance of $4,250. But the operation of the transportation of cotton goes on from year to year, at the annual cost of $18,000. We will now go somewhat into detail on this subject.

The cotton from the planter, reaches the Northern manufactory increased one cent per pound in its market value, by the expenses incurred *in transitu*. Allowing the planter's price to be six cents per pound, its cost to the manufacturer will be seven. The pound of cotton, less waste, will make two and eight-tenths yards of sheeting, No. 14, one yard in width, worth, at the present low prices, seven and a half cents per yard, or twenty-one cents per pound. The raw material, however, is subjected to a loss of ten per cent. in the process of manufacturing, so that the weight of the manufactured article

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from 1,800,000 pounds of raw cotton, will turn off but about 1,600,000 pounds of cloth. Thus—1,800,000 pounds of cotton, at seven cents, costs $126,000. The entire cost of manufacturing, is $121,000, including labor, and interest on the capital; and, making with the cost of cotton, $247,000. The quantity of the manufactured article will be 1,600,000 pounds at twenty-one cents per pound, or seven and a half cents per yard. This is worth, at that rate, $336,000. From this sum deduct the cost, as above, and you leave as a balance in favor of the manufacturer, the sum of $89,000. This is the gross income for one year; with the labor of 275 operatives, mostly boys and girls, and a capital of 250,000. From the above amount of $89,000, however, there are certain other expenses to be deducted; such as commissions, guarantees, etc., which will somewhat reduce it; but yet, the amount left will be much greater, taking all things into account, than the net proceeds to the planter from the raw material.

To produce the cotton for the foregoing operation, as already noticed, the planter employs 600 able-bodied hands, and nearly one-half that number of horses and mules, and a capital of at least $730,000. The interest on this capital is $43,800 per annum, or $28,800 more than the interest on the manufacturing capital; and the labor s more than that employed in the manufactory, reckoning that of man and beast on the plantation, by three hundred per cent. Thus, the capital and labor necessary to the production of 1,800,000 pounds of cotton, would be sufficient to erect, furnish and operate three cotton mills, each of which would manufacture into cloth this entire quantity of cotton, and each of which would also return, in the shape of gross income, several thousand dollars more per annum, than is now realized from the entire amount of labor and capital employed to produce cotton for one of them! It must also be borne in mind, that the manufacturer at the North receives his cotton enhanced one cent per pound above the plantation price, which makes the gross amount of the additional cost, $18,000 per annum. This would of course be saved by the manufacture of the article on the spot of its growth, and would go to increase the profits of the operation.

Were there room for a rational doubt on this subject, the reader might be justified in regarding it with some degree of skepticism. But, when he reflects on the well-known fact, of the much more rapid increase of capital and wealth in the manufacturing community, than in that of the cotton planter, he will be constrained to acknowledge that the effect cannot be without a sufficient cause. That cause he will seek for in vain, unless he find it in the greater profits of manufacturing, compared with those of producing the raw material.

To confirm this statement, we annex a schedule, made up, not from estimates either hypothetical or theoretical, but from authentic data of actually practical results drawn from a mill now in operation. These results have occurred during the past year, being one of the worst known in the manufacturing annals of the United States.

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Cotton—1,800,000 pounds, at seven cents per pound	$126,000
Cost of power (*steam*)	4,500
" Carding	13,263
" Spinning	14,784
" Dressing and Starch	9,250
" Weaving, including all expenses	26,296
" Repairs, wear and tear, machinists, etc.	17,302
" General expenses, officers' salaries, transportation, etc.	20,642
Interest on capital of $250,000	15,000
Total	$237,048

Against this sum, which includes the entire cost of manufacturing, we have 4,500,000 yards, of No. 14 sheeting, the product of the mill, worth now, seven and a half cents per yard	$326,250
From this last amount, deduct the cost as above	237,048
And you have a balance of	$89,000

As the gross profits to the manufacturer, subject to the deductions for commissions, etc., before named, on 1,800,000 pounds of cotton, after having paid for the cotton, and the cost of manufacturing; while the planter who produced that cotton, receives but $108,000; being more by only $18,888, than that received by the manufacturer. Yet, from that sum, viz., $108,000, the planter has to pay all the cost of production, together with all incidental expenses, besides the interest on his capital.

Facts like these should fix the attention of the cotton planter, teach him his true interest, and stimulate him to become the manufacturer of the product of his field, instead of permitting others to reap the entire profit. Yet, he acts differently. The small profits derived from his cotton fields, after the deduction from the gross receipts, of a sum sufficient to cover the cost and the incidental expenses, are generally appropriated to the extension of agricultural operations, and the production of more cotton—of which there is already too much. He neglects the main chance, and delves on, from year to year, to build up European and New-England manufacturing cities, towns and villages, and to enhance their wealth, when he might as well secure a due share of these benefits to himself.

If, say many persons at the South, we had the capital, so abundant at the North, we could then embark in the manufacturing business with some prospects of success; but our means are mostly in lands and slaves, and the money capital is deficient for the purpose. This objection, however plausible, is unsound. It rests on a mistaken view of the subject. What has created the large capital in the manufacturing States? A portion of it is, without doubt, the fruits of agriculture and commerce; but by far the greater part is, either directly or indirectly, the production of manufactures, not only of cotton, but of various other materials. The New-England States, for instance, named in a preceding page, though in a prosperous condition compared with former times, had, at the commencement of the

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cotton manufacturing era, scarcely money capital sufficient to prosecute their commercial and agricultural pursuits. But they did not hesitate on that account. A rich field for operations presented itself, and, money or no money, people determined to enter and cultivate it. Of course, a portion of the capital had to be withdrawn from other pursuits, and some debts to be contracted; but this procedure was fully warranted by the prospect presented, and as fully justified by the result. New-England might have hesitated to embark in manufacturing enterprises, on the plea of a deficiency of capital, and continued to this time to devote herself entirely to agriculture and commerce to augment that capital. And what would have been the result? She would not now, as all circumstances past and present go to show, possess one-half the wealth she does, nor probably more than two-thirds of her present population. The truth is, the small means and credit first embarked, were increased; the whole was again enhanced by new operations, and so it has continued, till the amount of capital now invested in manufactures of various descriptions, and the wealth that has been created by them, are probably much greater than the entire value of the now manufacturing States was, at the commencement of these operations.

In the year 1839, according to the data appended to the United States census of 1840, there were in operation in Maine, 29,736 cotton spindles; in New Hampshire, 195,173; in Massachusetts, 669,095; in Rhode Island, 518,817; in Connecticut, 181,319—making in all, 1,590,140 cotton spindles in operation in those five States, at that time. Since that period, the number has been increased twenty per cent. at least, and there can, therefore, not be a less number now, than about 2,000,000, nearly. The manufacture of cotton was commenced in Rhode Island about 1791, but its progress for many years, was extremely slow. We will assume the year 1810 as our starting point, at which time it had begun to put on the appearance of some importance. Thus, reckoning to the close of 1849, we have a range of forty years.

Again, assuming that, in 1810, there were 50,000 spindles in operation, then the medium or average number for forty years would be something over 900,000. Distribute these in ninety mills of 10,000 spindles each, and each mill creating wealth at the rate of $100,000 per annum, or, which is the same thing, adding that amount to the value of raw material, and which is nearly one-third less than the amount stated for the mill before alluded to, and we have $4,000,000 in forty years. Hence, the ninety mills would add, and probably have added, at least $360,000,000 of wealth, or capital to the community, in forty years, by means of the combined operations of labor, skill and materials, aided by capital and credit. It is true, there have been fluctuations in the business and occasional failures, as there are, and ever will be, in the most lucrative business ever known. But, most persons who have entered into this have made money by it; and at any rate, failures or no failures, the wealth created by it is in the community—the product of labor, skill and materials—and if

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the foregoing estimates are within the limits of truth, and they are believed to be, then, by cotton manufactures alone, the above five States have added to the stock of wealth, no less than $360,000,000! Permit us now to inquire: have the whole ten cotton-planting States done as much by the culture of their staple production, or anything like it, in proportion to the labor, skill, materials and capital employed? Let the comparative estimates on the culture of cotton and its manufacture, in the foregoing pages furnish the reply. Such, as has been stated, is the example set by New England, though commencing with a deficient capital even for her ordinary pursuits, with her system of credit to aid in the production of the most valuable returns from the labor, skill and real capital of the country. Can any reason, even a plausible one, be given, why Southern people should not do the same? Their means are more abundant than were those of New England at the commencement of the cotton-manufacturing business in this country. All that is wanted is, enterprise. There certainly could be no sufficient reason why a number of planters, having available property of the value of half a million of dollars, could not raise, on that property, the sum of $250,000, to prosecute a business, the profits of which would be almost certain to return one hundred per cent. on the outlay, in the short space of two or three years at farthest. Especially might they do this when known, as known it is by practical experience, that that business would probably enhance the value of the property in possession fifty to one hundred per cent. Southern planters, considered men of wealth, find little or no difficulty in extending their credit, to any desirable amount, in the purchase of land or slaves, or both. It would be quite as easy for them to do so, if necessary, to erect manufactories, and their credit and funds would, in such case, be applied to an object much more productive.

But it is not only the benefit to be derived in a direct manner to the individual manufacturer, that holds out a strong inducement to the South to go largely into the business — nor yet, alone, the prospect of enriching a community as a body. Motives of philanthropy and humanity enter into the calculation, and these should not be disregarded. This is a subject on which, though it demands attention, we would speak with delicacy. It is not to be disguised, nor can it be successfully controverted, that a degree and extent of poverty and destitution exist in the Southern States, among a certain class of people, almost unknown in the manufacturing districts of the North. The poor white man will endure the evils of pinching poverty, rather than engage in servile labor under the existing state of things, even were employment offered him, which is not general. The white female is not wanted at service, and if she were, she would, however humble in the scale of society, consider such service as a degree of degradation to which she could not condescend; and she has, therefore, no resource, but to suffer the pangs of want and wretchedness. Boys and girls, by thousands, destitute both of employment and the means of education,

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grow up to ignorance and poverty, and, too many of them, to vice and crime. This picture is no exaggeration; it is strictly true in all its details. The writer has no disposition to reproach the wealthy for the existence of such a state of things. He is well aware that it is the result of circumstances which have to them been unavoidable. But he cannot resist the conviction that, when a fitting opportunity presents itself to the wealthy men of the South to obviate those evils, at least in a degree, and that even in a way to benefit themselves, they can hardly be held guiltless in case of refusal or neglect to apply the remedy.

The writer knows from personal acquaintance and observation, that poor Southern persons, male and female, are glad to avail themselves of individual efforts to procure a comfortable livelihood in any employment deemed respectable for white persons. They make applications to cotton mills, where such persons are wanted, in numbers much beyond the demand for labor; and when admitted there, they soon assume the industrious habits and decency in dress and manners of the operatives in the Northern factories. A demand for labor in such establishments is all that is necessary to raise this class from want and beggary, and, too frequently, moral degradation, to a state of comfort, comparative independence, and moral and social respectability. Besides this, thousands of such would naturally come together as residents in manufacturing villages, where with very little trouble and expense, they might receive a common-school education, instead of growing up in profound ignorance. I would, therefore, appeal to the planter of the South, as well as to every other capitalist. Let your attachment to your own interest and the interests of the community, united with love for your species, combine to stimulate you to enter, with resolution, this field of enterprise, and to cultivate it with the full determination not to be outdone. You must succeed.

ART. VII.—LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN DE WITT.

The English having been considerably damaged, and deeply involved in debt, became soon as desirous of peace as before they had been clamorous for war. In his correspondence with the States, Charles took occasion to intimate his desire to enter into amicable relations with them, and proposed that a treaty of peace should be negotiated at London, but the Dutch preferring some spot within their own territories, fixed upon Breda. De Witt perceiving that it was a favorable opportunity to revenge himself for their arrogance in forcing such an unjust war upon his country, managed to protract the negotiations, and made great preparations to strike a decisive blow. De Ruyter was ordered to enter the Thames with his fleet, where he succeeded in taking Sheerness and Chatham, and burned many of the English ships; so that the conflagration was visible, and the thunder of his cannon audible to the citizens of London. But finally, on the 10th of July, 1667, the treaty was concluded and

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signed. Polerone, a rich spice-island in the East Indies, was awarded to the Dutch. Acadia was given to the French, and New York was conceded to the English.

The war had scarcely been brought to a happy issue by the treaty of Breda, when a formidable enemy threatened to involve the State in new embarrassments. Louis the Fourteenth, then in the prime of his youth, and ambitious of glory, suddenly appeared in person with an immense army, commanded by his ablest generals, Condé and Turenne, and captured several of the best fortified towns on the frontiers of the Netherlands, before any successful resistance could be opposed to them. This unexpected movement alarmed the neighboring nations, and stirred up the terror and indignation of the Dutch to the highest pitch. The English, too, feeling aggrieved by the rising power of France, were disposed to curb the aspiring temper of her monarch, which threatened to disturb the balance of power, and to destroy the liberties of Europe. His indifference to the sacred obligations into which he had entered by renouncing the treaty of the Pyrenees, impressed itself upon the minds of those who were desirous of preserving peace, as a flagrant evidence of his unscrupulous ambition.

Discontent also prevailed among the German states, but their reluctance in taking any active steps to indicate their apprehensions, induced the English nation to make the first advances in proposing an alliance with Holland. Sir William Temple, who had been their minister resident at Brussels, was instructed to proceed to the Hague, and to sound the Dutch government, which was embodied in the person of De Witt, as to the policy of forming an alliance, offensive and defensive, against the French. De Witt intimated his willingness to do all in his power to accomplish so desirable an object; but said that it was a fundamental law of the States never to enter into any alliance but with full approbation and consent of all the provinces and towns of Holland, and in the event of his negotiation not obtaining their approbation, his head would be forfeited. And further, that as France had been long their ally, and England but recently their bitter enemy, it could not be expected that he would act in haste. But that necessity which is said to have no law, overruled his apprehensions and scruples, and he resolved to run the risk. Temple and himself put their heads together, and without resting scarcely to eat or sleep for five successive days and nights, they drew up the articles of the famous treaty which gained them so much applause, and which is so well known as the Triple Alliance. It was made triple by admitting Sweden to enter into the alliance with them. In a letter written by Temple to a friend soon after, he says:—"They will needs have me pass here for one of great abilities for having finished and signed in five days a treaty of so much importance to Christendom. But I will tell you the secret of it. To draw things out of their centre requires labor and address to put them into motion; but to make them return thither, nature helps so far that there needs no more than just to set them agoing. Now, I

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think a strict alliance is the true centre of our two nations. There was also another accident which contributed very much to this affair, and that was a great confidence arisen between the Pensioner and me. He is extremely pleased with me, and my sincere, open way of dealing; and with all the reason in the world, I am infinitely pleased with him on the same score, and look upon him as one of the greatest genuises I have known, as a man of honor, and the most easy in conversation as well as in business."

The announcement of the treaty spread universal rejoicing throughout Holland. De Witt gave a splendid ball at the Hague, at which the Prince of Orange, Temple, and all the foreign ambassadors were present. The Prince opened the dance, and De Witt deigned to testify his joy by participating in it, and acquitted himself to the admiration of all. But his joy was soon turned into mourning. His beloved wife, whom he called "his true and better half," was suddenly taken from him. His friend Temple wrote him a kind letter of condolence, to which he replied as follows:—"In your obliging letter I find so many marks of affection and tenderness for me, that I cannot refrain from returning you my most humble thanks, and to tell you that of all the consolations afforded me in my affliction, none has been more effectual than what I received from you. I find there it is the heart that speaks, and that you truly take part in my affliction, whereof I see you know the greatness, because you so well know the inestimable loss that I have suffered. And I am free to say, that if any remedy be capable of healing the wound, it will doubtless be what your gentle, healing hand has applied to it. I receive it as I ought, and will endeavor to profit by all your consolations, by combating my weakness with the strength of your reasons, which are dictated not only by that Christian philosophy of which you make profession, but by that sincere friendship with which you were always pleased to honor me."

It is well known that this distinguished diplomatist figured conspicuously in almost all of the negotiations between England and foreign nations at that period. He was born in the year 1628; and after graduating with distinction, at the University of Cambridge, he visited the Continent, where he remained for several years, studying modern languages and cultivating himself in those accomplishments by which he attained such eminence, when called to the conduct of public affairs. From his thirty-second to his fifty-second year, he was constantly engaged in the management of diplomatic business with Holland; and from his frank and statesmanlike behavior, he acquired the particular esteem of the Grand Pensionary, with whom he lived on terms of cordial intimacy. His correspondence has been preserved with care, among the State archives. He was the only statesman who could cope with De Witt, and the only one who could appreciate his extraordinary talents. He considered him the greatest genius whom he had ever known. In the year 1680, he retired from public life, "being sensible that there was little in a Court but a perpetual exchange of false friendship, pretended honesty,

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seeming confidence and designing gratitude." In the latter years of his life, he spent the most of his time at his country-seat, Sheen, which he called "his nest." He employed himself in improving his gardens after the Dutch model, and in writing miscellaneous works for the benefit of his son. His "Observations on the United Provinces of the Netherlands," is the most correct and amusing of all his compositions, and is, perhaps, the only one which is destined to a long popularity. He died in the year 1700; and, according to his instructions, his heart was buried under a sun-dial, which stood in front of his residence. Perhaps his graceful translation of the 29th Ode of the 3d Book of Horace, may give some idea of his philosophical temper, as well as his poetical talents.

"He only lives content, and his own man,
Or rather master, who each night can say,
'Tis well, thanks to the gods, I've lived to-day;
This is my own, this never can
Like other goods, be forced or stolen away.

"And for to-morrow, let me laugh or weep—
Let the sun shine, or storms or tempests ring,
Yet 'tis not in the power of fate, a thing
Should ne'er have been, or not be safe,
Which flying time has covered with his wing.

"Capricious fortune plays a scornful game
With human things; uncertain as the wind,—
Sometimes to thee, sometimes to me is kind,
Throws about honor, wealth and fame,
At random, heedless, humorous and blind.

"He's wise, who, when she smiles, the good enjoys,
And unallayed with fears of future ill;
But if she frowns, e'en let her have her will.
I can with joy resign the toys,
And lie wrapt up in my own virtue still."

The rapidity and success with which the triple league was ratified, gave as great umbrage to the French monarch as it had given joy to the Hollanders, but he was determined to revenge himself for this sudden check to his vaulting ambition. Although he had himself proposed the terms on which the treaty was based, he used every effort to elude it. It was only from apprehension of the serious consequences that might ensue, that Spain could be persuaded to relinquish her possessions, which France had succeeded in subjugating. It was urged that certain destruction would befall her in the event of her young monarch dying without issue. They resolved to hold a convention at Aix-la-Chapelle to settle the terms of reconciliation, which, not without much difficulty, procured a short though delusive peace. For a season all Europe seemed to repose with security under the protecting wings of that confederacy which had been formed from motives of self-interest and self-preservation. Spain was compelled, though with a bad grace, to accept of the alternative offered, and Louis was permitted to extend his garrisons into the heart of the Low-Countries.

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But while Temple and De Witt were commended and lionized for their diplomatic address in forming the Triple Alliance, a fresh storm was brewing. Temple returned to England, and De Witt went to Amsterdam to spend the Christmas holidays among his friends. As soon as they returned to the Hague, they had to negotiate about the right of free passage which the English pretended to have in the territories that the Dutch owned in the East Indies. As the English claimed the trident of the seas, they wished to compel the Dutch ships to lower their colors when they passed theirs, although it was expressly stated in the treaty of Breda that the two nations were to be placed on precisely the same footing as they were before the war. Another cause of difference was still more trifling, but was one of the principal incidents which induced the King of England to declare war against the United Provinces. The English demanded permission to let their countrymen pass from Surinam with their slaves to their own country, which was positively prohibited by the terms of the last treaty. The king of France having been informed of these dissensions through his ambassador at the Hague, thought it a favorable opportunity for him to propose to De Witt to break off his alliance with England and Sweden and form a new alliance with himself. He said that by such a treaty they would remove the suspicion and fear which the States entertained when his army invaded Flanders, and that it would at the same time restore the mutual friendship which had formerly subsisted between them. But De Witt was obstinate in refusing to form an alliance which he foresaw would be of short duration, and which could not be brought about without compromising his honor. Louis, finding himself thwarted in concocting his treacherous proposal to the States, ordered his ambassador at London to sound the king. He soon discovered what he had strongly suspected, that Charles was never pleased with the Triple Alliance. His want of money and his secret attachment to the Catholic religion concurring with the ambitious projects of his ministers, who, with his mistresses, exercised absolute control over him, induced him to seize the bait that was thus temptingly offered, and he henceforth became the salaried viceroy of France.

His ministers suggested to him that it was high time for him to rouse himself from his lethargy, and to recover that authority which his predecessors during so many ages had peaceably enjoyed; that the great error, or rather misfortune of his father, was, that he had not formed any close connection with foreign princes, who, on the first breaking out of the rebellion, would have come to his assistance. That the present alliance having been entered into with so many weaker potentates, who themselves stood in need of the king's protection, could never serve to maintain, much less to augment the royal authority. That the French monarch, alone so generous a prince, and by blood so nearly allied to the king, would be found both able and willing, if gratified in his ambition, to defend the common cause of kings against usurping subjects. That a war undertaken against Holland by the united force of two such mighty po-

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tentates, would prove an easy enterprise, and would serve all the purposes that were aimed at. That under pretence of that war, it would not be difficult to levy a military force, without which, during the prevalence of republican principles among his subjects, the king would vainly expect to defend his prerogative. That his naval power might be obtained partly by the supplies which on other pretences might be easily obtained from Parliament, partly by subsidies from France, partly by captures, which might easily be made on that opulent republic. That in such a situation, attempts to recover the lost authority of the crown would be attended with success; nor would any malcontents dare to resist a prince fortified by so powerful an alliance; or if they did, they would only draw more certain ruin on themselves and on their cause, and that by subduing the States, a great step would be made towards a reformation of the government, since it was apparent that that republic, by its fame and grandeur, fortified in his factious subjects their attachment to what they vainly called their civil and religious liberties.

Such were the deliberations of the cabal—those "grand infernal peers," as Milton would call them (Moloc, Belial, Mammon, Beelzebub and Satan.) Shaftesbury was considered their head and front:

> "A fairer spirit lost not heaven; he seemed
> For dignity composed and high exploit:
> But all was false and hollow; tho' his tongue
> Dropped manna, and could make the worse appear
> The better reason, to perplex and
> Dash maturest counsels."

Clifford said that the States had behaved basely; that De Witt was a rogue and a rascal; that it was beneath the king of England or any other king to have any thing to do with such wretches. His sentence was for open war. In June, 1671, the designs of the cabal were matured, and the mask was thrown aside. It was ascertained that they secretly formed an alliance with France, and soon after openly declared war against the States.

> "Amphibious wretches! sudden be your fall,
> May man un-dam you and God-damn you all,"

was the infernally heroic couplet with which Clifford doomed the whole Dutch nation to destruction.

ART. VIII.—MEXICO AND THE FENIANS—FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

Some years before the late sectional war we wrote an essay on Mexico which appeared as a leading article in this Review. In that essay we recommended the speedy annexation of Mexico to the United States, assigning as a reason that forty years of alternate revolution, misrule, military usurpations, despotism and anarchy, had abund-

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antly demonstrated the fact that she was incapable of originating or sustaining a government of her own; and must be ruled by foreign intervention and foreign force. That having become a torment to herself, and a nuisance to Christendom, it would be in entire consistence with sound humanity and national laws and usages, for any Christian nation to interfere, subdue, and if necessary, annex her, in order to give her a stable government of some kind. And that if we did not speedily annex her, France or England would probably very soon do so, and that either nation would be entirely justifiable in such a course of conduct. Although there were then no visible signs or premonitions of the coming event, the fulfillment of the prophecy followed close on the heels of its utterance. No one then complained, either of our reasoning, or our prediction; but so far as we could asertain public opinion or public sentiment, they were in entire unison with what we wrote. It is in no spirit of egotism that we cite our own authority, but to remind our people that they had abundant opportunity to anticipate France in her humane and entirely justifiable course; that as next neighbours it was our especial duty so to have done; and that having neglected that duty, we should rather thank, than censure her for supplying our mission.

With a national debt, including unliquidated claims, of more than four millions; with a devastated and ruined South, and impoverished North; with a people hitherto accustomed to very light taxation, suddenly subjected to a heavier taxation than any other people on earth, would it not be the height of madness in us to go to war with half of Christendom to maintain a silly and untenable abstraction—the Monroe Doctrine. We say to go to war with half of Christendom, and we think we can show in few words, that an attempt on our part to expel Maximilian and set up a republican government in Mexico, would inevitably involve us in war with the better half of Christendom, if not in numbers, at least in available military force. Our Monroe doctrine, is a throwing down of the gauntlet to all Europe, and although Russia, having territory enough, might not be disposed to take up that gauntlet, all other European nations, who have, or who wish to acquire, possession in America, are directly and vitally interested in breaking down our power, either by conquering us, or by dividing, and thus weakening us. France, Sardinia and England but the other day united to aid slaveholding Mohametan Turkey in her war with Christian Russia; and will they hesitate to unite in order to oppose and break down the strength of the Union, which is already five times that of Europe, and grasping with certainty of success, if unopposed, at universal empire, or at least at universal supremacy? Austria will, of course, lend her aid to Maximilian, and Spain will be delighted with the opportunity to be revenged for our insulting and impertinent interference in Cuban affairs. To these, add Mexico fighting us with her seven millions on the South, and Canada with her four millions on the North, and we think such a war would end in less than one year, in a bankrupt and divided Union, if not a conquered and subject Union.

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We do not apprehend that our Government will do anything so silly and so wicked as to attempt to expel Maximilian, and set up a republican government in Mexico; but we do fear, that our great and rapidly increasing strength, our absurd, boastful swagger, and our oft-paraded Monroe doctrine, will alarm European nations for the safety of their invaluable American tropical colonies, and their American trade and commerce, and that they will take the initiative and make war upon us, before we grow too strong to be successfully opposed in our avowed scheme of monopolizing all that is valuable in America. We have enough, if not far too much, territory already. We are exhausted by a long, bloody, and destructive war, oppressed by a National and by State and Corporation debts, which, estimated by the rate of interest, are the heaviest that ever a people were heretofore subjected to, and hence it is our plain interest and duty to cultivate friendly relations with all nations.

We have ever been much attached to the Irish. We love them the more for their very faults, and cannot help it. Their Celtic impulsiveness, their thoughtless generosity, their improvidence, their prodigal hospitality, their excessive sociability, and their chivalry, degenerating into pugnacity, are all qualities that excite our admiration and enlist our affection, but which, so far from commanding approbation, rather deserve our censure. There is too little selfishness in the Irish character. Selfishness and its antinome, which, for want of a better word, we call *anti-selfishness*, are equally essential, moral qualities. Man being a social animal, must live equally for others and for self. Excess of selfishness makes him neglect the duties which he owes to society, whilst excess of anti-selfishness betrays him into neglect of the duties which he owes to himself. Group all the qualities which constitute Irish character together, and the defects of that character will be found to be excessive benevolence or anti-selfishness.

Besides, the Irish are full of faith, eminently religious, respectful of the past, and of precedent and authority, opposed to change and innovation, and, consequently, the most loyal people in the world. That tyranny which drives such a people to seek redress by revolution must be indeed intolerable. If not the most intellectual of nations, they certainly are the most social, cheerful, ready-witted, agreeable and eloquent. It is impossible not to love such a people, not to sympathize with their political oppression, and not to desire to see them a separate and independent nation. We have long since forgiven them for the oceans of Southern blood which they shed during the late war, for they fought us without the least malice or ill-will, but merely because it being a free fight, they felt it would be a disgrace to Irishmen not to be the first to enter the ring.

Entertaining such opinions and feelings for the Irish, we cannot but desire the earliest movement for the attainment of the objects for which the Fenians are contending. But we believe they are proceeding prematurely and rashly; that their attempt will prove ridiculously, if not cruelly, abortive, and that its failure will rivet more

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closely and permanently the chains of English tyranny, and by begetting hopeless dejection, prevent the renewal or the success of future attempts to attain independence. There is no unanimity in Ireland on the subject of Fenianism. The Orangemen are bitterly opposed to it, and will fight zealously and bravely to put it down. The Catholic clergy are opposed to it, and their great influence and authority will detach from the cause a large portion of the Irish Catholics. England never was half so rich, half so powerful, nor half so well prepared, on any former occasion of attempted revolution in Ireland, as she now is. She can in a few months, if she pleases, have on the soil of Ireland a million of soldiers, well armed and well commanded, wherewith to crush out rebellion, even before it is fully organized. She is more populous, twice as wealthy, has a standing army five times as numerous, and a navy five times as strong, as had the North at the beginning of the late sectional American war. What the North effected here in four years, England, by following her example, may and would effect, in a month, in Ireland. Ireland has neither men nor money, nor credit, nor munitions of war, nor depots of provisions, nor organized civil government, nor men accustomed to the conduct and details of such a government. Yet an attempted rebellion in Ireland would probably bring on a general war among Christian nations, in which we should become involved. We do not distrust either the wisdom, prudence, or pacific dispositions of the President and his Cabinet. But we do fear that the bitter feud that has long existed between the Canadians and the Americans on the Canadian line, soon to break out into open hostilities, in the event of an Irish rebellion, will involve us in war with England. In such a war we could do nothing to aid Ireland, for we have no navy fitted to cross the Atlantic, much less to cope with that of England. Our navy is the best in the world for the purposes for which it was intended,—that is for blockading the coasts and rivers of a people who have no navy; but wholly worthless for any other purpose.

Were Ireland independent, with a King, a Parliament, a hereditary nobility, and a richly-endowed national Church of her own, her rich absentees would return to settle and live on her soil, and she might soon become the most prosperous, wealthy and enlightened nation on earth; for all wealth, prosperity and enlightenment, are the results of cheap labor. A pauper peasantry is the basis of all national glory and prosperity. But if you permit your laboring class, your peasantry to consume all that they produce, as we of the South foolishly permitted our negroes to do, you must ever remain poor, ignorant and contemptible. If Ireland could attain independence, without teaching her laboring class to eat meat and bread, wear decent clothing, use ale and tobacco, and live in comfortable houses, why then independence would make her a wealthy, prosperous and distinguished nation. But there is danger that when rebellion and revolution once let loose the spirit of innovation, that it may find its way down to the masses; that they may abjure potatoes and butter-milk,

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and gradually learn to eat meat and bread, to drink tea and coffee, &c., and to live in all respects according to the fashions of the day. This will require a great increase of their wages, and a great reduction of their rents,—or, in other words, they will consume most that they produce, and little will be left to build up private or national wealth or prosperity, or to advance Human Progress.

To be serious, we think that the revolution needed in Ireland is to induce her laboring classes to abjure potatoes, and betake themselves to a richer and more costly diet. Employers in China, finding that laborers can live on a few ounces of rice a day, only give them six cents per diem as wages. Capital is sure in every country to bring down the wages of labor to the minimum that will support life. That minimum depends on the mode and fashion of living of the laboring class. The English laborer would soon die if confined to rice or potatoes as a diet. He cannot subsist on less than twenty-five cents a day. The American laborer's required wants are greater than the Englishman's, and he cannot live on less than half a dollar a day; hence employers in England and America have to pay much higher wages to laborers than in Ireland or in China. Extravagant living is ruinous to the higher and wealthy classes, but the only reliable shield and protection of the laboring masses. Banish potatoes from Ireland, and teach her peasantry to live in a more costly manner, and her *poor* would need no political revolution.

ART. IX.—COTTON SEIZURES BY FEDERAL AUTHORITY AT THE SOUTH.

OPINION OF CHARLES O'CONOR, JAMES T. BRADY, WM. H. EVARTS AND OTHER LEADING MEMBERS OF THE NEW YORK BAR.

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE LAWS AND RESOLUTIONS OF CONGRESS IN REGARD TO THE ACTS OF TREASURY AGENTS, SHOWING THE INTENDED DISPOSITION OF THE PROPERTY TO BE ALTOGETHER UNAUTHORIZED, ETC.

WE cannot do a better service to the entire people of the South, as well as to the interests of constitutional liberty, than to give publication, in full, in the pages of the REVIEW, to the able exposition which follows. No one should be deterred by the length from its careful perusal. It touches the interests of thousands of our people now and in future, and we cannot doubt that the excellent and able gentleman who presides over the Treasury Department will, as soon as convinced upon the subject, make every necessary order. Upon this point he will be in entire harmony with the President.—EDITOR.

The Act of Congress, approved March 12, 1863 (12 Statutes at large, p. 820, §1), provided that it should be lawful for the Secretary of the Treasury to appoint special agents "to receive and collect all abandoned or captured property" in certain territory specially designated by the act, but which, for the present purpose, may conveniently be termed the Insurgent States.

Two distinct provisions in the subsequent act, adopted July 2, 1864, define with precision the sense in which Congress employed the phrase "abandoned property." It is there said that property shall be regarded as "abandoned" when the lawful owner thereof shall be voluntarily absent therefrom and en-

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gaged, either in arms or otherwise, in aiding or encouraging the rebellion. (13 Statutes at large, p. 376, §2 and §3.) The term "captured property" did not receive a legislative definition, and it required none. Its legal import has long been well established.

These Treasury-Agent acts, as for the sake of brevity we may call them, provided that the property referred to might be "appropriated to public use on due appraisement, or forwarded to" a place of sale. They directed that all sales of such property should be "at auction to the highest bidder, and that the proceeds thereof shall be paid into the Treasury of the United States." (12 Statutes, p. 820, §2).

The practical construction given to these acts by the Treasury Department, or by its subordinates with its sufferance, is, that they authorized these agents to seize any property on which they could lay their hands within the prescribed territory, forcibly to remove it to any place of sale designated by the Department, and there to sell it without judicial proceedings or investigation of any kind, paying the proceeds into the public treasury.

Under this interpretation of their powers, these Treasury Agents have habitually made extensive seizures of cotton in the Southern States, carried it to New York, and there sold it, disposing of the proceeds, in each instance, as directed by the Department.

Conformably to this practice, and on the 26th day of January, 1866, one hundred and thirty-six bales of cotton, then in Savannah, Georgia, and held by Messrs. Wm. Battersby & Co., of that city, on account of Messrs. Denniston & Co., of New York, were forcibly seized by certain Agents of the Treasury under color of the acts in question. They have transported the property to New York, and are about to sell it at public auction. It is announced that after allowing to the actors in the affair such rewards or compensation for their services as may be thought fit by the Department, the residue of the proceeds will be paid into the Treasury of the United States.

Messrs. Denniston & Co. have requested me to inquire whether they are remediless, and therefore obliged to acquiesce in the proceedings.

The receipt and collection of abandoned or captured property within the insurgent States, as contemplated by the acts in question, were war measures. The enactments on the subject were, in their nature, temporary and operative only during the continuance of hostilities, or, to use a term found in one of the acts, until "the suppression of the rebellion." I am therefore of opinion that the seizure in question was wholly unwarrantable, and that there is no authority in law for the disposition intended to be made of the property.

Many reasons offer themselves in support of this conclusion:

I. That such was the intent of Congress is quite apparent. The only thing that can be urged to the contrary is the absence of any express or formal declaration in the acts, that the authority conferred by them was to cease at any particular time or on the happening of any event. It will readily occur, that this, if it proves anything, proves quite too much.

It is altogether inconsequential, unless it requires the Courts to hold that the practice in question was intended to be perpetual; or, what is equivalent, to continue in full operation until abrogated by express legislation. Indeed, there is no middle ground between a construction which would hold the Treasury Agent system to be a temporary measure, instituted for belligerent purposes, and that which would accept it as establishing a policy intended to govern for all future time within that region which the President, on the 12th July, 1862, "designated as in insurrection." (12 Statutes at large, p. 810, §1.) There is no alternative; one or the other of these readings must be adopted. If there be a jurist in the land whose moral perceptions would not force upon him an instantaneous and indignant rejection of the latter, considerations may be stated which will convince even him.

Legal perpetuity cannot be claimed for the practice merely because the acts do not, in terms, declare that it shall cease when the occasion for its employment shall have passed away.

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The principle that "every law of itself and by its nature is supposed to be perpetual," applies only when "it contains nothing in its disposition, or in the circumstances attending it, that evidently denotes a contrary intention of the legislator, or that may induce us reasonably to presume that it was only a temporary ordinance." (Burlamaqui, part 1, ch. 10, §14, subs. 2.) Such is not the case with respect to these acts. The general language of statutes is constantly restrained to the time, occasion, or purpose for which, upon a fair view of all their provisions taken together, the Courts can see the Legislature designed to provide. "The most universal and effectual way of discovering the true meaning of a law," says Mr. Justice Blackstone, "is by considering the cause which moved the legislator to enact it; for, when this reason ceases, the law itself ought likewise to cease with it." (1 Com., p. 61.) Lord Mansfield, when urged to expound, as if it were without limit, a statute which was general in its terms, replied: "If there is no express exception, there is one implied from the nature and reason of the thing." (Alway *v.* Burrows, 1 Douglass R., 264.) See, also, Main *v.* Prosser, 1 John's Cases, p. 130—Judge Denio's notes to his Reports, vol. 3, p. 84.

It is undoubtedly true that the very words employed by the Legislature itself are the primary guide to the legislative intent. It is equally true that when the Legislature plainly, and by the words which admit of no reasonable doubt, *express* a particular intent, there is no room for interpretation; and Courts are bound to hold that such intent existed. No departure from these principles need be advocated; for of the acts in question, the most that can be asserted is, that they use general words, and are silent in respect to the duration of the practice which they introduced. This is the precise case which invites interpretation. On the point of duration no particular intent is directly expressed by the Legislature; and, therefore, it is the province of the judiciary to ascertain and declare the will of the law-making power. For this purpose, the Courts will weigh every indication found in the acts themselves, and carefully consider all such external matters as, by the general principles of the interpretation, are allowable aids in the inquiry.

Very grave mischief would necessarily attend the execution of such a system at any time. Public hostilities might induce or compel a government to disregard this consideration; but the return of peace takes away all the license that springs from war.

Between treating these acts as intended to establish a permanent policy to govern for all time within the prescribed territory, or as merely designed to subject that territory to be thus harshly dealt with for some limited period immediately succeeding the actual close of hostilities, it might be difficult to choose. If we were compelled to make a distinction, perhaps the latter would not be preferred.

When executive agents are allowed by law to seize and appropriate private property without judicial process or judicial supervision, they soon fall into a habit which is utterly subversive of justice. They regard themselves as holding not a special commission, but a general warrant. Every imaginable claim that might possibly exist in favor of the Government, is deemed to be within their cognizance, and, therefore, summarily enforcible. Even in time of profound and long-established peace, when the Courts are open and free to every suitor, the individual, who might be thus despoiled of his property, would be much embarrassed in his research for a remedy. Under a law which was itself valid and constitutional, and which, like that under review, purported absolutely to sanction the seizure and sale, leaving the owner without a judicial remedy, the Administration could scarcely fail to become rapacious and tyrannical.

What would be the character and tendency of such a law if designed to continue in force only for a limited period after the termination of existing hostilities? It would bear a certain resemblance to the practice of those barbarian warriors of former times, who delivered over to be sacked and plundered by their followers, the territories which they had conquered; but greater evils

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would result from it. Ancient pillage usually invited to its orgies only the victorious soldiers and the camp followers. The informal and merely verbal license usually given could rarely tend to more than a brief period of lawlessness. While it lasted, death and wounds might, indeed, be inflicted, and many outrages be committed; but this brief reign of violence and disorder did not tend to make the victors or their co-revelers much worse than before, nor were the victims demoralized; there was little or no time for the display of treachery, and the whole thing was but a brief intensifying of the excesses often allowed in battle. Far more mischievous in their nature must be the action of these Treasury Agents upon the departmental construction of their powers.

Every hungry adventurer in politics or in any other gainful pursuit throughout the North is invited to take out a treasury license for privateering on land in time of peace among the vanquished. Every one within the lately insurgent States, susceptible to such temptation, is invited by the proffer of rewards for his treachery to become a spy upon his neighbors and an informer against them. Holding out in the apparently safe, and it might even be thought respectable form of a public law, such inducements to cupidity would be sure to enlist, as a monstrous after-birth of our unhappy civil war, a whole brigade of cotton raiders, composed of the corrupt and corruptible on both sides of the line. The consequences would be a degree of oppression on the one hand and demoralization on the other, that no pure mind can contemplate without emotions of disgust and horror. Nor would this vicious practice be likely to have the excuse of enabling our war-worn veterans to seize a prey by way of recompense for their toils and dangers. The soldier's taste does not incline him to such method. It is a pretty safe conjecture that the Treasury Agents, who have been employed in this business, will generally, if not invariably, be found without the military button, and neither grievously maimed nor slightly wounded, nor yet even soiled with the smoke or dust of battle. How the fact may be is not known, but the nature of the business renders this inference so probable that it is offered with some confidence to the test of inquiry.

Constant raids through the subjugated South in pursuit of property, that, on some ground or pretense, might be forcibly seized, and divided between the Treasury, its travelling agent and his local informer, would readily have been foreseen as the inevitable result of such a system, had its adoption for peaceful times been suggested to Congress. Experience shows precisely such results. Of our most eminent citizens, a gentleman of unimpeachable probity, and distinguished alike for his eloquence, his ardent advocacy of Northern ideas, and his favor for their spread, even by coercive means, if necessary, bears testimony to the fact, and denounces the abuse in no measured terms.

In a lecture delivered on the 20th of last month, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher said:

"It is a shame to see so many of these corrupt agents throughout the South." He calls them "predatory nuisances," and asserts, "that all throughout the South they are as locusts, eating up every green thing."—*N. Y. Herald*, Feb. 21st, 1866.

By the Treasury construction, the people thus preyed upon are denied judicial protection or resort of any kind, and standing as they do in imminent danger of prosecution for real or supposed complicity in the recent conflict, they dare scarcely venture even to complain of any wrong inflicted upon them, however palpable or enormous.

No civilized legislature could have contemplated such a mode of dealing with the people of its own country, after all forcible resistance to its authority had ceased. So to treat a foreign tribe or nation, which had been conquered and subjugated, would be wholly inadmissible. Certainly it would be utterly repugnant to the notions of humanity, justice and governmental duty which have long prevailed in the mother country; and, unless it can be upheld by these very acts, nothing of the kind has ever been sanctioned by law in this Republic.

Our jurisprudence, even as it came to us from the monarchical state to which our ancestors belonged, without allowing for any of the improvements which

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might justly be presumed to have resulted from its transfer to a republican basis, contemplate, securing to the individual entire freedom of his person and control of his property, until some right to restrain the one or divest the other shall be duly established by judicial proceedings, conducted in conformity with ancient and approved methods. The preliminary restraints and seizures which, in certain cases, are allowed under regular process pending the controversy, are not exceptions to the general rule but exemplifications of it.

This doctrine, however it may have been occasionally violated, is very familiar. Its most unprincipled contemner in practice, rarely dares to deny its existence, or to question its applicability to any case but his own. Innumerable illustrations might be offered. Possession is always favored by a presumption that it is rightful until the contrary has been judicially established. The rightful claimant of land is compelled to resort to his action. Be his title ever so good, he is not allowed to enter with strong hand and oust the possessor. Such a course is illegal. Positive statutes have enforced this principle for centuries, by subjecting the disturber to criminal indictment.

To make recaption of one's own undoubted personal chattels, by violently wresting them from the peaceful possession of one claiming title, is not practicable without incurring a similar peril. (3 Wend. Blackstone, p. 4, note 6; Peters, 613.)

Peace cannot be preserved without an adherence to principles, and every departure from them is a step towards lawless barbarism. How, then, can it be supposed that Congress intended to sanction, in time of peace, a departure so total and flagrant as is exhibited in the practice under consideration.

The government that, without imperative necessity, could inaugurate a practice so fraught with oppression, so utterly inconsistent with public honor, so subversive of private integrity, would incur the deepest odium.

For these reasons, an interpretation which would impute to Congress a design so unworthy, should be rejected, if possible; and not only is this possible, but as hereafter, will be shown, it is unavoidable.

That these acts were somewhat hastily framed, must be admitted. In order to make the section which relates to the Court of Claims intelligible, it is necessary to interpolate some words. The system was introduced by the very latest act of the 37th Congress. The degree of attention given to business at such times is not great. That act was not signed by the President during the existence of the Congress which adopted it, and for this reason—serious doubts of its validity have been entertained. These circumstances would justify a more than usual latitude of interpretation in order to avoid absurd and mischievous consequences.

Looking to the general object and purpose of the acts, the existing evil for which they sought to provide a remedy by the employment of extraordinary measures, and considering the strict respect for private right which has ever influenced our Government, "except when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may (have been thought to) require a temporary deviation," it is the duty of our Courts to hold that the system was not designed to continue after the cessation of hostilities. (See Const., Art. 1, §9, Subs. 2.)

"A statute creating a new jurisdiction ought to be constructed strictly as new commissioners exercising a summary and arbitrary jurisdiction. A statute which gives a new remedy, by summary proceedings or other deviations from our ancient constitutions, ought not to receive a liberal construction. A power derogatory to private property must be construed strictly. Acts which take away the trial by jury ought to receive the strictest construction." (Dewarris on Statutes, pp. 749 to 751.)

These citations show that, in matters relating to private property, and the exercise of power over it, there should always be a construction liberal and benignant in favor of the individual, strict and rigorous as against those who claim the power. This is the ancient law of England; it came to us by inheritance from a liberty-loving ancestry; our judiciary will not depart from it.

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Mr. Justice Blackstone (Vol. 1. p. 91) says, that if there arise out of statutes "any absurd consequences, manifestly contradictory to common reason, they are, with regard to these collateral consequences, void." After admitting the omnipotence of Parliament, and the total absence of judicial power to control the directly expressed will of that body, he adds: "But where some collateral matter arises out of the general words, and happens to be unreasonable (as, for instance, a government enforcing war measures against its people in time of peace), there the judges are in decency to conclude that this consequence was not seen by the parliament; and, therefore, they are at liberty to expound the statute by equity, and only, *quoad hoc*, to disregard it."

Decency and humanity alike require a decision that Congress never foresaw, that any one would attempt to extend the practice in question to time of peace, and, consequently, that such a use of it was never sanctioned by that body.

There is ample authority for the position that, even if the words employed by Congress were so nearly expressed as to create a serious impediment to this construction, the Courts would, nevertheless, overcome that impediment.

Citing English and American decisions that fully sustain him, Mr. Sedgwick, in his Treatise on Statutory Construction, at page 233, lays down this canon: "Such a construction ought to be put upon a statute as may best answer the intention which the makers had in view. And this intention is sometimes to be collected from the cause or necessity of making the statute, and sometimes from other circumstances; and whenever such intention can be discovered, it ought to be followed with reason and discretion in the construction of the statute, although such construction seem contrary to the letter of the statute." (Smith's Com. on Statutory Construction, §460; Jackson *v.* Collins, 3 Cow., 96.)

Applying the principle that the provisions expressly made by the Legislature form the best and surest evidences of its intent, a brief review of the acts will suffice to convince any unprejudiced person that they do not authorize the employment of treasury perambulators through the Southern States, after the advent of peace, in search of property which they may choose to consider as constructively "captured or abandoned."

The Supreme Court of the United States, in Aldridge *v.* Williams, 3 How. R., 24, says, that in searching for the intent of a statute, the Courts, if necessary, may look "to the public history of the times in which it was passed."

When this system was adopted, we were engaged in open war. The Southern Confederacy had great armies in the field. The conflict had already endured for years; it continued thereafter, in all its majestic proportions, for more than two years. However certain the ultimate result may have been considered by Congress, the time of reaching that result could not have been foreseen. Indeed, the predictions concerning it, once so freely indulged in, had wholly ceased. It is not strange, therefore, that the acts contain no express clause of cesser.

Indeed, it scarcely would have occurred to any lawyer framing these statutes, that such a law was needed. Every act which they authorize is, in its own nature, a war measure, and such as no humane or just legislator could contemplate as proper in time of peace.

The limitation as to time is, therefore, inherent; it is inseparable from the things sanctioned; and it is impossible to construe the acts otherwise than as introducing a set of regulations for carrying on war and making effective the pending hostilities.

The collection of captured property for the purpose of removing and disposing of it, is, in its own nature a war measure. Gathering up the spoils of war is not likely to remain, in any important degree, an unexecuted office, after the re-establishment of peace.

The victor usually seizes his prize the moment it is won. He rarely awaits the uncertain fortunes of a future battle, or stays his hand till the advent of peace. He must, indeed, overcome his antagonist first; but, that accomplished, he usually signalizes the earliest instant of relaxation from the rigorous exigencies of combat by securing his prey. There is, therefore, something quite incongruous in appointing a collector of captured property in time of peace—

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an intent to authorize it cannot be supposed, unless the lawgiver expresses it in the most clear and positive manner.

As the words are defined in the acts, considerations of essentially a similar nature apply to what is called "abandoned property." Whenever, during the war, a portion of the hostile territory should temporarily fall within the military occupation or control of the Federal forces, it would tend to cripple and embarrass the enemy, and might, therefore, be deemed a due exercise of belligerent rights to seize and convert to the Government all property found in such territory, without the immediate protection of its owner. His absence would afford some evidence that he was in active service as an enemy, and his property might be deemed, in some sense, derelict; and, therefore, a perfectly legitimate subject of governmental control or guardianship. (Kent's Com., pp. 358, 359, Eighth Ed.; 12 Ohio R., by Stanton, p. 87.)

We thus perceive that both of the objects in view were temporary; were such as, under any circumstances, probably, in the contemplation of Congress, could only exist during the continuation of hostilities; and hence, the manifest propriety of concluding that the system was in like manner temporary.

Certain provisions are obviously limited in point of duration to the war. Section 4 of the first act is one of these. (12 Statutes at large, p. 820.) Yet here we observe the same absence of any expressed limitation as to time. If such a limitation *must* be implied in one part of the act, surely it *may* be implied in another part.

The moment we look upon its institution as a war measure, to be pursued only during the prevalence of hostilities, the system loses all its odiousness, and the acts establishing it are relieved from any and every objection.

Independently of these general proofs of an intent that these agencies were merely temporary expedients to be employed only during the emergency which induced a resort to them, there are several pointed indications to the same effect, which are fully equivalent to the most direct and unequivocal expression:

First. The very definition given as a guide to the agents in ascertaining what is "abandoned property," is itself conclusive. It is that property shall be regarded as abandoned when the owner is voluntarily absent therefrom, "and engaged in aiding or encouraging the rebellion." How can this category exist after "the suppression of the rebellion," or when there is no rebellion?

Second. The acts nowhere license these Treasury Agents to make captures by themselves or their employes. Under that head their authority is expressly confined to collecting and receiving property already captured by others. Upon general principles, the naval and military forces of the United States alone had authority to make captures as prize of war.

The theory that public hostilities between contending nations or parties produce a war between each and every subject or citizen of each belligerent power, and each and every subject or citizen of the other, has no practical effect except as a prohibition of intercourse. (Chitty's Law of Nations, p. 22; Woolsey on International Law, §119, Second Ed.)

Shocking, indeed, would be the results of reducing that theory to practice in international wars. The veriest demon who ever appeared in human form could not think of applying it to insurrections or civil wars. Accordingly it is a settled doctrine that captures can only be made by the public armed forces of the sovereign power, or under commissions expressly granted for the purpose, as in the case of privateers.

The Cape of Good Hope, 2 C. Rob., 292, and cases cited in note to p. 285.
Hazlitt and Roche's Manual, pp. 98, 300.
Vattel, Book 3, ch. 15, §§228, 231, 118.
Upton, on Mar. Warfare, p. 118.
2 Kent's Com., pp. 94 to 97, side paging Eighth Ed.
Whewell's Elements of Morality, §1,159.

Upton, at p. 100 says, that "private citizens cannot of themselves, and without commission from the supreme power, take any step in relation to the perpetration of acts of hostility."

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The strength of this rule is proven by the special exceptions of a power to recapture prizes takes by the enemy. In the Helen, 2 C. Rob., 255, Sir William Scott says; "It is the duty of every subject to assist his fellow-subjects in war, and to retake their property from the possession of the enemy. No commission is necessary to give a person so employed a title to the reward which the policy of the law allotts to that meritorious act of duty." To this same effect, see The Urania, 5 C. Rob., 150.

It is, of course, true, that when a private person, without authority, happens to seize the property of an enemy, and brings it within the control of his government *flagrante bello*, the government would be at liberty to exercise its own belligerent powers, and itself effect a regular capture. (Haslitt & Roche, 314.)

But we are dealing with a question of construction; and this necessary and indisputable limit of the doctrine last referred to, does not at all conduce to show that when creating a collecting bureau in the treasury, a purely civil department, Congress designed to create a corps of captors. Had such a thing been in contemplation, the Department of War or of the Navy would have been its appropriate location.

On a couple of occasions, whilst dissenting from the Court, and alone or nearly so, Judge Story maintained, with no little vehemence, that if a private person, acting without commission or authority, should seize property of the enemy which was subject to capture by the laws of war, he would not be "guilty of a very enormous crime." (8 Cranch, 134.)

His cognate proposition that in such a case the sovereign might adopt the act and give it "the effect of a full and perfect ratification," seems to have been since approved. (8 Cranch, 134; 9 Cranch, 449; 2 Black. 671.) All this may be conceded without weakening the general doctrine or lessening its efficacy as a proof that Congress did, not, by the words employed in these acts, intend to authorize captures, *jure belli*, by the immediate action of these non-combatant Treasury Agents.

It will hereafter be shown that capture in time of peace, is a solecism in language, and that if allowed, it would be an anomaly in legislation.

Third. Applications to the Court of Claims for relief against mistake or injustice committed by the Treasury Agents are expressly allowed by the first of these acts. But they are only allowed to be presented within two years "after the suppression of the rebellion." This is what jurists denominate a statute of limitations, and like all such statutes, it begins to run against all claims at a fixed and designated point of time. That point of time is "the suppression of the rebellion." Now, nothing is better settled in legal reasoning than that the limitations can never begin to run against a claim before the claim itself has arisen. No authority need be cited for the proposition; it is familiar to lawyers; its necessity is absolute, and common sense precludes a denial. It follows, then, as an inevitable conclusion, that Congress must have understood and intended that no claim could arise after "the suppression"—a result only to be attained by limiting the power of these Treasury Agents to the period prescribing that "suppression."

Under the construction given by the Treasury Department, its agents may continue to pick up cotton throughout the South as captured or abandoned, for ten years to come. They may sell it and dispose of the proceeds as the Treasury Department shall please to direct; and for the last eight years of the time the despoiled owner will not be allowed even the poor resort of an appeal to the Court of Claims. Can such be the meaning of these acts?

The reason and nature of the thing, in this instance, prove incontestably that Congress intended the employment of these Treasury Agents only as a measure auxiliary to, and connected with, the actual prosecution of hostilities, to be continued no longer than during the war. That intent, as has been shown, is also plainly written on the face of the acts. But if the fact were otherwise; if such was not the intent; if judicial science demands the interpretation that Congress really designed the continuance of this practice in time of peace, then it is clear to my mind that the acts are, to this extent, and so far as this

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effect or operation is concerned, not only inconsistent with all sound principle, but absolutely unconstitutional, and therefore void.

Some reasons for this latter conclusion will now be stated. In 1665, while war existed between Great Britain and Holland, letters of marque and reprisal were guaranteed by the crown to one Carew, with an express clause that no future peace should derogate from them. When peace took place, Lord Nottingham, on *sci fa*, vacated the letters of marque concerning the special clause; he said, that "as it was new and of a most strange nature, so it was utterly void in itself." And to the point that peace superseded all right to make captures under the letters of marque, he said that "this point was most clear by the constant practice of all ages and nations." (3 Swanston, 671.)

The guarantees of life, liberty and property contained in the Constitution are admitted on all hands to be in full force during the prevalence of peace. The fifth Constitutional amendment expressly declares that "no person shall be deprived of property without due process of law." It can hardly be supposed that there exists in the Government any power to forfeit property in time of peace, except for some crime committed by its owner or possessor; and the fundamental law requires that the "trial of all crimes shall be by Jury." (Const., Art. 3, §2, subs. 3.)

It has been seen that the acts in question prescribe the most informal and summary method of dealing with the property. Neither in the original reception of it by these Treasury Agents, nor at any subsequent stage of the proceedings, is anything permitted which can be deemed "due process of law." Congress, it is true, extended as much protection to the owners of property which might be carried off and sold under these acts, as was deemed consistent with the exigencies of the occasion. But the very redress against haste and error thus provided manifests the character of the whole system. It was an engine of war, and every portion of the machinery corresponds with the character; as such, it was well suited to the exercise of war power, but it was totally unfit for use in time of peace. This will be apparent on the slightest reflection. The first act provides that "any person claiming to have been the owner of any such abandoned or captured property, may at any time within two years after the suppression of the rebellion, prefer his claim to the proceeds thereof in the Court of Claims, and on proof to the satisfaction of said Court of his ownership of said property, or of his right to the proceeds thereof, and that he has never given any aid or comfort to the present rebellion, he may be allowed to receive the residue of such proceeds, after the deduction of any purchase money which may have been paid, together with the expenses of transportation and sale of said property, and any other lawful expenses attending the disposition thereof." (12 Statutes at large, p. 820, §3.)

Let us look for a moment at the nature of this relief. In the first place, no jury is allowed in the Court of Claims. In the next place, the claimant must fail, unless he is able to convince the Judges of his innocence by affirmative proof on his own part, which is a very different thing from the Constitutional guaranty of private rights, that no man shall be subjected to loss until the Government shall, in a regular prosecution, produce sufficient competent evidence to convince a jury of his guilt. (9 Peters, 691.)

By these acts the owner is not to be restored to his property by the Court of Claims, in any event, or even to just compensation for it. He is only admissible, at best, to a participation in the proceeds of a forced sale, made by others, in such manner as they thought fit, and in a market chosen by themselves. From these proceeds, too, there must first be deducted all expenses attendant upon carrying off and selling his property. The Court can allow no claim, unless made by one who proves to its satisfaction "his ownership of the property," and "his right to the proceeds thereof," superadding affirmative evidence of his entire innocence. Such facts involve, as a necessary consequence, a judgment not only by the Court of Claims, but by every honest mind, that the seizure and sale by executive officers, if made in time of peace, was a wrong of the most flagitious character; and yet, by the terms of the act, the depredators are to be allowed all the expenses incurred by them in perpe-

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trating the outrage. It is not necessary to inquire whether, in this proceeding, the Court of Claims would act as a judicial tribunal, or merely as a board of advisers to the Executive Department. (Gordon *v.* United States, 2 Wallace's U. S. R. 561, Washington Reporter No. 8, p. 6.)

Without entering into that question, every lawyer will concede that taking away a man's property and turning him over to a remedy so lame and halting as this legislation affords, is an act which manifestly transcends the limitations upon governmental power prescribed by the Constitution. Nor can this conclusion be at all affected by any result of the political discussions now on foot touching the legal *status* of the so-called insurgent States. Georgia, within whose limits the seizure of this cotton occurred, was one of the original thirteen. Whether she is a State or Territory, or whether her people are citizens or aliens, the Constitutional restraints upon governmental power over private property are equally applicable. The Government has no more authority to seize for its own use the property of aliens than the property of citizens; whatever it may tolerate in time of war, the Constitution contains no license to plunder strangers in time of peace.

If it could be held that our Congress had actually granted authority to the Treasury to prosecute a war against the South after peace was restored, and our armies were disbanded, it cannot be doubted that our Courts would act as firmly on the occasion as the conscience-keeper of the British King did with his sovereign's improvident license to Carew. Adopting his enlightened principles, they would pronounce it *new* in legislation, *strange* in principle, and "utterly void in itself," as conflicting with the "constant practice of all ages and nations," and as violating a paramount law, the Constitution of the United States.

On these grounds I submit the conclusion that the acts above mentioned conferred no authority upon the Treasury Department, or its agents, to seize or remove the property in question. Whoever detains it from the owners against their will, is, in my judgment, a mere wrong-doer, and is responsible as such in the proper form of action.

II. It is above suggested that the class of Executive Agents, whose proceedings are under consideration, rarely construe their authority as being confined within any definite limit, or place their claims under any specific head. The line of action adopted in the present instance exemplifies the truth of this remark; it is also an involuntary concession that the practice introduced by these acts is only adopted to the prosecution of a war. No distinct cause of seizure has been stated. It has not been thought necessary, and, indeed, it must be admitted, that such a statement is only required when judicial process is invoked. That is the peaceful agent; war is waged with other weapons. The strong arm neither uses indictment nor *ex-officio* information. It strikes silently, or if a word accompanies the blow, it is merely some term of reproach or announcement of hostility. A simple war-cry, nothing more, accompanied the seizure of this property. It is understood that a vaguely reproachful epithet, coined for such purposes, has been applied. It has been called "blockade cotton." Nothing more definite than this can be gathered from any out-givings of those in authority concerning the seizure. As this new nickname is not in our legal nomenclature, nor to be found in our literature, it cannot be regarded as indicating much more than the existence of a desire to apply the Treasury Agent process, and divide the proceeds between the Department and its employees. Still it may be well to consider in succession the several grounds upon which the Treasury Agents may possibly attempt to justify their action.

1. Besides the "captured and abandoned property" before spoken of, they were authorized to receive and collect certain other property. The before mentioned act of July 12, 1864, extended the first and sixth sections of the first Treasury Agent Act, so as to include property mentioned in the Non-intercourse Act of July 17, 1862. But these sections are silent as to the disposition to be made of the property collected or received. They merely authorize the collection and receipt. The Non-intercourse and Confiscation Acts both provided for regular judicial proceedings to establish and enforce all seizures made and forfeitures accruing under them. (12 Statutes at large, p. 258, §9; *Ib.*, p. 591, §7.)

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The propriety of such proceedings before enforcing a forfeiture is so manifest, that the repeal of an express statutory provision, requiring a resort to them, cannot be implied. (9 Cowen, 506, 507; Crabbe's R., 370; Sedgwick on Statutory Construction, 123, 224.)

It is, therefore, quite plain, that, as to property mentioned in the Non-intercourse and Confiscation Acts, and not coming under the description of captured or abandoned property, these Treasury Agents never had any other authority than simply to receive it and place it within the control of a Judicial Court of the United States, so that proper proceedings might be had therein for its condemnation. (Wheaton on Captures, p. 728, 729: Upton, p. 126; Jecker v. Montgomery, 18 Howard's U. S. R., 516; Hazlitt & Roche's Manual, p. 306, 307.)

The power of seizure and sale, without process of law, never extended to it. Besides, there are conclusive objections, on other grounds, to any claim of power in the Treasury Agents to interfere with this property under either the Non-intercourse Act of 1861, or the Confiscation Act of 1862.

It is a product of the insurgent territory. This justifies a presumption that it had never been outside of that territory until it was seized and carried off in January, 1866, by the Treasury Agents themselves. Consequently, there is no color for a suggestion that it had ever become confiscated under the Non-intercourse Act of 1861.

The Non-intercourse Act (12 Statutes, p. 257, §5) is evidently an application to the insurgent territory of that principle in the general public law of nations, which renders unlawful all commerce between the respective subjects of the powers between whom war exists.

Lawrence Wheaton on Int. Law, part 4, ch. 1, §13.

The Rapid, 8 Cranch, 161; *Ib.*, 179, 454.

In harmony with the general law, it declares that intercourse to be unlawful only "so long as such condition of hostility shall continue," and the forfeiture is denounced against the goods, etc., "coming" into the adhering States or "proceeding" to the insurgent territory. The vessel or vehicle "conveying" the same is, in like manner, subjected to forfeiture. This language seems ill-adapted to express any other intent than that which pervades the whole public law on this subject, *i. e.*, that the vehicle or property must be taken or seized *in delicto*, and during the continuance of the prohibition against intercourse. The vessel or goods must be in the condition of coming, proceeding, or conveying, in order to be a subject of seizure; and that condition could only exist whilst hostilities were still pending. The ordinary forms in which the Municipal Law declares its penalties are quite different. For an illustration of this see the Non-intercourse Act of March 1, 1809. (Statutes at large, vol. 2, p. 529, §5.)

The intensity which was imparted to the prohibition of intercourse with the insurgents by §4 of the second Treasury-Agent Act (13 Statutes at large, p. 376), is an additional reason for a construction which confines the consequent forfeitures to cases of seizure actually made during the "condition of hostility."

I am of opinion that, according to the true construction and effect of the Non-intercourse Act of 1861, property not actually seized for the offense during the continuance of hostilities, cannot be subsequently taken, captured, seized, or forfeited, for or by any reason of any violation of that act, or of the amendatory section last referred to.

The Confiscation Act of 1862 clearly confines its action within the same limits. The list of persons to be deprived is thus introduced: "That to insure the speedy termination of the present rebellion, it shall be the duty of the President to cause the seizure of all the estate and property, money, stocks, credits and effects of the persons hereinafter named; and to apply and use the same and the proceeds thereof for the support of the army of the United States." (12 Statutes at large, p. 590, §§5, 6.) The seizure is only authorized in order to insure a speedy termination of an existing rebellion; and that it may conduce directly and solely to that end, the whole fruits are, in exclusive terms, directed to be applied to the support of the army engaged in attaining it. For no other end or purpose was any such seizure sanctioned. When the rebellion no longer existed, it could not be more perfectly terminated; and, consequently,

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it is manifest that the right of seizure given by this act ceased with the return of peace. *Cessat ratio cessat et ipsa lex* is a maxim. Courts often apply it when the reason, motive or object of the act is only ascertainable by indirect reasoning upon extrinsic facts, and by means of remote inferences. Here the Legislature expressly declares, in plain language, the object of the seizure which it authorizes. When a seizure cannot be made for that purpose, it is not within the law or permitted thereby.

The absence of any evidence or imputation bringing this property within the terms of the Confiscation Act of 1862, may be stated in passing. But, as others exist which are so controlling it rather weakens the case to offer that objection.

2. The property cannot be regarded as "abandoned" within the meaning of that word in the Treasury-Agents Acts, for a reason before explained. The rebellion had ceased, and therefore it is impossible to show, as these acts require, that when the property was seized it belonged to a person who was voluntarily absent from it, "and engaged in aiding or encouraging the rebellion."

3. The only ground that can be anticipated as a possible resort, is that the property may be claimed under some head of capture as prize of war.

The first section of the act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes, passed August 6, 1861, applied only to property used or employed, etc., in aiding, abetting or promoting the insurrection, and declared such property a subject of prize and capture. It is not understood that the Treasury pretends to have any evidence tending, in the slightest degree, to bring this property within the operation of that act. But if such evidence existed, the property could not be summarily taken, carried off, and sold by these agents or by any other officers of the United States; for the act expressly, and in the most peremptory language, requires that all prizes captured under it shall be regularly proceeded against in a District or Circuit Court of the United States. (Statutes at large, 319, §1.)

There is even a higher and more controlling objection to any claim through the provisions of this act. Under a head devoted to the general subject of capture, in every aspect that can have any imaginable relevancy to the matter in hand, it will be shown that the right of making prizes necessarily, and in all cases, ceases with the war in which it originated.

III. The Government of the United States asserts that the war neither impaired nor suspended any power of municipal legislation that it ever possessed in respect to the territory of the insurgent States, or in respect to any inhabitant or citizen thereof, or any person or property therein; and that, during the war, it also possessed in respect to such territory, all property therein, its inhabitants and citizens, and all persons, whether citizens or neutrals, trading therewith, all the power and authority which, by the general law of nations, would have belonged to it as a belligerent making war against that territory, in case the same had been altogether outside our Union, and owned and inhabited by a foreign independent nation. (2 Blacks. U. S. R., 673; 4 Cranch, 272; Phila. A. M. Law Reg., vol. 5, new series, 151.)

This is assumed, and it is also assumed that the right of capture, as prize, *jure belli*, recognized by modern public law, might have been extended during the war by act of Congress, and thus carried to the utmost possible extreme of predatory warfare against all property within the insurgent States, or affected by the doctrine of "hostile character," as that phrase is understood by publicista. But except so far as such acts may have been passed by Congress, and beyond the limits of such as were passed, it may safely be affirmed, in the language of the Supreme Court, speaking to the very point, by Chief-Justice Marshall, that Courts are "bound by the law of nations which (for this purpose) is a part of the law of the land." (The Nereide, 9 Cranch, 423.)

The point was also fully and elaborately vindicated by the same authority, in Brown *v.* the United States; 8 Cranch, pp. 128 to 129; see Hazlett and Roche, 312.

Modern public law does not authorize a belligerent to capture, as prize of war, property belonging to private individuals, unless it be found afloat at the time of capture. (Brown *v.* the United States; 8 Cranch pp. 123 and 124;

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Woolsey on Int. Law, §§120, §§139, Second Ed.; Wheaton on Captures, p 15; Lawrence's Wheaton on Int. Law, part 4, ch. 2, §7.)

Congress has never extended the right of capture beyond the limits assigned to it by the law of nations, except by the first section of the before-mentioned act, to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes, passed August 6, 1861. (12 Statutes at large, p. 319, §1.)

The language of this act is, that the property described in it "is hereby declared to be the lawful subject of prize and capture wherever found." Capture *ex vi termini* imports a seizure as prize *jure belli*. (Black v. The Main Insurance Co., 11 Johnson's Reports, 293.) The whole set of words employed in this act make an exceedingly clear case of language selected to create a supplement to the right of capture allowed by the law of nations, and precisely adapted to that purpose. The act must be so regarded. It is silent as to the time during which such captures must be made; and as it denounces no forfeiture except through the instrumentality of a "capture" *eo nomine*, that question is determinable by the general law.

The right of capture results from, and is exclusively incident to, a state of war. It does not exist for an instant after the war has terminated. This doctrine is very strictly adhered to. (Wheaton on Captures, pp. 306, 307.)

Property which during a war is in a condition to be captured or otherwise taken, *jure belli*, does not, *ipso facto*, vest in the belligerent to whose power it is thus subject. He must exercise his power before the war terminates, or never. The return of peace extinguishes all right to make prizes. From that moment private property is sacred. He who takes it, except in the due course of judicial proceedings, contravenes the law. Taking through mistake is an actionable trespass. Taking with knowledge that the war has ceased, and with intent to deprive the owner is a robbery, if committed with open violence, and a theft, if marked by secresy.

Wheaton on Captures, pp. 300, 301, §§3, 4.

Hazlett and Roche, 120; The Mentor, 1 C. Rob., 179.

Lawrence's Wheaton, part 4, ch. 4, §5.

The case of Nuestra Señora de Los Dolores, reported in Edward's Adm. R., p. 62, is very instructive on this point.

A decree was pronounced in the English Admiralty for costs and damages in favor of the Spanish claimant of a Spanish vessel. Before this decree was executed, war broke out between Spain and England. After peace had been restored, an application to enforce the decree was resisted on the ground that the costs and damages had inured to the Crown. It was assumed that these costs and damages, being recovered in a proceeding *in rem*, were appendant to the "ship and cargo;" so that, on breaking out of the war, the Crown might have seized them in the like manner as the ship herself might have been captured as prize of war had she remained in an English port.

The case, therefore, presented the precise question whether a title could accrue to the Crown without actual seizure during the war. The argument for the Spanish owner is reported as follows: "During the continuance of the war the Crown might have interposed its claim if it had thought proper; but, where that has not been done, where no seizure has been made on the part of the Crown, the right of property remains in the same state in which it was before (the) hostilities."

Sir Walter Scott says:

"It is true that the intervention of hostilities puts the property of the enemy in such a situation that confiscation may ensue; but unless some step is taken for that purpose, unless there is some legal declaration of the forfeiture, the right of the owner revives on the return of peace. This is an acknowledged principle in the Courts of Common Law, borrowed, in all probability, from the general law of nations. . . . . Here there was no bodily possession, nor, indeed, could there be; but still some judicial act might have been done declaratory of the forfeiture to the Crown of those rights which are vested in the claimant under the decree for costs and damages. It appears, however, that no step was taken for this purpose on the part of the Crown; and I am, therefore,

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of opinion that the rights of the Spanish proprietor do revive." (See the Grotius, 9 Cranch, 370.)

The same doctrine is very emphatically laid down by Judge Story in an opinion marked by the most extreme assertion of belligerent rights. (8 Cranch, pp. 147, 148.) He says: "The title of the enemy is not divested by war, but remains *in proprio vigore*, until a hostile seizure and possession has impaired his title." . . . . . And, adds he: "If a peace should intervene, it (the property) would be completely beyond the reach of subsequent condemnation."

It follows that, as the property in question was not seized as prize during the war, any attempt to capture it subsequently is wholly without warrant, and can confer no right upon the Government of the United States, or on any one pretending to act under its authority.

By way of recapitulation, it may be remarked:

First. The Treasury-Agents' Acts *could* not, constitutionally, authorize a capture at the time this property was seized, if it had been so intended.

Second. The same objection applies to any claim which the Government might make to hold it as a subject of capture under the act of 1861, concerning property used for insurrectionary purposes. (12 Statutes at large, p. 319.) And,

Third. In any of the various aspects in which the name of "blockade-cotton" might be thought applicable, the capture, if any there was, having been made after the cessation of hostilities, came too late, and was utterly ineffectual.

This, certainly, is sufficient to dispose of the whole question. Still, it may be satisfactory to consider somewhat more in detail the grounds upon which the Treasury or its agents might claim this property as a subject of capture under the law of blockade and contraband.

That it had ever been exported or imported can hardly be pretended. We may safely assume that the cotton never was itself run into or out of a Southern port, in violation of a blockade; but it has been surmised that certain ideas, somewhat analogous to this, may have found a place in somebody's imagination. It may have been thought that it was purchased with the proceeds or profits of some successful blockade-running adventures. Besides, to lend a certain fanciful gravity or enormity to the supposed sin of evading a blockade, it may be suggested that the adventurers were a powerful company or association, incorporated or uncorporated. Perhaps, too, the Treasury Agents, deeming it difficult to trace this particular property to a purchase with the actual profits or proceeds of blockade running, may think it a sufficient color for their acts to insinuate that it belongs or belonged to some individual or company engaged in blockade-running. All these possible aspects of the vague accusation applied in the name above alluded to, have been presented. They will be considered.

During the war, intercourse between the adhering States and the territory proclaimed to be in insurrection was forbidden by public law and by acts of Congress. It is presumed that in reference to this cotton, no breach of this interdict will be asserted. If it should be, the invalidity of any claim founded thereon has been shown.

But the law of blockade and contraband, as connected with the claim of the Treasury Department, will be examined in reference to any possible acts of foreigners, or of the people of the States or Territories so declared to be in insurrection. In the prize cases, it was determined that "civil war produces in the nation two independent parties," and that these two parties "must necessarily be considered as constituting, at least for a time, two separate bodies, two distinct societies. Having no common superior to judge between them, they stand precisely in the same predicament as two nations who engaged in a contest, and have recourse to arms". (p. 667). From this it is deducible that the laws of war, including the rules concerning blockade and contraband, precisely as they are recognized and established in the law of nations, apply to such a war. As far as occasion occurred, the Supreme Court has uniformly applied

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them without making any distinction on account of the conflict being a civil or internal, and not a foreign war. (5 Phila. Am. Law Reg., N. S., p. 153.)

There is, however, no need of a resort to this high authority. Confiscation, without any law, cannot be claimed as a right of the government; there is no common law of the United States declaring offenses or denouncing forfeitures. (7 Cranch, 35; 13 Howard's U. S. R., 563.) There is no act of Congress on the subject of blockaders or concerning contraband of war, and it is therefore clear, under these heads of complaint, that no law can be appealed to as a justification of the seizure in question, unless it is to be found in what is called international or public law.

In respect to the point under consideration, the rules of public law concerning blockade and contraband are strictly analogous. Chief-Justice Parsons, in Richardson *v.* the Marine Insurance Company, 6 Mass. R., p. 114, says: "Goods contraband of war are of two descriptions—munitions of war, the property of a neutral bound from a foreign neutral port to the territory of either of the belligerents, and every species of neutral goods bound from a neutral port to a port belonging to either of the powers at war, and known to be blockaded by the other power." The strictness of this analogy is forcibly illustrated in the Trende Sostre, 6 C. Rob., ad. 390, note. The rules in respect to capture being founded on the same reasons, are precisely the same in both cases, and, therefore, the subject will be here treated of together.

During war a belligerent may rightfully, to the extent of his physical power, cut off the resources and cripple the commerce of his enemy, by maintaining a blockade of that enemy's ports; and he is also at liberty to prevent neutrals from carrying to his enemy articles which, from their usual connection with the support of hostilities, have been designated as contraband of war. The latter right extends to all parts of the enemy's territory, whether blockaded or not; but the only authority conceded to the belligerent by public law for the enforcement of either of these rights, is that of capturing, as prize of war, the vessel and cargo while engaged in the attempt.

It is proper to say, whilst engaged in the *attempt*, for in both cases success on the part of the carrier in achieving the act screens him from all liability to loss or injury.

Of course, this could not be the case if the act was unlawful, but it is not so. The idea of illegality does not attach to it in any just sense of the term. The law of nations deems the attempt of the carrier lawful, and the defeat of it by capture equally so. The law of nations will not sanction either the breach of a blockade by force, or any forcible resistance to capture for attempting it, or any forcible resistance to the search of a belligerent for contraband articles. (1 Kent's Com., pp. 154, 155, side paging, 8th Ed., and cases cited in notes.) But for that rule it might be said, that in this branch of the law power makes right. With that single qualification the saying is quite applicable. Mr. Woolsey, in his "Treatise on International Law," at p. 278, sec. 169, a 2d Ed., says: "The law of nations on this subject has been viewed as a kind of compromise between neutral and belligerent rights. Neutrals may legitimately carry on all sorts of trade, and belligerents may prevent all. Hence, nations have waived their rights and come to a certain middle ground; some rights of both parties are saved, and some thrown overboard.

Chancellor Kent, in 1799, while judge in the Supreme Court, speaking of contraband, says: "The fact is, that the law of nations does not declare the trade to be unlawful. It only authorizes the seizure of the contraband articles by the belligerent power." Judge Morgan Lewis, a revolutionary patriot, who was a soldier in both of our wars with Great Britain, as well as all the other judges, concurred on this point. (Seton *v.* Low, 1 John Cases, p. 5.)

This case was cited, and the doctrine reiterated and applied by the Supreme Court of Connecticut in 1822. (Pond *v.* Smith, 4 Conn. R., 303.

In Richardson *v.* the Maine Insurance Company, 6 Mass. R., 112, 113, the Court, by Chief-Justice Parker, says: "It is agreed by every civilized State, that if the subject of a neutral power shall attempt to furnish either of the belligerent sovereigns with goods contraband of war, the other may rightfully

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seize and condemn them as prize. But we do not know of any rule established by the law of nations, that the neutral shipper of goods contraband of war is an offender against his own sovereign, and liable to be punished by the municipal laws of his own country."

The same doctrine is affirmed by many other authorities.

The Santissima Trinidada, 7 Wheaton R. 340.

Dr. Lushington in the Helen, 11 London Jurist, Reports, new series, p. 1025.

Ex parte, Chavasse *in re* Grazebrook, a bankrupt, London Jurist, Reports, same vol., p. 400.

1 Kent's Com. 142, side paging, notes d. and e., 8th Ed.

Ib. Vol. 3, pp. 267, 268, and notes.

The right of capture thus accorded to the belligerent, does not apply to the cargo except whilst it is afloat, and it affects neither the ship nor the cargo after the termination of the particular voyage, in the course of which the carriage of contraband articles or breach of blockade was committed or designed, the word voyage being here employed to include not only the passage into the enemy's port, but the return passage from it.

Hazlitt & Roche, Mar. warfare, p. 175.

Chitty's Law of Nations, pp. 145, 146.

1 Duer on Ins., p. 688, Lecture 7, §83.

Woolsey on Int. Law, §188, 2d Ed.

The Margaret, 1 Acton, 335; Gen. Hamilton, 6 C. Rob., 62.

The Nancy, 3 C. Rob., 126, 127.

The Joseph, 8 Cranch, 454, 455.

Pratt on Contraband, p. 82, note 1.

Even this qualified and temporary right of capture when arising from a blockade, remains in force only during the continuance of the blockade; should the blockade cease before the termination of the voyage, the right of capture ceases with it. "It is true," said Sir William Scott in the Lisette, 6 Rob., Adm. 395, "that the offense incurred by a breach of blockade generally remains during the voyage, but that must be understood as subject to the condition that the blockade itself continues. When the blockade is raised a veil is thrown over everything that has been done."

1 Duer Ins., p. 689, Lecture 7; §86.

Woolsey, §188, 2d Ed.

Wheaton on Captures, 207, 208.

I need not repeat that the termination of the war itself put a complete end to the right of capture. It falls to the ground with all other belligerent rights.

As every ship which carried the contraband articles or violated the blockade is herself exempt from capture if she has the good fortune to complete her voyage without falling into the power of the objecting belligerent, and as the like exemption is accorded to the identical cargo that was itself successfully carried in or out, it cannot be necessary to add that the proceeds of such cargo on a sale thereof, or the goods which may have been purchased with such proceeds, are the lawful property of the carrier, and that this title thereto is altogether free from legal taint of any kind. This must be self-evident.

There is no instance of an attempt thus to extend the consequences of carrying contraband or violating a blockade. It is quite immaterial whether the persons engaged in the act are few and feeble, or numerous and powerful; whether they are associated or act singly; whether they are trading firms or incorporated companies; whether they have defied or circumvented vigilance in a single instance only, or have pursued the practice habitually for a long period. These are questions of no relevancy. There are no running or continuous accounts in such matters; each voyage is regarded as a unit, having its own aim and attended by its own peril. Capture of ship and cargo as lawful prize may be the consequence, if the objecting belligerent should be able to interrupt the voyage; but neither moral nor legal guilt is predicable of it, and no other prejudicial consequences are entailed upon it by the carrier.

Woolsey on Int. Law, §186, 2d Ed.

1 Kent's Com., 151, side paging, 8th Ed.

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IV. We have seen that upon any construction of the Treasury Agent Acts, the powers, which in this instance are claimed under them, ceased with the termination of hostilities. Common sense proves, and it is an universally received opinion, that every right of capture acquired by war, or arising from the existence of that condition, terminates immediately upon the return of peace.

Desperation may, therefore, prompt a resort to the idea that, in some technical sense, the war still exists; or, at least, that it existed to as late a period as January, 1866, when the cotton in question was seized.

The fact is manifestly otherwise. For months prior to that transaction, all resistance to Federal authority had ceased, the flag of Southern independence no longer courted the breeze, not a single bayonet of the Confederacy confronted Federal power, and the Confederacy itself was extinguished as completely as if its last champion had perished when Stonewall Jackson fell. Submission to the authority of the victorious North was absolute and perfect throughout the whole region which had been "designated as an insurrection."

The question then arises whether the Treasury Department can ignore the plain and undeniable fact, and by its mere *sic volo*, keep on foot an unilateral war against the vanquished people of the South.

No such power exists in any subordinate branch of the executive department. To admit that it exists in both the executive and legislative departments combined, would be a surrender of too much. Until the judiciary shall unite with the political departments in subverting constitutional liberty, such a surrender will not be made, nor then, unless a majority of the people shall have become fit to wear the yoke. If a power thus to create out of nothing, a war by mere construction, were conceded to the government, it may be doubted whether its consequences would be confined to continuing against the unresisting vanquished a war that might last forever. There is reason to apprehend that it would also take from the people of the victorious States all civil remedies for any arbitrary imprisonment of their persons, devastation of their property, or otherwise oppressive acts which official caprice, conscious of power and forgetting right, might choose to inflict upon them.

Prior to the recent troubles in the Southern States, it had never occurred to the judicial mind, or probably to any portion of our people, that the constitutional limitations upon governmental power over individuals, their contracts, or their property, were susceptible of being set aside by any condition of things that could possibly arise. But it seems to have been found that civil war exposed the opponents of the government during its continuance to just such treatment, whatever it might be, as in the opinion of the political departments the exigencies of public affairs demanded; and that under the pressure of that necessity, which, in the case of individuals, is commonly said to know no law, these same departments might exercise powers very nearly as unlimited, if not absolutely so, in every part of the country, and over all persons. In that silent deference to prevalent ideas which prudence may sometimes justify, this opinion concedes, as far as may be necessary to the validity or effect of any act of Congress to which it refers, that the saying *inter arma silent leges* applied to the Constitution of the United States during the whole period covered by the existence of the war by the late Southern confederacy and the Federal government. But no further concession should be made. In time of peace the government cannot exercise belligerent powers within the country against any person or property therein. (Phila. Am. Law Reg., vol. 5, N. S., p. 151.)

During that condition, at least, the Constitution has full effect and its limitations cannot be transcended. Probably this will be conceded, and resort had to the position, that war having once existed, and been recognised and belligerent powers assumed, the war may be deemed to continue, until in some solemn or distinct form, Congress or the executive shall have inaugurated a peace. If this were law, perhaps the continuance of the rebellion might be asserted. For it is true that no treaty of peace has been made with the lately insurgent States. Congress has not declared "the suppression of the rebellion," nor has the President issued any executive proclamation, precisely and in terms announcing it. No such doctrine can be maintained. The constitution may be practically sus-

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pended by the disorder and turbulence incident to an actually existing war, but fiction is a weapon quite too feeble to accomplish such a result.

Whether the existence of civil war is a matter of fact, or depends in any degree upon the observance of forms, was the precise point in issue between the learned judges of the Supreme Court in the prize cases. (2 *Black's U. S. R.* 365.)

It was asserted by the minority, that before civil war can exist in contemplation of law, it must be recognized or declared by the sovereign power; that it "can exist only by an act of Congress, which requires the consent of two of the great departments of the Government, the Executive and the Legislature." (P. 690). But the majority decided precisely the reverse. They held that the power of Congress to declare war, conferred by the Constitution, was confined to hostilities with a foreign power; that "civil war exists when the regular course of justice is interrupted by revolt or insurrection, so that courts of justice cannot be kept open." (P. 667.) They stated this to be the "true test of its evidence." They defined "war" to be that state in which a nation prosecutes its rights by force. They held that civil war need not be authenticated by documents, that it does not depend on recognition, but is an actual, as contradistinguished from a technical or constructive condition. In like manner, they held that whether at any point of time there exists a rebellion or insurrection of such quality and proportions as to constitute a civil war, and thereby to warrant the exercise of belligerent powers, or let into operation any other than the regular methods of Government prescribed by the Constitution, was a question determinable by the courts upon the actual facts. The proof of these facts was shown to be of a public nature not such as need be submitted to a jury, but such as the judiciary was bound to notice *ex-officio*. The Court declared its judgment on these points in these emphatic words: "As a civil war is never publicly proclaimed *eo nomine*, against insurgents, its actual existence is a fact in our domestic history which the Court is bound to notice and know."

The soundness of this decision will not be questioned by the Government, or by any court in the country. Its doctrines are at this moment the sheet-anchor of union, and the best safeguard of private right. It settles that a war within the United States, between the Government on one side, and the States or the people, or any portion of either upon the other, cannot be affirmatively declared by Congress. It decides, by necessary inference, that such a condition cannot be created in opposition to the fact by the mere silence of that body. It would, indeed, have been a great defect in our fundamental law, if it had permitted either of the political departments, by the mere assertion of a falsehood or the persistent non-recognition of a known truth, to cast off from itself all constitutional restraints, and thus enable itself to outlaw a disfavored portion of the Union. By determining that neither the institution of a civil war, nor the continuance of it is within the power of Congress, and that the existence or non-existence of such a condition is a fact determinable *ex certa scientia* by the judiciary, the Supreme Court has furnished the people with an impregnable defence against the abuses of executive power in time of peace.

The idea that any forms were required to consummate peace, as a legal fact after its actual restoration, finds no more countenance in any act of Congress than in the reason of the thing. Congress and the President both recognized the "rebellion," but in their acts and proclamations concerning it, each of them constantly and in numerous forms indicated that it was looked upon as a temporary disturbance, and destined to ultimate suppression, either by the voluntary submission of the insurgents or by the force of the Government. Notwithstanding their desire to exercise the rights growing out of a war, they carefully abstained from applying to the conflict that designation. The word is not used in a single legislative or executive act. It must, of course, have been contemplated "that the suppression of the rebellion" was an occurrence which, *ipso facto*, and, without further ceremony, would terminate the war; and, as no declaration of war was ever made, it follows that no proclamation of peace was needed.

Besides, if an authoritative declaration that the rebellion was suppressed before the seizure in question, was desirable, it could be produced; it was made in the

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most impressive form. The executive power is vested by the Constitution in the President of the United States. The same instrument makes it the duty of this high officer to "give to Congress from time to time information of the State of the Union." (Const., Art. 2 §1, subs. 1 and 3.)

In the exercise of this special power, he announced in the Senate, on the 18th December, 1865, "that the rebellion waged by a portion of the people against the properly constituted authorities of the Government *has been suppressed.*" He added, "that the United States are in possession of every State in which the insurrection *existed.*" In the same communication he refers incidentally to "that portion of the Union *lately* in rebellion," and says that the people thereof "are yielding obedience to the laws and Government of the United States with more willingness and greater promptitude than under the circumstances could reasonably have been anticipated."

On a question so momentous and far-reaching in its consequence as the existence of peace or war, a subordinate executive officer can have no authority to overrule the recorded judgment of his immediate Superior—the Chief Magistrate of the Union.

The Courts, as we have seen, are bound to take official notice of the fact, and consequently, they can never permit him to gainsay it, and thus, in their presence, "impugn the known truth."

CHARLES O'CONOR.

February 28th, 1866.

We fully concur with Mr. O'Conor in his conclusions, as well as in the line of argument by which he arrives at them.

We are also of opinion that the Statute of March 12, 1863, is without any authority as law, from its not having received the approval and signature of the President until after the adjournment of Congress, and that thus the whole pretended legal support of the Treasury Agent system fails.

These 136 bales of cotton having been taken in replevin in the New York Supreme Court by the owners, from those assuming to be Treasury Agents, we are of opinion that the claim of the latter is wholly untenable, and that the owners must succeed in their action.

WM. H. EVARTS,
EDWARDS PIERREPONT.
JAS. T. BRADY.

New York, March 11, 1866.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

1.—THE COTTON CROP OF THE SOUTH, AND WHAT IT COST TO PRODUCE COTTON, AND HOW GREAT A FIELD IS OPENED TO ENTERPRISE AND CAPITAL.

THE American Land Company, of New York, have published an extended list of plantations for sale, and attach to it the following considerations and statistics, which it would be well for our readers everywhere to consult:

"One hand can cultivate from eight to ten acres of cotton, and half as many more in corn.

"One mule will be required on an average to every two laborers. Two ploughs of all kinds to three mules.

"Upland produces about half a bale of cotton; best bottom-land a bale and upwards to the acre.

"A bale of ginned cotton averages 400 pounds.

"Cotton, as picked from the field, contains three pounds cotton-seed to one pound ginned cotton.

"One man will raise from eight to fifteen bales of cotton on bottom-land, from four to seven bales on upland, and, with either, 100 to 300 bushels of corn.

"The ploughing for cotton should be commenced in January. The seed should be planted in March. By the 15th of July the planter can tell, almost for a

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certainty, his year's crop. The picking begins in August, and new cotton can be in the market by October.

"Upland plantations which were assessed for taxes at from $25 to $50 per acre before the war, with all the buildings and machinery complete, can now be purchased at from $5 to $8 per acre.

"Bottom-land plantations, which were assessed for taxes at from $50 to $120 per acre before the war, with all the buildings and machinery complete, can now be purchased at from $10 to $30 per acre.

"It requires about $4,000 to grow 100 acres of cotton, $1,000 of which can be got from the crop itself.

"Cotton plantations contain on an average from 900 to 2,500 acres—some as small as 400, others as large as 5,000 acres.

"The best cotton lands of the South are within six days from Boston. They are not as far from New England, and are not by any means as difficult of access as the lands in Kansas were; and the danger, even to those who magnify it most, is not half what it was to the settler there. Yet the danger deterred no one from going there. We had a principle to settle, and we settled it right, and it remains forever. Who will help settle, by New England energy, enterprise and economy, the question of free labor upon the cotton fields of the South? It will give almost fabulous returns, pecuniarily, for the investment; it will help the poor freedmen; it will help the society at the South; it will help the country at large.

"If you wish correct, wholesome and progressive ideas established on the ruins of the now prostrate slave system of the South, do not sit idly, theorizing, moralizing and doubting, *but take hold and work*, and that speedily. Show to the South your faith in free labor, by furnishing it employment. The laborer starves and dies, or becomes a public charge and an outcast, for want of the employment your capital can give.

"The following estimate, No. 1, was made by a Northern man who is now a cotton planter in Louisiana, and is based on the high prices of the last two years. These expenses are twenty per cent. above the present rates.

"The estimate No. 2 is made by a planter of twenty years' experience in Alabama and Arkansas; a close calculation, with expenses at a minimum.

"The estimates Nos. 3 and 4 were made by a cotton planter of sixteen years' experience in planting in Mississippi; a fair calculation, and will be verified by experiment.

"The estimate No. 5 is made by a Georgia planter, for the uplands of Georgia, Alabama and North Carolina, &c.; a reliable estimate, and not too favorable.

"The estimate No. 6 is made by a man acquainted with planting more particularly in Tennessee and Virginia," &c.

ESTIMATE NO I.

Estimated Cost and Profit of a Cotton-Plantation of 1,000 Acres Open Land, and for Five Years, respectively:

Cost of Farming 1,000 Acres Cotton, First Year.	Minimum.	Maximum.
Hire and support of 100 laborers, from $15 to $25 per month, $180 to $300 per year	$18,000	$30,000
Cost of 40 Mules, at $100 to $150	4,000	6,000
Cost of Farming Implements, Carts, Harness, etc	1,500	2,000
Rent of Land, $3 to $5	3,000	5,000
Planter's services	2,000	3,000
Overseer's services	1,000	1,500
2,000 bushels Corn, 50 cents to $1	1,000	2,000
Deduct what can be used from growing crop, viz.:		
Half of hire Lands	$9,000 to	15,000
" Rent of Land	3,000 "	5,000
" Planter's services	2,000 "	3,000
" Overseer's services	500 "	750
	$14,500 to	23,750

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From $15,000 to $25,000 for first year's capital.
The crop begins to yield returns in August.

Total cost first year	$30,500 to 49,500
Deduct	14,500 to 23,750
Total capital required to be advanced for first year	$16,000 to 25,750

Cost of Farming any Year after the First.

Cost First Year		$30,500 to $49,500
Deduct cost of mules	$4,000 to $6,000	
" " corn	1,000 to 2,000	
" " for support of hands; corn and pork raised; say ⅓ hire and support	4,500 to 7,500	9,500 to 15,500
Total cost any year after first		21,000 34,000
Cost first year		30,500 49,500
Cost four subsequent years		84,000 126,000
		114,500 185,500

Proceeds of 1,000 Acres for Five Years.

From 500 to 1,000 bushels of corn per annum; from 2,500 to 5,000 bushels for five years; from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 lbs. cotton for five years, say from 10 cents to 30 cents per lb.

Gross Proceeds with Cotton.

At 10 cents per lb	$100,000 to $200,000
At 30 cents per lb	300,000 to 600,000

Without considering increase of stock.

ESTIMATE NO. II.

Cost of Farming a Plantation of 1,200 Acres Mississippi Bottom-Lands, 1,000 Open Land, for First Year:

Expenses.		Profits.	
80 hands, average of $70 each	$5,600	700 bales cotton, 400 lbs. per bale, 50c. per lb	$140,000
45 mules, cost $125 each	5,625	5,000 bushels of corn raised	3,000
1 overseer, and board	1,000	Pork raised	3,000
5,000 bushels corn	3,000	Wagons, carts	1,000
Hay	1,000	Cows, &c	1,000
Cotton seed for planting	1,000	Oxen	1 000
4 yokes of oxen	1,000	45 Mules	5,000
Milch cows	1,000	Fodder, hay, &c, &c	1,500
Stock hogs	1,000	Implements, &c	500
Ploughs, carts, implements	2,500		
Salt for stock	200		
Medical care of hands	400	Total	$156,000
Oats, rye	200	Deduct expenses	25,425
Axes, hoes, iron, steel, &c	500		
Molasses	200	Profits	$128,875
Incidental	1,200	Deduct cost of land, at $20 per acre, 1,200 acres	24,000
Total	$25,425		$104,875

The land at the end of the year will advance 100 per cent.; all the supplies will be on plantation for next year, from the products of the first year.

ESTIMATE NO. III.

Estimate of the Expense and Profit in Cultivating 650 Acres of Mississippi or Yazoo Valley Land—say 500 Acres in Cotton and 150 Acres in Corn, for First Year:

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Expenses.

To hire of 50 hands, at $120 per annum	$6,000
" 50 bbls. mess pork, at $35 per bbl	1,750
" 12 bbls. molasses, at $40 per bbl	500
" Clothing for 50 hands, at $40 to $50 each	2,500
" Medicines and medical attention	750
" 25 mules, at $125 each	3,125
" 2,500 bushels of corn, at $1 per bushel	2,500
" Fodder and hay	1,000
" Wagons, ploughs, hoes, gearing, &c., &c	2,000
" Wages of Superintendent, &c	1,000
" Oxen, milch cows, &c	1,000
" Stock hogs, to raise bacon for next year	750
" Incidental expenses	2,125
Total expenses	$25,000

Profits.

By 500 bales of cotton, of 400 lbs each, at 30 cents per lb	$60,000
" 5,000 bushels of corn, at 75 cents per bushel	3,750
" Fodder and hay	1,500
	$62,250
Deduct expenses	25,000
Leaving for net profit	$40,250

Such a plantation can be purchased for from $10,000 to $15,000; good buildings, &c. The land will double its value in the purchaser's hands, in addition to the profits of the crop.

A plantation in the Mississippi Valley that would have 650 acres of open land, would probably contain 1,500 in the entire tract; and estimating this at $20 per acre, would make $30,000, which, deducted from $40,250, the net amount of profit would leave $10,250 as clear profit, besides having paid for 1,500 acres of lands, and the mules, cattle, hogs, wagons, farming implements, &c.

ESTIMATE NO. IV.

If a first-class upland or creek-bottom plantation is cultivated, then, in 1,500 acres of land, 1,000 acres would probably be open land; and cultivating 700 acres of this in cotton and 300 acres in corn, the expenses of cultivation would not exceed, say $27,000. The product would be at least:

350 bales of Cotton, of 400 lbs. each, at 30 cents	$42,000
6,000 bushels of Corn, at 75 cents	4,500
Fodder and Hay	2,500
	$49,000
Deduct Expenses	27,000
Leaving a clear profit of	$22,000
Deduct the cost of 1,500 acres of first-class upland	15,000
Leaving for net profit:	$7,000

This leaves a clear profit of $7,000, besides paying for 1,500 acres of first-class upland or creek-bottom land, and all the mules, cattle, hogs, and plantation tools and implements.

In the valley plantations generally, only about one-third the lands are opened for cultivation, and in the upland and creek-bottom plantations, about two-thirds; the remainder of the lands, in both cases, being wood and pasture lands, which can be reduced to cultivation, from year to year, as required.

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In the Mississippi and Yazoo Valley, about ten acres, and in the upland and creek-bottom lands about twelve and a half to fourteen acres per hand, are cultivated in cotton. The average production of the valley lands is about 400 lbs. of cotton per acre, and, in the first-class upland and creek-bottom lands, about 200 to 300 lbs. per acre.

ESTIMATE NO. V.

ESTIMATE COST OF RAISING UPLAND COTTON.—Planting 100 acres in Cotton, and the same quantity in Corn; employing ten good hands.

Expenses:	
120 bushels Corn, $90; Bacon, $273	$363
5 mules, $90; provender, $360	450
5 Ploughs, $40; 2 carts, $60; 1 wagon, $100	200
Hoes, and other utensils	100
Ten laborers, $120	1,200
Total	$2,313
Products:	
300 lbs. Cotton to the acre, 30,000 lbs. at 40c	$12,000
30 bush. Corn to the acre, 3,000 bush., at 75c	2,250
	$14,250
Leaving net profit	$11,937

Remember there is nothing difficult or scientific in the raising of cotton; the least skilled labor in the world, under the most unskilful direction and management, has made the fortunes of those engaged in it. Our New England farmers can learn it without an effort in a single season, or can manage a plantation with the aid of an experienced overseer, at once. Men laboring for a bare living here, can, at the South, with the present prices of land, amass a fortune in two years.

ESTIMATE NO. VI.

ESTIMATE ON A FARM OF 40 ACRES.—10 acres in Cotton, 15 acres in Corn, Potatoes, Fruit, &c., 15 acres in Wood-land, for fires, fences, &c., by his own labor only.

The land will cost from $5 to $20 per acre, according to locality and improvements. Corn at 75 cents per bushel; bacon, at 15 cents per pound.

Expenses per year:	
Food for himself, Corn, 12 bush., $9; Bacon, or equivalent, 200 lbs., $30	$39 00
Mule, $100; provender, $60	160 00
Cost of cart, $40; ploughs, $12	52 00
Hoes, &c.	10 00
	$261 00
Products:	
Clean Cotton, 3,000 lbs.	$1,200 00
Corn, 300 bushels	225 00
Fodder, 2,500 lbs.	18 75
	$1,443 75
Deduct	261 00
Net profits	$1,182 75
Add value of mule, &c.	120 00
	$1,302 75

It may be said, generally, that an industrious man can, on a farm of the

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ove description, support himself, family and stock well, and raise from 6 10 bales of cotton clear of all expense. The estimate of 300 lbs, cotton per acre is quite moderate, as 400 lbs., and more, are often raised.

6.—THE COTTON FIELDS OF THE SOUTH.

The following is a very thorough discussion of the cotton question, and shows very clearly the injurious effects of an export duty and the splendid results to be derived for the cotton culture in the future:

Cotton, which has been very aptly styled the great promoter of civilization, can be more easily raised in, and the world supplied with it at a cheaper rate by this country than anywhere else on the face of the globe; for in no other land are proper soil, climate, facility of transportation—all three requisites—to be found fortuitously combined. It is true that the cotton plant can be grown in many other parts of the world, but rarely under such circumstances as to yield a profitable crop. In a tropical climate the cotton plant retains its foliage and throws out constant shoots, the results of which is, to exclude the sun and air from the bolls, and thereby to cause them to open slowly, and generally to the great damage of the cotton. The picking is also rendered more difficult. In the United States, however, and nowhere else in the world, the frost comes just at the proper time—that is, when the plant has formed ample bolls—and kills the foliage. This gives the sun and air, free access to the bolls, causing them to open readily and accomodatingly (so to speak), and thus enabling the picker to gather three times more cotton than he could if the foliage was preserved, and of a better stability too.

Heretofore in this country, cotton has been almost exclusively the product of slave labor; but, slavery having ceased to exist, we must of course, in the future, rely upon free labor. The country, so far, at any rate, as cotton is concerned, will loose nothing by the change. With free labor, properly systematized and regulated, less capital will be required to raise a given amount of cotton than with slave labor, as heretofore, Before proceeding to demonstrate the truth of this assumption, a few preliminary suggestions may be allowed.

Cotton, to be very profitable, should be cultivated on a large scale. The plantation should be of not less than from one thousand to five thousand acres. It should be provided with gins and presses, conveniently located and sufficient to insure the cotton, the moment it is dry enough, being ginned, pressed and sent to market, and converted into gold. The gin and press will be a mint, certain to coin fortunes for those interested. To provide these, of course, will require capital. Some fifty years ago, small farmers were wont to raise a few acres of cotton. They picked it slowly and sold it to speculators, who hauled it a distance of miles to a gin, where it was obliged, generally, to remain in store for a considerable time before it was ginned. The delay frequently caused the cotton retaining the seeds and stored in quantities, to become damaged. The result was, to confine the culture to large landowners and capitalists almost exclusively.

The cotton plant, it should be remembered, does not impoverish the soil. Lands where the soil is not friable and liable to be washed away by the rains in time of cultivation, can be preserved by a rotation of crops of corn and beans, one in every four or five years, for the growth of cotton to the end of time. The branches and foliage which fall from the plant, return to mother earth the invigorating principle which she has imparted to it. Cotton, unlike some other plants, does not rob the soil; it but borrows its wealth, to return it again, almost intact. Its product, then, is more lasting, if, indeed, it is not more profitable, than all the gold mines of the country. All that is required to make it so is, that we shall be able to produce it, and sell it at from fourteen to fifteen cents per pound; for at that price, the world will cease to compete with us in its production. That we can so produce and sell it, and at a large profit, is beyond question.

A plantation, say of four or five thousand acres of well cleared land, would require one hundred and fifty good field laborers. These, provided with the necessary improved implements, can raise cotton plants sufficient to yield from six to seven

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million pounds of cotton, gross—that is to say, including the seeds. Three and a half pounds of cotton gross will yield one pound of cotton net,—that is divested of the seeds. To raise this crop would require the labor of the field hands for a period of about five months. For the picking of a crop raised by one hundred and fifty field laborers, the services of five hundred persons would be needed, also for about five months; and just here, is where the superiority of the free over the slave labor is more apparent. Under the slave system, the cotton grower was forced to maintain all the year round a force of laborers for whose services he had need for only a portion of the time; hence, by the free labor system, he will only have to pay for services actually needed and rendered. Besides, to pay the cotton pickers will not necessitate a draft upon his capital, for they can be compensated from the crop as it is gathered. Women and children of from fourteen to fifteen years of age can pick as much cotton as adult males—indeed, the women generally pick the most.

The laborers would thus be divided into two classes—the field hands and the pickers. The field hands might be paid forty dollars per month (a high rate of wages), during five months, and the pickers one cent per pound for all they pick; then two hundred pounds or more per day, and at one cent per pound, they would earn very handsome wages.

Based upon this calculation, the figures and the result would be as follows:

150 field laborers, five months at $40 per month	$30,000
500 boys, girls, men and women to pick, after deducting rainy days, say ninety days good picking during the season, to average 150 pounds per day each 6,750,000 pounds at one cent per pound	67,500
Total expenses for labor	$97,500
6,750,000 pounds of cotton, with the seed, at four cents per pound, gross, or at fourteen cents per pound, net	$270,000
Balance	$172,500

In brief, one hundred and fifty laborers can raise an amount of cotton that will realize for the producer when sold, at fourteen cents per pound, the sum of $270,000, and leave, after paying the laborers and pickers, a balance in his favor of $172,500. After paying all other possible expenses, what a splendid profit would remain!

For the gathering of cotton, really no cash capital is required to be provided, for the crop itself should bear the expense. Cotton picked one week, should be ginned, baled and shipped to market the next, and in that way ample means would be obtained and provided promptly to pay the pickers.

The payment of one cent per pound for the picking of cotton, would induce whole families living on the upper Mississippi and its tributaries, annually to come down to the cotton growing regions to engage in the business. They could come after their wheat and oats had been harvested—say, the 1st of September—and, remaining until December, make more money than during the whole of the other nine months on their farms. The cost of the trip down, on the steamers, especially if they took a deck passage, would be merely nominal, and they could take with them sufficient of flour and meat, to last them during the picking season. Of course, it would be necessary that the plantations be provided with proper habitations for these people during the season, and with baskets, etc., for their use in picking. The cotton, as picked, could be weighed in the field each day, and each picker be given a ticket, redeemable in money as evidence of the sum he or she had earned. The keeping of and settling of these accounts would be a very simple and easy matter.

Is there not in the fact here presented, a sufficient inducement for capitalists to invest their money in the production of cotton? Indeed, is there any other investment offering, with such absolute certainty almost, so speedy and profitable a return? New York City should commence at once with the organization of a stock company, with a capital of at least ten millions of dollars. The general government, also, should hold out every possible inducement to encourage the growth of cotton, and the selling of it at so cheap a rate as to effectually pre

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vent its production abroad. The South is now almost a waste and wilderness, and time will be required ere the ravages of the war can be repaired. Unaided by Northern capltal, it cannot for years resume the culture of cotton on the scale it was carried on before the war; and not then even, if government shall impose any restrictions upon it in the shape of tax. The levying of an export duty upon cotton, as some are urging, would be unwise, for two reasons at least. It would restrain production and enhance the price. The result would be, to stimulate its production in other lands. The cotton there raised, would be of inferior quality, it is true, but it would be consumed, and the United States be deprived of so much gold. At the prices at present obtained for it, cotton can be raised with profit even in hot-houses, and we may therefore be assured, that if such prices are maintained, its production will be stimulated everywhere, even though success be but problematical. As near as could be ascertained, the annual consumption of cotton by the civilized world, was above seven million bales, or about three billions five hundred million pounds, net. This, at fifteen cents per pound, would realize the snug little sum of five hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars.

This country alone, I believe, raised in one year four millions of bales. This, added to what was then produced, caused a glut in the markets of the world, and the result was, that the price of cotton fell as low as seven and eight cents per pound. Eventually the effect was beneficial, so far as the country was concerned, for its cultivation in nearly every other land was abandoned. But the present high prices will inevitably cause the renewal of the efforts in other countries to cultivate cotton. And more especially will this be the result should our government levy a heavy export duty upon it. Fix the standard price of cotton at eighteen to twenty cents per pound—and an export duty will be sure to do it—and at that price cotton will be raised abroad to an extent sufficient to supply at least one-half the demand.

Missouri Vineyards.—Prof. Waterhouse, of St. Louis, in a series of articles demonstrating the advantages of Missouri as a home for emigrants, considers incidentally its adaptability for grape culture. He states that in Southern Missouri there are fifteen millions of acres of land, elevated from 1,000 to 1,500 feet above the sea, and with a dry and light soil, abounding in lime, soda, potash, magnesia and phosphoric acid, the chief elements entering into the structure of the grape vine. The composition of the soil is very much like that of the vine lands of Germany and France, the surface being in many places terraced, as if nature had intended it for the vine-dresser. On these broad acres a population of two millions can raise a thousand millions of gallons of wine, and the professor feels confident that Missouri is destined to be "the vineyard of America." Three hundred and fifty dollars an acre will prepare land for grape culture in Missouri, and one hundred dollars an acre spent annually will cultivate it. Two hundred and fifty gallons of wine can be produced from an acre, which, at two dollars a gallon, yield five hundred dollars.

DEPARTMENT OF FREEDMEN.

1.—THE FREEDMEN OF TENNESSEE.

Major-General O. O. Howard recently received a report from Brig.-Gen. C. B. Fisk, Assistant Commissioner of Freedmen's Affairs for the State of Tennessee, in which he states that throughout the State there is a steady advancement in good order, education, industry and justice. The superintendents, chosen generally from citizens, have earnestly and successfully labored to place the freedmen in good houses at fair wages, or a share of the crops raised. But few dependent upon the Government charity are now in the State. In December only $520.28 were expended in subsistence to the poor. Organizations among the freedmen themselves, for the relief of their own poor, have rendered valu-

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able service. The Nashville Provident Association, a society conducted by the colored people of that city, has its coal and wood depots, soup-houses, physicians, &c. The Legislature has, by recent enactment, admitted colored persons to the rights of suitors and witnesses in the courts of the State, and the law will become operative at an early date. Preparations are being made for vigorous industry in the coming year, fences are being rebuilt, plantations stocked, and a general determination manifested to redeem the waste places, repair the desolation of war, and again place the Commonwealth on the high road to prosperity.

2.—THE FREEDMEN IN GEORGIA.

E. B. Adams, a Special Agent of the American Union Commission, after a recent trip through Georgia, reports as follows to the Association:

"There are in Georgia about half a million of negroes, every one of whom deserves pity and aid. As a class they appear to be idle, vagrant, thieving and licentious. They congregate about cities in hosts. A great many live on the resources of the Bureau for Refugees and Freedmen, a great many on small short jobs and pilfering, a few on constant, manly labor. On such material General Tillson, Assistant Commissioner for Georgia, has been working. His success speaks well for the negro, well for the people of Georgia, and well for himself. Under his regime, the negroes are improving, the white people are becoming conciliated, and the perplexing question of labor re organization is finding a speedy solution. Through curiosity to form an independent idea of the race, I used often to question them on various subjects. I found their general idea of freedom to be, naturally enough, idleness and license. I found their general idea of a suffrage to be very crude and indistinct. I found, among them, a real desire to study and learn. The sentiment of the people toward the negro is not one of love; nor indeed is it one of hatred. I have conversed with many who were formerly slaveholders. They universally concede to him actual freedom, and cheerfully maintain that economy prompts this feeling. I have yet to hear one say that he is sorry slavery is abolished. Aside from the fact of losing property, they claim that the relief from the care and expense of their support is a greater good than their services in the same length of time. There appears to be no reasonable ground for the statement that the South would desire to reinstate slavery, if they had to purchase anew the slaves. Entertaining this view, the people, as a whole, appear to observe a great indifference toward the projects for negro development and protection. There appears to be no inclination on their part to assume any care of the negro, either mental or physical. They bury him when dead, not, however, for respect to his person, but to remove the nuisance. There is, however, a commendable anxiety on the part of the religious societies of the State for his spiritual welfare, and they do as much as reasonable men could expect. Plans, properly conducted, for his elevation, by people of the North, will receive the sympathy of this last class, and probably will not incur the detestation of any. The very bitterest say: "You have brought them into their present condition—now take care of them; make men of them if you can."

3.—THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU AND THE FREEDMEN.

W. H. Trescott, of South Carolina, has written a series of letters in review of the action of the Freedmen's Bureau which are very interesting and instructive. What he says of the results so far of this experiment in his State are worthy of extract:

"In considering the present relation between the former owner and the freedman, there is one fact which it seems impossible for Northern statesmen either to understand or to believe, and that is, the unanimity and honesty with which the Southern slaveholders have accepted emancipation. And yet it is easily explained. In the first place, the progress of the United States armies discovered to every thinking man (and where pecuniary interests are concerned most men think) the weakness of that sort of property. It was "riches which take to

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themselves" feet and walk away. The mere approach of an army broke up whole estates, ruined large fortunes, and, even after their withdrawal, left labor so disorganized that years of peace could scarcely guarantee its restoration; and with the failure of the Confederacy all possibility of its maintenance disappeared. Again, the events of the war had compelled such a relaxation of the old discipline, the necessity of organizing the negroes into troops, which was recognized just previous to Gen. Lee's surrender, satisfied the slaveholders that, even with success, the institution had to undergo very large modifications; and we think we may safely say that no large and intelligent slaveholder expected to maintain slavery as it existed before the war. But, in the third place, there was an universal recognition of the admirable fidelity with which the negroes had conducted themselves during the war. In the absence of their masters, with great relaxation in their usual discipline, with temptation, nay, with diabolic provocation to crime in many instances, they had remained faithful, protecting the families, feeding the armies, and tilling the soil of the Confederacy. They heard of the freedom which was coming. But there was no impatience, no insubordination, no violence. They waited patiently the appointed time; and when that time came the masters recognized it. It is true that we would have preferred to settle this question ourselves, for we believed that we best understood its conditions; but with us it was so involved with other questions—with security of debts, family settlements, pecuniary and business relations—that it was felt that some such crisis alone could solve it. And when the crisis did come, it found the master prepared to meet it, and to meet it in a spirit of kindness to his former slave. No one will deny that there were cases where old prejudices were hard to conquer, where the new freedom excited to insolence, and where, in consequence, there were sometimes instances of unjust violence on both sides. But, as a general rule, this revolution—a revolution unparalleled in its radical change—was effected with less disturbance of interests, and less malignity of feeling, than has ever been exhibited in the history of social and political change. In the lower part of the State, the slaves who remained upon the plantations, and they were the great majority, have been free since the invasion and occupation of the seacoast. In the upper part of the State they have been practically free only since the surrender of the Confederate armies. We will speak of the upper country first, but of both we speak from practical experience. Where they had not been affected by the presence of colored troops, whose appearance has been a sure prelude to disaffection and disorder, they received their freedom quietly and soberly. Their conduct was orderly, and they remained pretty steadily at work on the farms with their former masters, a very general disposition being manifested to adjust the terms of compensation upon a reasonable basis. If this state of things had remained undisturbed, one great advantage would have followed. The profits of planting in this section having been derived hitherto chiefly from the increase of the negroes, and this being stopped by the destruction of their character as property, the large planters would, at the close of 1865, have reduced their agricultural force and have lost all inducements to the further purchase of land. The small farmers would thus have been enabled to hire two or three freedmen apiece. This small force they could feed abundantly, clothe comfortably, and pay fairly. The freedmen would have been doing well, and the farmer enabled to plant more, make more, and as lands came into market, purchase, free from the unequal competition of large slaveholders. Working in the field themselves with their hired laborer, as they habitually do, this labor would have been directed with energy and economy, and the country improved, as it always is improved by the existence of a class of moderate, thrifty and independent landowners. But this state of things did not continue. The presence, throughout the winter, of colored troops, the persistent teachings of the Bureau, which, after the surrender, spread rapidly all over the state, induced the negro to believe that the lands of the white man were to be divided among them. The condition of things in and about Beaufort, the doings and saings of General Saxton, "the Deliverer," as he was called, were exaggerated by ignorance, often by intention. The low-country negroes who had been carried into the interior, insisted upon returning to receive their

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shares of their old homes. The up-country negro became dissatisfied. He could not understand, why land should be given only to the freedman in certain localities. He did not believe it, and he refused to make contracts upon the ground that, after Christmas or New Year's day, lands would be given to all freedmen throughout the State, or he refused wages, and proposed to go where better fortunes was assured him. Of course this feeling produced discontent, impatience, and insurbodination, irritation on both sides, which became more mischievous the more it was prolonged. Certain it is, that in this section, on many farms black labor was abandoned, places being leased in small homesteads to white labor exclusively; and the opportunity for an increased field of enterprise for moderate white labor, and an improved condition for black, which might easily have been secured, has been lost by this unnecessary and unnatural disturbance of their proper relations.

In the rice region of the low country, where the negroes were collected in very large numbers, where freedom came in most cases as the result of armed invasion, where there had been no concentration of a large military force, controlled by discipline, and teaching by example that liberty is not license, the insubordination was very great; and although within the control of the Bureau, and included in the lines of General Sherman's order, they had been left very much to their own devices. It would scarcely be an exaggerated description, then or now, to say that they were an idle, drunken, armed and defiant mob.

In the long-staple section of the state, the condition of things was somewhat different. The negroes in this section had enjoyed their liberty for three or four years, on account of its early military occupation, and were more accustomed to it. Owing to the general absence of their former masters, they had none of the disputes as to relative rights which occurred elsewhere. At Beaufort and Hilton Head there were organized, at an early period, large civil and military establishments, which not only enforced order, but encouraged and directed the industry of great numbers of the new freedmen, and some systematic effort had been made for their education. Insubordination and theft were earlier checked here than elsewhere, and the power of the Government had been more constantly present. We think it just to say, from personal observation, that the better class of freedmen were improved, doing better and working more steadily than we expected. About Beaufort and Hilton Head there was an amount of vice and vagabondage incompatible with the interest of any well ordered and permanent society; but this would probably, by the operation of general causes, be extinguished. In the country, many of the freedmen were trying honestly to support themselves, and showing an advance, both in alertness of intellect and habits of thrift, while their conduct to such of their former masters as had returned to visit them, was marked, universally, by courtesy and kindness. If this be due to General Saxton's presence, let all credit be given him for it. But here we must stop. The country itself, one of the most highly cultivated portions of the globe five years ago, had rapidly and hopelessly degenerated. The culture was miserable, and no effort has been made, or was being made, to improve or maintain the soil by manures. There was no animal power, no systematic labor. The provision crop of 1865 will not feed the people until the spring of 1866. The cotton crop has been a signal failure. And yet, in many cases, the freedmen were working for themselves, on lands of their former masters—lands for which, as we understood them, they paid no rent, and which had formerly been improved at very heavy expenditure; and the laborers themselves were above the average, both as to character and industry."

DEPARTMENT OF MISCELLANY.

1.—THE UNITED STATES IN 1860.

The last Census of the United States which was taken preceded immediately the breaking out of civil war, and will therefore be an interesting point of comparison with those which are to come hereafter.

The readers of the Review will desire to preserve the results for constant reference.

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POPULATION 1860.

STATES.	White.	Slave.	Total Including free col.	STATES.	White.	Slave.	Total including free col.
Alabama	526,431	435,080	964,201	Pennsylvania	2,849,266	.....	2,906,115
Arkansas	324,191	111,115	435,450	Rhode Island	170,668	.....	174,620
California	861,358	.....	805,439	South Carolina	291,388	402,406	703,703
Connecticut	451,590	.....	460,147	Tennessee	826,782	275,719	1,109,801
Delaware	90,589	1,798	112,216	Texas	421,294	182,566	604,215
Florida	77,748	61,745	140,425	Virginia	1,047,411	490,865	1,596,318
Georgia	591,588	462,198	1,057,286	Vermont	314,389	.....	315,098
Illinois	1,704,323	.....	1,711,951	Wisconsin	774,710	.....	775,881
Indiana	1,339,000	.....	1,350,428				
Iowa	673,844	.....	674,948		26,703,157	3,950,505	31,149,581
Kansas	106,579	2	107,206				
Kentucky	919,517	225,483	1,155,684	TERRITORIES.			
Louisiana	357,629	331,726	708,002				
Maine	626,592	.....	628,279	Colorado	34,231	.....	34,277
Maryland	515,918	87,189	687,049				‡2,261
Massachusetts	1,221,464	.....	1,231,066	Dakotah	2,576	.....	2,576
Michigan	742,314	.....	749,113	Nebraska	28,759	15	28,841
Minnesota	173,596	.....	173,855	Nevada	6,812	.....	6,857
Mississippi	353,901	436,631	791,305				‡10,507
Missouri	1,063,599	114,931	1,182,012	New Mexico	82,924	.....	83,009
New Hampshire	325,579	.....	326,073	Utah	40,214	29	40,273
New Jersey	646,689	18	672,035				‡426
New York	3,831,730	.....	3,880,735	Washington	11,138	.....	11,168
North Carolina	631,100	331,059	992,622	Dis. of Columbia	60,764	3,185	75,080
Ohio	2,302,888	.....	2,339,502				
Oregon	52,337	.....	52,465	Total	26,975,575	3,953,760	31,443,321

‡ Indiana.

NOTE.—Arizona has been taken from New Mexico and Idaho from Dakotah, etc., since the census of 1860, and formed into new Territories.

2.—VAST RESOURCES OF TENNESSEE.

We have no doubt of the magnified future which is open to Tennessee, when the era of good feeling is restored, and the angry passions which rule the hour have subsided. To bring about this happy result, we shall co-operate heartily with our fellow citizens. Nashville and Memphis will then take place among the proudest emporiums of the country, and will attract a dense and wealthy population. Already, Memphis is advancing with great rapidity, and a recent spirit of manufacturing enterprise awaking in Nashville, gives much encouragement for her future. The *Nashville Dispatch* says with truth of the resources of the State:

Not one of the thirty-six States now composing this grand imperial Republic, nor of the thirty odd yet to be formed from its present and future domain, unite within an equal area industrial resources so rich and so varied as does our goodly State. The political and military renown of Tennessee has long since earned for it, the title of GREAT—an epithet which we have within a few weeks past noticed, freely applied to it, by both American and British papers. In these respects, we have a national and European fame. Not least among the rulers of America has it long been, and is likely to be, our proud, yet just boast. Equally high will be our rank in the annals of national prosperity, unless the gifts of nature are marred by unwise human interference.

The space of a single editorial is hardly sufficient for a bare summary of the principal features which, combined, furnish so rich and so remarkable a whole. The peculiar point is this, there is scarcely a great national staple which Tennessee is not capable of producing in a notable degree, and that the same remark cannot be made of any other State with equal force. To her mother, North Carolina, and to her daughter, Arkansas, it is alone applicable.

The geographical position and the geological formation of Tennessee are such as to bring about the singular result, that, with the exception of rice, sugar and turpentine, all the great staples of commerce may in large quantities be procured within her limits. In West and Middle Tennessee, cotton has long been the great staple; and, as Gov. Brownlow proves in his ablest Message, will long continue such. The wheat of East and Middle Tennessee, has for years ranked in the New York market, as equal to the best. The tobacco of the northern

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counties has, time out of mind, been a rich mine of wealth. Maize, our commercial prince, upon which more than on any other single article our prosperity has been founded, will for all coming time, make us renowned for pork, beef and old Robertson. Wool equal to any in the world has been grown in Tennessee to the high renown of the successful producer. In fine horses and cattle, Sumner and other counties have made rapid advances in the fair fame of Kentucky. The opposite side of the State furnishes gold, and the Ocoee district, for aught known to the country, may yet figure conspicuously among auriferous regions. When we turn our eyes to the east—to the Switzerland of America—underneath the soil, the geologist discovers scenes as richly variegated, as gorgeously beautiful, as does the poet above. Zinc, the telegraphic metal—the demand for which, increases with every mile of telegraph, terrestrial or submarine—long since attracted the notice of the late eminent geologist, Troost. Marble, in richness and variety unsurpassed, as attested by our National Capitol, there abounds. Copper, commercially the cousin of gold and silver, is demonstrated to exist in inexhaustible quantities. The iron of East as well as other portions of Tennessee, has long ranked it among the great iron States, and very high at that. Coal, without which no great manufacturing community can thrive, underlies in rich abundance our mountain plateaus. And now when a new and wonderful product of the earth's bowels attracts the attention of the commercial and scientific world, geology shows that the narrow strip of territory most likely to reward the search after petroleum extends clear across the State from North to South. Hastily have we glanced at a few salient points in our brief and imperfect view of the material resources of Tennessee. To the development and fruition of these brilliant heritages, capital and confidence are indispensable. Nature has done enough for us. Let our rulers do a little.

3.—FRENCH ENTERPRISE IN VIRGINIA.

If we are not very much mistaken, the arrangements which have recently been completed in Virginia by Messrs. Bellot des Minieres and Company, will do more to "restore the prestige of the Latin races in America," than twenty Maximilians. These French capitalists, who are proprietors of vast tracts of land in the Old Dominion, including extensive coal and iron fields, have succeeded at last, in obtaining a charter from both the Virginia legislatures, entitling them to complete the James river and Kanawha canal; that property having passed into their hands by transfer from original corporation. By means of this great work the Ohio will be connected with the seaboard, and a safe, cheap and very direct communication be opened up to the West. Nor is this all. France needs coal, iron, ship timber, and these are to be found in immense quantities along the line of the proposed highway. It is the intention of the French company to avail itself of these resources, and with the active co-operation of the home government to proceed at once, as soon as the canal shall be cut through, to a systematic development of the untold mineral and agricultural wealth of the Alleghany region.

An immigration of thrifty French artisans and agriculturists, will be an essential national benefit. The skilled workmen and the peasant class of that country, are among the most industrious in the world, and their one fault, a certain narrowness of vision, which is a consequent of their poverty, and which leads them into a sort of Poor Richard Wisdom, will wear away under the sharp attrition of new circumstances. They will give and take. They will give us what is sorely needed—a careful habit of economy in the small transactions of life; and they will receive something of the national energy and breadth of ideas.

If they come in any considerable numbers, there must spring up a common feeling between the two nations, which will make war more and more impossible. The interests of both America and France lie on the side of industrial and not military glory. And the people of the latter country are well aware of this, despite the policy of Napoleon III.

We see, therefore, in the project of Messrs. Bellot des Minieres, a peace movement of gigantic proportions, and one that will be very helpful toward a wise solution of the diplomatic difficulties now existing.—*N. Y. Post.*

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EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANIES.

THE Editor of the REVIEW, having been summoned as a witness before the *Reconstruction Committee of Congress*, testified very fully on the subject of the general condition of the South, and of its fitness in every respect to be restored to its constitutional relations. The radicals and fanatics who now seek to keep the South out of the Union are the only real disunionists in the country, and have been properly denounced by the Executive. They are responsible for whatever bitterness of feeling exists, and unless a more generous policy obtains, the restoration of law and harmony must be very long postponed. The following is a very brief and condensed statement of our replies to the leading questions propounded by the Committee, arranged under their respective heads:

The South Acquiesces.—There seems to be a general, nay, universal acquiescence in the results of the war, though much dissatisfaction prevails in reference to the course pursued by Congress. The people, having fairly and honestly tried the experiment of secession, are satisfied with the result, and there is no disposition in any quarter, in any shape or form, to embarrass the United States Government, or to refrain from the performance of all the duties of citizenship. Those in favor of or opposed to secession are agreed that it is our best interest to accept what the Government has done in reference to the negro, as well as in reference to other matters.

The Freedmen's Bureau is universally complained of as a great evil to the whites as well as the blacks, and has been the cause of much heartburning and a feeling of hostility which did not exist at the time of the surrender. The hostility is not serious, and would speedily yield on the adoption of liberal measures by Congress.

Military Force.—None whatever is required at the South, except what the States themselves would furnish. Order has been completely restored.

Treatment of Union Men.—There is a prejudice against those who remained in the South and pretended fealty to it, but who now, for interested motives, set up that they were always loyal to the Union. Much deception of the kind is practised. Union men, who left the country for that reason, and took no part in the war, are respected when they return. The prejudice never amounts to hostility, and no one would be molested in any manner on that account. I know of no exceptions. Such persons require no protection. There might be some little unkindness of look or expression towards them, and they would not expect freedom of social intercourse. No attempt would be made by any one to interfere with their personal and political rights—none whatever.

Treatment of Northern Men.—The secession men—the men who were in the war—are generally ruined, and their families destitute; and there is, for this reason, a disposition to sustain them if they undertake any business. Actual sympathy with their opinions must, of course, have its weight. On the other hand, there are many who are in flourishing business—Northern men, who came to the South during or since the war, and who conduct the most extensive and lucrative operations. The discrimination, where it exists, is merely social. At present it is well marked. I have never known it to take an offensive shape. There is coolness, reserve, but nothing more. Ladies at parties may not receive the attentions of Federal officers, yet the festivities go on in the same room, and no unpleasantness occurs. The feeling is stronger than it was. It is the result of political causes. It will wear away.

Will the South support the Union against a Foreign Power?—Many young men might be tempted to fight against the flag; but ninety-nine in the hundred of the people are sick of war, and would sustain the United States, beyond a doubt; if not from affection, at least from a conviction of the overwhelming power of the Federal Government. After the results of the late war, they would know any opposition to be hopeless. Besides, all foreign powers are hated and despised, because of their course towards the Confederacy, and would never be trusted; and none are believed to be able to cope with the United States.

Do the People expect Pay for their Slaves?—This matter is sometimes discussed, but no expectation of the kind exists. It would be difficult of discernment between slaves and other property; and the conflict between claimants would defeat any scheme. The non-slaveholders—the vast majority—would ask why pay for slaves and not pay us for our property too?

Political Elections in Future.—There are so few men on the Union side from

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whom the choice could be made, and the proportion of talent and worth is so overwhelmingly on the other side, that there is but little option. Other things being equal, they would prefer men in sympathy with them. There are many and notable exceptions, and such will become more and more frequent.

Fraternity.—The country is so desolate, there is so much distress, so much want and suffering among the people of the South, that they have no time for politics.. They are disposed to go to work to restore their broken fortunes. If the exciting, annoying, and irritating causes were removed, it would not be six months before the feeling between Northern and Southern men would be softened, and a restoration of harmony would be hastened. The very necessities of our condition require it. We would find Northern men bringing their capital and industry among us, and they would be welcomed. Labor and capital we must have. The negro is defective as a laborer. There was even under the old system a deficiency of labor at the South.

Treatment of the Negro.—He is not held responsible for what has happened. A kindly feeling exists towards him. The disposition is to provide for his necessities and secure his rights, and thus make him a cheerful and reliable laborer. It is believed to be the interest of the employer to do this. I know of some who provide teachers and preachers. No outside interference is necessary. This is no new matter with us. We have had free negroes in all time. There were some three hundred thousand at the South before the war, and half as many at the North. Our treatment of them was never complained of. No charges of that kind came even from the North. When I was at the head of the United States Census Office, in 1853, I compared the condition of these people in both sections, and published the results. The advantage in education and property was largely in favor of the Southern freedmen. Some of our freedmen owned large plantations and slaves; many were extensive property holders. If without outside pressure this was the case then, why not now? Why should we change? What policy, to say no more, would be subserved? We can do right now as well as then, and will do it.

Emancipation as Compared with Slavery.—If the negro works up to the former standard the present system is cheaper. It is too soon to decide whether he will work. A summer must come and go. They work very well so far generally, though the women are not disposed to field work. Upon the mere money question the South would be benefited. If we can get the labor, it will be cheaper to hire than to own the negro. A plantation could be worked with little outlay.

Effect upon the Negro.—Emancipation will prove disastrous to him. I judge that from the experience of other countries, and not from any we have yet had. I judge by his thriftless character, and disposition to crowd into the cities and towns. It is what I see all over the South. In the suburbs everywhere you will see them crowded in miserable shanties, eking out a very uncertain subsistence. The mortality among them has been frightful.

Civil Rights to the Freedman.—There is a willingness to extend every right whatever except that of suffrage. He is not thought fit to exercise that. Were he to vote his inclination would be on the side of his employer; but that might, and perhaps would, be counteracted by emissaries sent into the country. Northern men who have come to the South since the war very generally think as we do in these matters. They say they have found our experience worth more than their theories. The negro is not thought to be susceptible of much education. People rather smile at the attempt to educate them. There is no opposition to it, however. Schools for them are multiplying. Under slavery they were taught on the plantations Bible lessons, prayers, hymns, catechism, etc. The opinion is growing among us everywhere, that it will be for our interest, at least, to afford every facility of education. *That is my opinion clearly.*

Right of Secession.—I never doubted the existence of that right, but am satisfied by the results of the war, and regard it utterly useless and hopeless to assert any such right again. The event of the war was a distinct pronunciation against the exercise of the right, and a final settlement of the question. Our people are better satisfied since the experiment has been made, and have nothing to regret. They have lost everything, but not, as they think, honor.

I am perfectly satisfied that the people of the South have given up all ideas of secession. Leaders and people of all classes of opinions agree upon that subject.

Since the issue of the April numbers of the REVIEW, we were called upon business to the *Federal Capital*, and remained there about two weeks. The city was crowded with visitors, but among the number only a few scattering faces from the South were to be recognized. How painfully did we recur to the past and recall the familiar faces which were once recognized on the floors of Congress and in the Departments—the Clays, Calhouns, Butlers, Hunters, Badgers, Soules, Quitmans, Bells, Breckin-

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ridges, Rusks and Houstons of another day! Absent forever! Eleven States of the Union in profound peace and without a representative! Some four or five of those recently elected under the invitation of the Executive, linger about the hotels, whilst all their associates, in despair of any friendly action, have departed to their homes and constituency. We saw for a few moments, and conversed with, the President, whose sad and melancholy cast of countenance indicated how much he is called upon to suffer in his patriotic purpose to restore the Constitution, and in his *physique* were discernable enough the effects of the herculean toils and labors which attach to his position. In his noble resolves and patient efforts, he is fast looming up as one of the grandest characters in history, and may God nerve him in the hour of need. This tribute is from one who was never in the past among his friends or supporters.

We dropped in at the *Agricultural Branch* of the Patent Office, and were indebted to Townsend Glover for an inspection of the marvelous museum of agricultural products and fabrics collected and arranged by himself, which would be an honor to any country, and the courteous Chief Clerk of the *Census*, James Wilson, placed us under lasting obligations by the documents and voluable data which he presented. The reader will excuse another reference, and that is to the *Ebbitt House*, which is now, without doubt, in many respects, the most agreeable place of abode in Washington. It is in the immediate neighborhood of the Departments, and is under the management of Mr. Willard, who does everything possible to contribute to the comfort of his guests, and at a much more moderate rate than the same accommodations can be obtained at in other quarters. Our Southern friends will make a note of this.

Pass a day in *Baltimore*, and visit some large manufacturing establishments, to which reference will be had hereafter. Baltimore is making strenuous efforts to secure Southern trade, and her past and present position liberally entitle her to a generous share. The whole town was much excited upon the subject of a grand fair for the benefit of Southern sufferers by the recent devastating war, and it was thought that the princely sum of $200,000 would probably be realized. We conversed with the Chairman of the Committee on the subject. Contributions were also pouring in from the Northern cities, embracing money and every description of merchandise, and the display of such was very imposing. All honor to Baltimore and the noble men and women who are engaged in this holy enterprise, the particulars of which will be noted hereafter.

Take the *Baltimore and Ohio Railroad* and have a very pleasant trip to Wheeling, where, in consequence of Sunday interposing, we spend a night. Thence by the way of Bell Air, crossing the Ohio we continue the trip through Columbus to Cincinnati, reaching it in good time for the cars to Louisville and Nashville, making all the connections and the entire distance pleasantly and expeditiously. This we regard to be the best route of travel to the great West.

Apprehensions are felt all over the country on account of the threatened invasion of cholera the present season, and are certainly not without foundations. With the experience of several epidemics to guide us, we should be better prepared for this. One of our exchanges discourses as follows upon the subject:

It does not, and need not, inspire the terror which it once did. Thorough cleanliness of person and place, great care as to diet, and most particularly as to the regular action of the bowels, renders it nearly harmless. A sensible, cleanly, sober man is in little more danger from it than from the ordinary accidents of every day life. But woe to those who live like hogs, content to put themselves even below hogs!

The experience of many years teaches us that no man is carried off by cholera, without having from twelve to seventy-two hours "warning." This warning is too often fatally neglected. During the prevalence of this epidemic (for it is undeniably epidemic), the slightest warning should be at once attended to. What under ordinary circumstances may be

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pronounced a mild case of summer complaint or acute diarrhœa, is, in such cases, the *avant courier* of the King of Terrors. It is prudent to keep always about the person some simple astringent, to be used with discretion—but to be used—if there seems to be any inclination to diarrhœa, whether or not local cause for the inclination can be assigned.

After testing it for fifteen years, in probably a thousand cases, we suggest to our readers to at once procure from the druggist the following simple mixture; Laudanum, 2 oz.; spirits of camphor, 2 oz.; tincture of capsicum, ½ oz.; tincture of ginger, 1 oz.; essence of peppermint, 2 oz.; Hoffman's anodyne, 2 oz. If the anodyne cannot be readily obtained, substitute sulphuric acid. Mix thoroughly, and shake well every time it is used. Give or take from ten to twenty-five drops, according to age, condition and violence of the attack. Repeat every twenty minutes until relief is obtained. In a desperate case, take a table-spoon full at once. Take it in an equal quantity of water; and lie on the back quietly or in an easy sitting posture with the back supported, till it has full opportunity to work. Carry a small phial in the pocket, with a few lumps of white sugar upon which to drop it, to be used in sudden emergencies.

First and foremost, always use plenty of soap and water.

Having returned to Nashville, we are prepared to devote our efforts earnestly to the interests of the REVIEW, and anticipate nothing that will call us off from the undertaking for many months to come. No pains will be spared in every respect to make this work complete, and just such as will be most conducive to the general interests and welfare of the country. We invite the aid of all friends and sympathizers, not only in the literary but business departments. We invite, too, articles upon all subjects and subscribers, and shall send out many thousand circulars and prospectuses to every part of the South, trusting that our course will be appreciated by all of the old subscribers and the entire public. Those who are indebted for past subscriptions, will make some effort to aid us in the present exigency.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

"THE PRINCIPLES OF BIOLOGY." *By Herbert Spencer. Vol. I. pp.* 475. *D. Appleton & Co., New York.* 1866.

HERBERT SPENCER has earned a world-wide reputation as a deep searching reasoner. His volume on "*First Principles*," which was re-published in this country about a year ago, was intended to lay the foundation for his, in many respects, peculiar "System of Philosophy." The subject of "Biology," we are given to understand, will be treated in two volumes, to be followed successively by "*Principles of Psychology*," and "*Principles of Sociology.*" The system of Spencer agrees with the theory of Development so elaborately pronounced and so ably and ingeniously defended by DARWIN, in his "Origin of Species," to which Professor THOMAS HUXLEY has become an efficient co-laborer. Whatever the differences of scientists may be upon the intrinsic merits of the several systems, Spencer's work must be a welcome addition to all students, and all public libraries.

"A TEXT BOOK ON PHYSIOLOGY FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES." By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER. 1 *Vol. pp.* 376. *Harper & Brothers, New York.* 1866.

This is an abridgment of the larger work by the same author on Human Physiology. It is copiously illustrated with wood engravings, and is arranged with questions for recitation at the bottom of each page. It is fully what the author in his preface says of it: "Suitable for use as an elementary text book in colleges and schools."

"A TEXT BOOK ON CHEMISTRY FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES." By HENRY DRAPER, M. D. 1 *Vol., pp.* 507. *Harper & Brothers, New York.* 1866.

We have in this work a valuable addition to our school-book literature of a higher class. It is an enlargement upon the text book on the same subbject, published by the author's father in 1846, and which has, since then, passed through some forty editions. The author's personal reputation and his position as Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in the University of New York assure an extensive sale for his book.

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"INDIAN CORN, ITS VALUE, CULTURE AND USES." By EDWARD ENFIELD. 1 *Vol., pp.* 368. *D. Appleton & Co., New York.* 1866.

This, we believe, is the first work ever published in this country that made Indian Corn and the ways to improve its culture its special subject. We greet it as a work long needed by agriculture, and especially in the South and Southwest, where both climate and soil are so well adapted for the cultivation of this staple.

"THE LOST TALES OF MILETUS." By the RIGHT HON. SIR EDWARD BULWER LYTTON, BART., M. P. One vol. pp. 182. *Harper and Brothers, New York*, 1866.

Of course, everything from the pen of this celebrated writer, finds enthusiastic admirers. The refined and the educated will assuredly need no recommendation from us, of this last work of the literary Baronet. The form, we must say, it is rather quaint, being rhymeless metre, such as Horace adopted for his odes. And yet it has been masterly adapted to the peculiarities of our language, or rather our language has been ingeniously adapted to the rythm.

"A CHILD'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES." Vol. III. part 2d. HISTORY OF THE GREAT REBELLION. *By John Bonner. Pp.* 367. *Harper and Brothers,* 1866.

We sincerely hope, that this book will find its way into no American household where love of country, and all the sections and all the people of it, is still cherished at heart. This book is a bold attempt to destroy it all, and is, therefore, severely reprehensible. Now, that the way should be levelled for feelings of mutual regard and esteem and the common patriotic support of a re united country, the vulgar Billingsgate expressions of brutal sentiments of hatred and revenge, so common during the heated days of war, are utterly out of place.

The Toilers of the Sea. By Victor Hugo; Harper and Brothers. The simple announcement of a work from this author, is sufficient. The novel reader will find a feast in the work.

Walter Goring. By Annie Thomas; Harper and Brothers. A very interesting and pleasant story.

Adventures of Reuben Davidger. Illustrated. By James Greenwood; Harper and Brothers. This work may be made an excellent companion for Robinson Crusoe, and other such wonderful tales of sea and land.

The *Story of Kenneth.* By Bayard Taylor; G. P. Putnam, Hurd and Houghton, New York. The wide-spread reputation of the author of "Kenneth," insures its ready sale and welcome reception to the American reader.

☞ Please note directions on the 4th page of Cover to subscribers, postmasters and agents, and will all the friends of the REVIEW aid the Editor in re-establishing the work upon its former flourishing foundation?

The address of the Editor will be permanently at Nashville, Tenn.

Articles upon the condition and property of the South, and upon the workings of emancipation, are solicited.

☞ The Office of the REVIEW at Nashville, and the Branch Office in New York, will execute orders upon receipt of the funds, with small commissions, for any articles of Southern or Northern manufacture advertised in its pages, or any other articles which may be required by planters, farmers, interior dealers and others. It will also act as an agent for the sale of country estates, which upon the receipt of five or ten dollars, will be mentioned more or less fully at the close of the Editorial columns.

The following works have been received at the Office of the REVIEW since the issue of the last number, all of which will be fully and appropriately noticed in our next:

REAL AND IDEAL, by John W. Montclair, of Virginia. Philadelphia: Frederick Leypoldt, 1865.

THE APOSTLESHIP OF PRAYER; a Holy League of Christian Hearts, united with the Heart of Jesus, by the Rev. H. Ramiere, of the Society of Jesus. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1866.

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We clip from the *Savannah Republican*, the following in regard to the colored schools:

EXAMINATION OF THE COLORED SCHOOLS.

We accepted an invitation yesterday afternoon, to attend an examination of one of the free colored schools, which is known as the Bethlehem High School where some eighty pupils of both sexes, are under the instruction of Misses Pettibone and Marshall, two highly accomplished Northern ladies, who have volunteered their valuable services as teachers. Quite a number of Northern ladies and gentlemen visited Bethlehem Church, to witness the progress of the most advanced scholars in the colored schools, and universal astonishment was experienced by all present at the extraordinary intelligence revealed by the scholars. Notwithstanding, the school has not been opened but twelve months, the greatest proficiency was exhibited in all the elementary branches. The correctness with which the children recited lengthy dialogues, answered questions in Geography and arithmetic and orthography, were truly marvellous, while the singing was excellent. We consider the education of the colored people, one of the most important philanthropic enterprises that has ever been started, and we rejoice at the success of the great undertaking.

This is indeed a step in the right direction, and when we see the representative people of the South, moving in favor of such a humane and Christian project; it is high time that the showering of odious terms upon Northern people who are advocating and heartily co-operating in the same good cause, should cease. The safeguard of Southern Society, lies in the education of the freedmen, and obstinate indeed must be the prejudices of those who cannot foresee the deplorable results if the black race is permitted to remain in their present ignorant condition. A moment's calm reflection will convince the most skeptical that the quickest, surest and cheapest way to render the freedmen useful members of society, is to educate them up to such a standard that, they will properly appreciate the blessings of freedmen, learn the laws of frugality and honesty, and the inevitable Penalties that follow their violation. This is the right road to prosperity, peace and reconciliation of both races, that will again sound the hum of industry, and set the wheel of progress in motion. It is through the influence of the school-book that the bitter animosities of to-day are to be swept away forever, and we therefore welcome the advent of teachers in our midst.

DEBOW'S REVIEW ADVERTISING INDEX.

All advertisements in the REVIEW will be regularly noted in this index. Our terms are the same as before the war, and considering the large circulation of the REVIEW in every part of the Union, and especially in the Southern S.. its limits should be occupied. Mercha.. and manufacturers of the South, and those having lands for sale, would do well to imitate in advertising the enterprise of Northern cities. Our pages are open to all, and it is from this source only that the REVIEW can be made remunerative.

Advertising Agency—G. P. Rowell & Co.
Agricultural Implements—Machinery—Fertilizers—Seed, etc.—R. H. Allen & Co.; D. Landreth & Son; Baugh & Sons; Graham, Epplen & Passmore; Elwanger & Barry; John B. Sardy; C. H. Slocomb, New Orleans; John S. Reeder & Co.; Allen & Needles.
Books.—School Books, etc — Bleelock & Co., New Orleans; James Potts.
Boots and Shoes.—John Slater.
Bankers.—Duncan, Sherman & Co.; E. Q. Bell.
Charleston Advertisement.—One Page.
Commission Merchants.—Dohan, Carroll & Co.; Church, Daniels & Co.
Clocks.—James Barber.
Clothing, Shirts, &c.—Henry, Moore & Cheaung; S. N. Moody; F. Derbey & Co.; Harlem & Co.
Dry Goods.—Butler, Broom & Clapp.
Engravers.—J. W. Orr.
Express Co.—Southern.
Fancy Goods.—C. F. A. Hinrich.
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Iron Safes.—Herring & Co.
Jewelry.—Tiffany & Co.; Ball, Black & Co.: J. M. Bowen & Co.
Law Cards.—W. W. Boyce; Ward & Jones.
Land Agencies.—American Land Agency. G. F. Kroll & Co.; W. H. Quincey.
Machinery.—Steam Engines, Saw Mills, &c.—Thomas Gannon, Jacob Schenck; Thomas B. Bodley & Co., New Orleans; Wm. Montgomery; Poole & Hunt; E. M. Ivens, New Orleans; John H. Haskell; Jas. A. Robinson; J. Wyatt Reid.
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J. D. B. DEBOW, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR, Nashville, Tenn.

All matters relating to the **Editorial** will be addressed to **Nashville,** where the accounts of Subscribers in States **South of Maryland, Ohio and Missouri,** will be kept, and **where subscriptions for those States will be received.**

All other accounts, including the **Northern & Western States, California and Foreign Countries,** will be in charge of **B. F. DE BOW,** Assistant Editor, 40 Broadway, New York.

The Offices at **New York** and **Nashville** will execute Orders for any Articles, at Manufacturers' prices, required by the South, whether advertised in the REVIEW or not, charging a moderate Commission for the service, on receipt of necessary funds. ***Special Agent***—JOSEPH W. ARNGER.

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Postmasters will please act as Agents in making Clubs, remitting and in promptly reporting all Numbers not taken from office. They will be furnished Copies for sale at liberal discount.

Subscribers will please remit promptly. The Credit System will be impracticable, since the cost of Publication is more than double, and the subscription price is virtually unchanged. Those being indebted to us will please adjust accounts on the most liberal basis possible. Remit in Drafts, Checks, Orders on Merchants, Current Notes, by mail or through post-masters at money offices. Payment will be acknowledged and will be noted on Cover in July, and regularly each month thereafter. Subscribers will require Agents to show their Credentials.

Advertisements of Land for Sale, inserted on moderate terms, and to the amount required.

Articles are solicited upon all subjects germane to the REVIEW, especially in regard to the Labor System and Resources of the South.

*Two other Copies were published at irregular periods during the War.

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"The piano forte," says the *Home Journal*, "is no longer to hold the only prominent place as a household instrument. These manufacturers (Mason & Hamlin) have worked out the secret of producing tones of the best quality, tones of surpassing purity and richness, from reeds; and have otherwise brought the instrument to a point which they have adopted the appropriate name 'Cabinet Organ,' to such a degree of excellence, that they are becoming the fashion with those who are on the alert for musical novelties." The *New York World* pronounces it "an instrument of the highest order of merit, both as regards the quality of its tones, and its capacity for artistic as well as popular effects."

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32 Vols.

Vol. 1,—No. 6.

DE BOW'S REVIEW

MONTHLY.

AGRICULTURAL, COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS & RESOURCES.

June, 1866.

J. D. B. DE BOW, Editor and Proprietor.

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Editor and Proprietor's Office—25 Union Street, Nashville, Tenn.; Office for the Northern States—B. F. DE BOW, 40 Broadway, New York.

Chief Agencies South-West—Geo. Ellis & Co., and Bleelock & Co., New Orleans. South—S. G. Courtney, Charleston. Washington—Frank Taylor. Boston—A. Williams. London—Trubner & Co.

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PERUVIAN GUANO contains organic, animal matter, 50 per cent., yielding ammonia 12 to 15 per cent.

Phosphate of Lime, 25 to 28 per cent., 5 to 8 of which are soluble.

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Phosphate of Lime, 40 to 45 per cent., 12 to 15 of which are soluble.

From this comparison it will be seen, that while Peruvian Guano contains more ammonia, the Pacific contains nearly twice the quantity of the far more essential elements of soluble and bone Phosphate of Lime. It is now established beyond controversy, that the value of ammonia in guano is limited chiefly to its solvent effects on the earthy phosphates; hence having, as in this guano, so large a per cent. of the earthy phosphates already soluble in water, the larger per cent. of ammonia can be dispensed with.

The additional quantity of earthy and soluble phosphate of lime found in this guano, more than compensates for the difference in *ammonia*—especially when we consider the fact which is now established by the best authority, that an acre of cultivated soil receives, by absorption from the atmosphere, from rain and dews, *more ammonia* than is consumed by any crop. *See Baron Liebig's Nat. Laws of Husbandry.*

The defect in Peruvian Guano unquestionably arises from its deficiency in earthy Phosphate of Lime; and it is a fact capable of demonstration, that unless applied in larger quantities than its cost will justify, its continued use must lead to exhaustion, because it does not compensate the soil for the loss sustained in producing the crop. Pacific Guano, on the contrary, while its effects fully equal Peruvian, more than compensates for this loss by reason of its large per cent. of earthy phosphates; hence increased fertility must follow its use.

The price of this guano is but little more than one-half the price of Peruvian, while its *actual value is absolutely greater*, for the reasons above named. This guano manifests all the remarkable activity of Peruvian; but as it furnishes more actual nourishment, it sustains and matures the crop better, whether of *cotton*, tobacco, or wheat. Every cargo of this guano is subjected to careful analysis, by Dr. A. Snowden Pigott, of this city, which affords us a guarantee of its value, before sale. The *soluble Pacific Guano* will be furnished to the planters of the South through agencies established in all Southern markets. Every bag is branded with the name of the undersigned, to whom communications must be addressed.

JOHN S. REESE & CO.,

General Agents for Pacific Guano Co., Baltimore, Md.

FLOUR OF RAW BONE,

Guaranteed Free from Adulteration.

The importance to agriculture of this improved preparation of Bone as a fertilizer cannot be estimated. The imperfect condition in which bone was necessarily used, by reason of the impossibility of reducing it to fine powder, was a serious drawback to its use and value. Now, however, this difficulty is effectually overcome, by a recent application of machinery, which reduces raw, unsteamed, unburnt bones to the condition of flour. The value of bone is thus increased fully one hundred per cent., making it as rapid in its action as dissolved bone. This bone is one-third organic animal matter, yielding upon decomposition four and a half per cent. ammonia. The rapid decomposition set up by reason of the minute division of particles disengages its earthy phosphates, rendering it immediately effective. We warrant this bone to be *absolutely pure*, and will give a money guarantee to that effect when desired. It is prepared only by the Boston Milling and Manufacturing Co., who are the patentees and owners of the improved machinery by which it is pulverized. These mills were invented and are manufactured especially for reducing gold quartz and ores, but are equally adapted for the above purpose. This article is sold in all the Southern markets by regularly appointed agencies, and by the undersigned. Every package is branded with the Co.'s trade mark, which is the guarantee of genuineness.

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DE BOW'S REVIEW.

ESTABLISHED JANUARY, 1846.

JUNE, 1866.

ART. I.—LIFE OF JULIUS CÆSAR. BY NAPOLEON III.

When a merchant with whom we are dealing positively assures us that nothing could induce him to cheat us, our suspicions are aroused, and we take particular pains not to give him a chance to do so; and so, when an historian asserts in his preface that he has divested himself of prejudice in treating his subject, we may properly mistrust him, and should be the more careful not to be misled by his affected impartiality. To attain such cold-blooded disinterestedness, he must become the "beau ideal" of a just judge; a man without a heart; a statue with a brain, whose cold intellectual light shines upon the subject with the brightness of the sun, but transmits no more heat than the reflection from an icicle. But this is impossible;—the author can no more cast off his human vestments, the sympathies and prejudices which time, circumstance, and education, have interwoven with the very threads of life, than the leopard can change his spots, or the Ethiop his skin.

Although he may write of an event that occurred thousands of years ago, he can see it only from the standpoint of the present—through spectacles colored by the institutions of his country, the spirit of the age, and his own peculiarities. A monarchist writing of Augustus, would cover with praise the ruler who had fixed the Cæsarian dynasty upon the Roman people, and to it attributes the blossoming out of the arts, sciences and letters, which had so long languished, while the Republican would see in it, not an escape from the desperate tyranny of Sylla, but, the opening of the gates to the horrible enormities which blacken and redden the reigns of Caligula and Nero, with eternal infamy. The slaveholder composing the History of Sparta, of Athens, of Thessaly, or of Rome, would discover in his favorite institution, the rich soil that had

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nourished the highest virtues of those peoples; the abolitionist would discern, and prove conclusively according to his notions of logic that it was the rank earth, whose over luxuriant growth had engendered malarious airs, poisoned society, and led to bloody dissensions and civil wars.

Walter Scott affords a striking instance of a singularly ingenuous mind warped to injustice by the influence of his surroundings. From his admirable qualities of head and heart, we might have expected, if from any, an unbiased History of Napoleon. His rare powers of laborious research and keen discrimination; his high integrity as a man, and his long experience as an author; and the liberality and enlightenment of his views of men and things, indicated him as possessing fine qualifications for the undertaking. Having gathered the necessary material; public and private documents, containing English, French and European accounts, he put them together and what did he produce? Simply an English account. He had been like the painter, to whose diseased vision, red and blue, and yellow and green, all look red, and in that color alone he had dipped his brush. Abbott at a later day, redressed the same subject, but he saw it from a different stand-point, in the glow of a different light. To him, Napoleon is not a selfish despot marching to glory through blood and tears, but the self-immolated hero devoting his life to France and humanity. Neither writer produced a history. Scott's work reads like the speech of an eloquent and adroit prosecuting attorney, who generally confesses what nobody denies, and who affirms against the defendant whenever there is a doubt; Abbott's sounds like the mere verbiage of an advocate, who seeks to conceal his ignorance of the law in the assurance of his address, and the loudness of his praise. Scott erred cleverly; Abbott, stupidly; neither was just.

Every library abounds with books of a similar stamp. Sallust's account of Catiline's Conspiracy has the air of a political pamphlet; Lingard's History of England is a literary missile against the Protestant religion; Macaulay is accused of writing his sketch of the Prince of Orange in the interests and pay of a party; and we hear now that some modern writer is attempting to clear the character of Henry VIII.; a task compared to which, it strikes us, the purification of the Augean stables was insignificant.

If Henry could wake from his grave—Henry, the variegated villain, spotted with every crime; murderer, bigamist, sensualist and tyrant, how would sound to his ears the tender epithets, "noble martyr," "generous enthusiast" and "saintly king," which will no doubt be applied. He would doubt his

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own identity; first compose his countenance to a sweet expression—then fly into a passion, and hurry to a drunken revel. He would be like Christopher Sly, when he awoke in a silken bed with obsequious attendants around him, and puzzled with doubt whether he was a beggar or a lord.

> "Upon my life I am a lord indeed,
> And not a tinker, nor Christophero Sly;
> Well, bring our lady hither to our sight,
> And once again—a pot o' the smallest ale."

Further examples are not necessary to impress this fact; that the historian cannot throw off his prejudices when he picks up his pen, as the laborer does his coat when he picks up his spade.

Burns prayed most poetically that,

> "Oh wad some power the giftie gie us,
> To see oursel's as others see us!"

but, at this present writing, to not one that we know of has the boon been given.

When we come now to reflect upon the character of Napoleon III., we divine at once what sort of a life he would make of Cæsar. Evidently, we could not expect from the self-made monarch, dictating from a throne that he had seized with a sword, such views of the greatest of kings as we would from a mild-mannered parson or professor, who lives in a closet, and looks out upon the vast world with its boiling passions and bloody revolutions only through its window.

From Dr. Arnold in the calm recesses of Rugby, and Dr. Anthon at Columbia, we have sober moralizing, on the sin and vanity of ambition, and to them the story of Cæsar is that of a base usurper, crushing his country's freedom for his own selfish purposes, and meeting at the hands of a patriot—a fate he most fully deserved; from the kindred spirit of the daring and dauntless Emperor, we have an enthusiastic eulogy on the splendor and privileges of genius, a glowing tribute to the grand aspirations of him, whose name is consecrated as the proudest epithet of a king, and contemptuous pity for those short-sighted conspirators, who cut off his illustrious career.

Napoleon had two objects in view in writing the history: to be elected to fill a chair in the Academy, as his uncle did, and to strengthen his dynasty upon the throne of France by an historical parallel, showing the necessity of a Cæsar and Augustus to the welfare of the Romans, and by comparison, the necessity of Napoleon I., and himself, to the welfare of the French. He has not attempted to disguise his diplomacy, and to make it appear that his work is purely a classic essay; but announces in his introduction, that his aim is to prove "that

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when Providence raises up such men as Cæsar, Charlemagne and Napoleon, it is to trace out to peoples the path they ought to follow; to stamp with their genius a new era, and to accomplish in a few years, the work of many centuries." Thus openly he declares himself the champion of Cæsar; and, certainly it is more manly and ingenuous, to unbare to the world under what influences of prepossession and interest the author writes, than to cloak duplicity (as most historians do) under a pretended impartiality.

It was indeed a bold literary adventure of Napoleon, to advance political ideas in the garb of history; and as men are as prone to imitate the ways of sovereigns, as the ladies do the parasols and bonnets of queens, it will, no doubt, soon be fashionable to write party pamphlets, under the title of biographies of men, who apparently have no more to do with present concerns than men in the moon. The novel has long since subserved this purpose. Under Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett, it was employed to amuse by witty and humorous sketches of men and manners; in the hands of Scott, it became the medium of historical and moral instruction; and then, by a class of minor litterateurs, it was used to convey arguments on a variety of topics, ranging from politics to religion. If a military campaign was to be criticised; if the law of supply and demand was to be discussed; or, if religious tenets were to be advocated, the author wrapped up his notions in a romance, and in this shape hurled them at his opponent. To use history in this wise will, no doubt, become popular, and although it may seem a degradation of so noble a science to employ it for partisan designs, we are convinced that it will tend to elicit the truth, rather than to pervert it; just as the merits of a case in court are best arrived at by a jury when there is able counsel on each side, placing the facts respectively in the most favorable and most unfavorable attitudes.

The Emperor has already found, that in attaining his "blushing honors" as an author, he has made also for himself a new vexation. Such are the annoyances mixed with the glories of majesty; if a nosegay is offered him, he must beware lest he inhale perfume and death together; if a seat is offered him at a fête, he must beware lest there be a bomb-shell under it; and now, let him beware how he seek recreation in the history of an ancient hero, lest while shaking his sides over some witty saying, he discover that he has been laughing at a covert satire on himself. The critics were of course delighted when they heard that such a royal morsel as this life of Cæsar was in store for them; and its pages were scarcely dry, ere they rushed in to tear it to pieces like a pack of half-famished curs. It was

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indeed, a dainty bit; for when one is not an emperor or an emperor's favorite, nothing can be so charming as to find an opportunity to make light of somebody who is. In this feeling of derogation we do not participate; the world should look with peculiar favor on the labors of those upon whose industry and wisdom so much happiness depends; who are harassed by unnumbered cares; who can afford to be idle, and are surrounded by such strong temptations. But, Napoleon's work does not need such charity; it would have done credit to the professed student, who has nothing to divide his attention with letters; and whosoever is induced to commence it from curiosity, will continue it for pleasure; and, however he may regard the views it expresses, must confess at least, that they have been ably maintained.

Let it not be presumed from any previous remark, that the Emperor gives us only a one-sided picture of Cæsar; far from it; he has been as careful to present the evidences against him, as those in his favor; he has only openly confessed his partiality and his individual interest, in order that we may be prepared to see the facts stated, with a view to give strength to his predilections.

"The historian," says Macaulay, "should present a picture of the times in miniature." Napoleon goes further. "The historian," says he, "should be more than a painter; he ought, like the geologist, who explains the phenomena of the globe, to unfold the secret transformation of societies."

Neither definition is perfect: the historian, we think, should combine the finest powers of the artist, the topographical engineer, and the geologist. Like the first, he should give us on canvass a landscape view of his subject; like the topographer, he should map it off showing the angles, distances, dimensions, depressions and elevations devoid of color; and like the geologist, he should expose the sub-soil and unbare the under-strata. We should then have the picturesque effects of events; their bearings on each other, and the causes from which they severally had origin.

As yet, only Vol. I of Cæsar's biography has appeared in this country; and that traces his life no further than to his departure from Rome to take command of the army in Gaul; but, even from this we can readily anticipate what will be the character of the rest, and form an estimate of the style of the Emperor. Over 200 pages of the 350 we have, are devoted to the consideration of Roman Government and society, from the time of the Kings to the fall of the Republic. So far, at least, it is less narrative than essay; more map than picture; more geological chart, than either; that is, more an exposition of the

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causes and relations of events than descriptions of events themselves.

The Emperor discloses many fine qualities as a composer of history; deep research into the ancient classics; care and precision in weighing testimony, and a style, terse, nervous, condensed, and never ambiguous. It is rare that a book is met with containing, in such narrow space, so much and such well-arranged information. Its author writes from a mind familiarized by long study, not only with facts and dates, but also with the spirit of laws, manners, customs, politics, literature, and feelings of the people; and he discusses and explains, with the easy grace of one who has breathed the atmosphere of Roman society; has sat in the senate; looked on in the forum; chatted with the people at their homes, and on the street-corners, and been privy to the schemes of politicians and conspirators. This is indeed, high merit; that a work bear evidence that it was carefully elaborated by light of the lamp; while no pedantry or stiffness betrays the scent of the oil.

The chapter on the Consular Republic, contains a lucid exposition of the political contests between the Patricians and Plebeians, and shows how under cover of law the ruling caste exercised its oppressions. The aristocracy, tenacious of their privileges, yet incessantly pressed by the clamors of the people, resorted to every artifice to maintain their superiority, and, at the same time, to sooth the angry temper of the outraged masses. The Plebeians aspired to all the offices of State; the Tribuneship was granted; then they wanted the Consulship; finally, that also was conceded; but, mark the artful manner in which it was divested of its most desirable incidents and ornaments. New offices were erected and monopolized by the nobility; Patricians were appointed Questors, with charge of the military chest; Censors, to take the census and hold the purse-strings; Practors, having sovereign jurisdiction of civil affairs, and Curule Ediles, presiding over games and superintending the public buildings. Thus, by wily statesmanship, the names of power went to the people, while power itself, slipped back to the Aristocracy like a snake, leaving in their hands only its cast-off skin. The reflections of Napoleon on this state of affairs are worthy of note:

"It is not indeed sufficient for the appreciation of the state of society, to study thoroughly its laws, but we must also take into consideration the influence of the manners of the people. The laws proclaimed equality and liberty, but the manners left the honors and preponderance to the upper class. The admission to place, was no longer forbidden to the Plebeians, but the election almost always kept them from it.

During fifty-nine years, 264 military tribunes replaced the Consuls, and of this number, only eighteen were Plebeians; although these latter might be can-

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didates for the Consulship, the choice fell generally upon the Patricians. Marriage between the two orders had been long placed on a footing of equality, and yet in 456, the prejudices of caste were far from being destroyed, as we learn from the history of the Patrician Virginia, married to the Plebeian Volumnius, whom the matrons drove away from the temple of *pudicitiæ patriciæ*. The laws protected liberty, but they were rarely executed. . . . The right of admission in the Senate was acknowledged in principle, yet no one could enter it without having obtained a decree of the Censor, or exercised a curule magistracy—favors almost always reserved to the Aristocracy. The law which required a Plebeian amongst the Censors remained almost always in abeyance, and to become Censor, it was generally necessary to have been Consul. All offices ought to be annual, and yet the Tribunes as well as the Consuls, obtained their re-election several times at short intervals. . . . The lives of the citizens were protected by the laws, but public opinion remained powerless at the assassination of those who had incurred the hatred of the Senate; and, in spite of the law of the Consul Valerius Publicola, the violent death of the Tribune Genucius, and of the rich Plebeian, Spurius Mælius, were subjects of applause."

From so brief an extract, we can form no adequate idea of the work—to be appreciated, it must be studied; but even this fragment may serve as a specimen, and afford an indication of the whole. His object here is to show how a tyrannical oppression of a people may be exercised, under the guise of laws most wholesome and just; and how no government fulfills its purposes, unless the people are imbued with its spirit; and that, unless public sentiment stands guard with a naked sword over the rights of the people, the most enlightened doctrines may be perverted to the most iniquitous ends. Such was the corruption of Roman society at this period, that an arrogant oligarchy ruled with relentless selfishness, under profession of the most liberal principles. In Rome, there were indeed,

> "Laws for all faults,
> But faults so countenanced, that the strong statutes
> Stood like the forfeits in a barber-shop,
> As much in mock as mark."

We may appreciate how Roman liberty was down-trodden under the Republic, by imagining what a state of society would exist in our own country if Republican principles ceased to live in the hearts of the people. To what would it amount, that the lofty principles of "Magna Charta" engrafted upon our Constitution, that, to what would amount the declarations that no man shall be affected in his property, his liberty, or his person, but by the unanimous consent of twelve of his neighbors and equals, if those in power could hurry off an offender to a dungeon without arousing the indignation of the nation? To what would amount the principle that a man's house is his castle, and shall be free from search, but by due course of law; if any petty official could cross the threshold with impunity; to what would amount the noble sentiments concerning freedom of the press, freedom of speech and free-

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dom to petition for redress of grievances; if the men of the land had become such slaves in heart, that they witnessed repeated violations with their mouths open, their tongues silent, and their hands in their laps.

Plainly, the elevation of public sentiment is the only conservator of free institutions.

Laws may be engraved on brass, emblazoned on banners, cut in stone, and known by heart by the children in the streets; but if their spirit be not beating in the hearts of men, and thrilling in their veins, they are as dead as laws before the flood.

The Constitution would be only a hollow mockery; it would contain only the rotten corpse of liberty, its vital spirit fled; and soon the dry bones of Republicanism would shake together, where once had stood its erect and vigorous form, glowing with beauty, and rejoicing in its strength.

It was disregard for law, that disordered Roman society; that occasioned frequent broils; that builded new institutions, and then undermined them; that broke all bonds of honor, all ties of loyalty, and that finally converted might into right, and made it the duty of whosoever could, to enforce order, repress passion and administer that justice which could only be insured by despotic use of arms. For that glorious work, Cæsar was destined.

In the account of the conquest of Italy by Rome, the Emperor sets forth in a perspicuous manner, the generous policy which gave root to the grandeur and glory of the Roman people; and in this discussion what is most pleasing—more than the close argument, the clear style and the halo of eloquence which is thrown around gallant and generous deeds, is the quick appreciation evinced of the superior influence of magnanimity, over selfishness; clemency over ferocity, and of open-hearted confidence over surveillance and intimidation. As soon as a people yielded to the Roman arms, one thing was required: "*Majestatem populi Romani comiter conservando.*" (They shall loyally acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman people.) That done, Rome won the hearts of the conquered, by admitting them to the privileges of Roman citizenship. No goading restrictions; no taxes; no chains. The Roman soldier shook hands with his adversary at the end of the battle, and the Roman people welcomed the conquered as allies. Thus, she converted her enemies into friends, not by subduing them at once to the same laws, but by causing them to enter little by little, and in different degrees into the great Roman family. Of one city she makes her ally; on another, she confers the right of living under the Quiritary law; to this one, the right of suffrage; to that, permission to

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live under its own government." Thus, the interest and the glory of the conquerors and conquered became identical; and in a brief time, he who had crossed spears with the Roman in battle, was himself rejoicing in the grand boast, "*Civis Romanus Sum.*"

Upon these broad and enlightened principles, arose the splendid fabric of Roman liberty; and, it was only when cruelty, crafty cunning, and the unscrupulous ambition of place, power and wealth, sapped the fundaments of the noble structure, that the oppressed and tyrant-ridden fugitives found refuge in the genius of a Cæsar.

After these discussions of Roman policy, and a description of the countries and people adjoining the Romans and affecting their civilization, he commences Cæsar's biography. Of Roman History, preceding Cæsar's appearance in the political and military arena, he has made a pedestal for Cæsar to stand upon, and we now behold raised to the eminence he has prepared, the colossal figure of his hero.

His introduction is an epitome of his views on Cæsar, expressed in general remarks on genius. The entire introduction is worthy of insertion. Seldom do so many pages contain so much pith. Our space permits only this:

"When extraordinary facts attest an eminent genius, what is more contrary to good sense, than to ascribe to him all the passions and sentiments of mediocrity? What more erroneous than not to recognize the pre-eminence of these privileged beings, who appear in history from time to time, like luminous beacons, dissipating the darkness of their epoch, and throwing light into the future? To deny this pre-eminence, would be to insult humanity, by believing it capable of submitting long and voluntarily, to a domination which did not rest on true greatness, and incontestible utility. Let us be logical, and we shall be just.

Too many historians find it easier to lower men of genius than with a generous inspiration, to raise them to their due height, by penetrating their vast designs. . . . By what sign are we to recognize a man's greatness? By the empire of his ideas, when his principles or systems triumph in spite of his death or defeat. Is it not in fact the peculiarity of genius to survive destruction, and to extend its empire over future generations? Cæsar disappeared, and his influence predominates still more, than during his life. Cicero, his adversary, is compelled to exclaim: "All the acts of Cæsar, his writings, his words, his promises, his thoughts, have more force since his death, than if he was still alive. For ages it was enough to tell the world that such was the will of Cæsar for the world to obey it. . . . In fact, neither the murder of Cæsar, nor the captivity of St. Helena, have been able to destroy irrevocably, two popular causes overthrown by a league which disguised itself under the mask of liberty. Brutus, by slaying Cæsar, plunged Rome into the horrors of civil war; he did not prevent the reign of Augustus, but he rendered possible those of Nero and Caligula. The ostracism of Napoleon by confederated Europe, has been no more successful in preventing the Empire from being resuscitated; and, nevertheless, how far are we from the great questions solved, the passions calmed, and legitimate satisfactions given to people under the first Empire.

Thus, every day since 1815, has justified the prophecy of the captive of St. Helena;

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"How many struggles, how much blood, how many years will it not require to realize the good I intended to do for mankind!"

In this we see the coming of Cæsar foreshadowed, and we see, moreover, that this book contains the political biography of Napoleon, under the name of Cæsar; and an autobiography of Napoleon III. under the name of Augustus. The Emperor has simply drawn the likeness of his Uncle, and himself, and written under them "Cæsar" and "Augustus;" but as they are real likenesses, as we think, and not a fancy sketch, we have naught to say against them. It is not the general fault of artists when they look in the glass and draw themselves to do injustice to their beauty—and it is not a fault in Napoleon. He has, however, adhered to outlines and features, and if he has not been particular to give prominence to the wrinkles, and has been particular so to arrrange his hair, as not to show his baldness; now can we blame him? Who wouldn't?

The admiration which the Emperor expresses for great men, and a sympathy with their ambition, is a sentiment which must be joined in, by generous minds all over the world. The truly great hero, is the most precious gift of providence to man; and we look up to him with feelings of reverence less ardent, only than those we feel for his maker. Let us be sure, however, that he is a hero—that he is not a concoction of self-conceit and popular adulation, tricked out in flimsy hypocracy—a gilded nothing, a sham, an imposition. When we have really a great soul amongst us, it would be absurd to apply the rules which we apply to "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Rules are made for common mortals, and geniuses are rare exceptions. We cannot weigh a diamond on the same scales with a bundle of hay; and though we may measure calico with a yard-stick, and bacon by pound weight; when the diameter of the sun is to be calculated, other instruments must be called into requisition.

When we find a man inveighing against ambition, it may generally be concluded, having in himself none of the virtues which are kin to greatness, he is delighted if he find in the great, something akin to his littleness, and he chuckles with satisfaction when he thinks he has found the spot on the sun.

St. Pierre in his studies of nature, is fierce against ambition. But mark in what elaborate sentances, and in what rare figures he has couched his enmity. The very thing that he affects to despise, glares out in the studied phrase of denunciation. Disappointed aspirants and spirits too grovelling even to aspire, are the assailants of ambition. Woolsey "sounding all the depths and shoals of honor," thinks ambition a fine thing; but Woolsey, the discarded favorite of Henry; "his high-blown

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pride at last broke under him," says most solemnly: "Cromwell, I charge thee fling away ambition."

He himself hadn't thought of flinging it away, until it had flung him away. Those who continually seek to belittle great men, are most generally those who, unable themselves to rear a temple, have the mean ambition to acquire notice, by pulling one down.

It is not attempted by the Emperor, to show that Cæsar was not ambitious; quite the contrary, and the more honor for it; because, he sought sovereignty not as an end to selfish designs, but as the means of elevating a down-trodden people.

Napoleon is not the first champion of the great dictator. De Quincy long ago, dashed into the list, lance in hand, and boldly asserted the purity of Cæsar from the charge of being an usurper; he differs with Napoleon in some points, but they are not material; as to his general character, they utter but one opinion.

The debated points are approached fairly by the Emperor. If he asserts that Cæsar was the defender of law, rather than desiring arbitrary power, and that he did not seize the throne until it was clear, that the issue was between two parties; each seeking to monopolize it; he gives us calmly and clearly, his reasons for so thinking. When, too, he has proven certain facts in favor of Cæsar, he does not assume more. It is admitted, and is doubtless true, that Cæsar was in morals, no better than fashionable Roman Senators in those days (or fashionable Congressmen in these). But, where all were dissipated, he alone retained his sense of justice, and his integrity; and nature otherwise had endowed as a king, with the grandest powers of intellect and will, that mortal ever wielded.

True, Cæsar was given to worldly pleasures. He gave magnificent feasts; he borrowed money and forgot to pay; he wore the finest garments; dressed his hair artistically; entertained the people at gladiatorial spectacles of men fighting with beasts; and worse than this, no doubt, bought votes at elections. But let this be remembered, that at that time there was a regular brokerage in votes, and these were sold by agents just as theatre tickets are sold now. It was of course wrong, but looked upon in Rome, more as a dissipation, than a crime. In Sparta, at one time it was thought a virtue to steal, provided you were not caught at it; at Rome, this corruption was practised by all classes, and nobody thought it wrong, except those who caught their opponent indulging in it.

In France, the theatres are open on Sunday; it would certainly not be as wrong for a man to kiss his wife there on the Sabbath, as it was once in saintly New-England. So in

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Rome, this vice was tolerated, and Cæsar being there, did as Rome did; that is the whole matter. The faults found in Cæsar's character, might be found in almost any contemporary politician; his virtues of head and heart, were his alone, and not one can be compared to him in courage, magnanimity, clemency, natural abilities, or attainments.

When we compare Cæsar's conduct in triumph to that of Sylla, who had seized the reigns but twenty years before, it seems scarcely credible that from the same people, and at so short a distance in time, there should have sprung up men so utterly dissimilar. In comparison, Sylla looks like a demon and Cæsar like a demi-god.

The ghastly ferocity exhibited by the contending factions of Marius and Sylla, surpass conception; and Sylla in triumph, seems the incarnation of the fierce passions of every beast and reptile. His rule was like that of the infernal triumvirate, Danton, Marat and Robespierre, in France. It was the grim boast of Sylla, that he would never spare an enemy; and the torch to the dwelling, and the dagger to the heart, was the essence of his policy. The Senators who had favored Marius, were slaughtered; towns were pillaged, burned, and prisoners, including women and children, put to the sword.

Murder became a fashionable indulgence and a fine art. If a particular luxurious scene was desired, the victims were invited to a banquet, and then massacred for entertainment. On one occasion while Sylla was conferring with the Senate, cries of pain were heard. Some of the Senators arose in alarm. "Be seated," said Sylla, in pleasant nonchalance, "it is only some wretches being punished by my order." Six thousand Samnite prisoners were being butchered.

Sylla's fertile villainy invented proscription and confiscation; and his partisans revelled in the wealth of sequestrated goods, while the real owner was banished a pauper. To express the slightest sympathy was to be a traitor, and to become a martyr. Under his atrocious despotism, peace came, but no pacification. Rome held but two classes; the Syllaites, revelling in the magnificence of ill-gotten gain; and Mariusites, gnashing their teeth in silence, living in squalid misery and burning for revenge.

At this time Cæsar, nephew of Marius, was eighteen years of age; but he had held himself aloof from the revolution. But he was kin of Marius, and Sylla struck with the loftiness of his bearing and the reputed brilliance of his talents, saw in him a spirit that might be dangerous. He demanded him to divorce his wife, offensive to him because a niece of Marius. Cæsar refused, and had soon to flee for life. Sylla deprived him of his

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priesthood; intervention of friends stayed further persecution, but Sylla yielded reluctantly, "for" said he, "there are many Mariuses in this young man." Napoleon adds to this: "Sylla had judged rightly. Many Mariuses in effect had met together in Cæsar; Marius the great Captain, but with a larger military genius; Marius the enemy of the oligarchy, but without hatred, and without cruelty; Marius, in a word no longer the man of a faction, but the man of his age."

At the age of twenty-six, Cæsar returned to Rome after spending the time intervening from his persecution by Sylla, as an attendant to Minucius, in the Mithridatic war, and, cultivating himself in oratory and literature. He became at once an energetic public man, and the champion of the people. He was soon made Pontiff, then Military Tribune; at thirty-two, Questor; at thirty-five, Curule Edile, and at thirty-seven, became Consul, and in the same year, Grand Pontiff.

At this time occurred the conspiracy of Catiline. De Quincy remarks that, "it is familiarly known that he was pretty deeply engaged in this conspiracy," and quotes as incontrovertible evidence, the remark of Suetonius, "*Niminatus inter socios Catilinæ.*" Napoleon takes opposite ground, and we believe the stronger, though from this distance, and with the meagre sources of information, it is impossible to decide. The attempt to implicate Cæsar, was made by Cato and his adherents, bitter political enemies of Cæsar, and unscrupulous as to the means of injuring him.

Upon the arrest of the conspirators, the Senate deliberated on their punishment, and such was the heat of feeling, that though the jurisdiction of such cases did not come within its competence, the Senate, led by Cato and Cicero, urged their immediate sentence. Cæsar's speech in their behalf, attached suspicion to him, but his course is easily explained. He was not their sympathizer, but only the upholder of law, foreseeing that if once trampled upon, it might end in anarchy and ruin.

"It may be said," said Cæsar, addressing the Senate, "who will blame your decree against the Parricides of the Republic? Time, circumstance and fortune, whose caprice governs the world. Whatever will happen to them, they will have merited; but you Senators consider the influence your decision may have upon other offenders. Abuses often grow from precedents, good in principle; but when power falls into the hands of men less enlightened, or less honest, a just and reasonable precedent receives an application contrary to justice and reason.

In our days, when Sylla Conqueror caused to be butchered Damasippus and other men, who had attained to dignities under the Republic, who did not praise such a deed? Those villains, those factious men, whose seditions had harassed the Republic, had, it was said, merited their death.

But this was the signal for a great carnage; for if any one coveted the house or land of another, or only a vase or vestment, it was somehow contrived that he should be put in the number of the proscribed."

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This wise and temperate counsel did not prevail against the bitter invective of Cato, and the fiery eloquence of Cicero. The law was violated by the Senate, and the conspirators executed. What was the sequel? A few years after, there was no law in Rome but the will of a Dictator. Cæsar had pointed out the result with a finger of light. Cicero, Cæsar's enemy after the execution, acknowledged in full Senate, that he believed Cæsar guiltless of any complicity in Catiline's scheme, and collateral evidence sustains his innocence.

It was altogether inconsistent with Cæsar's character to join a faction; his whole aim was to remain aloof from all factions; to be not the man of a party, but the man of the people, independent of all parties.

Was Cæsar justified in seizing the government? If ever there was a time that called for a master, then it was, and Cæsar was the best of masters. Rome had indeed a Constitution, but no one respected it, and laws which none obeyed. The government was prostituted by a party to the low ends of avarice, ambition and personal resentment. Returning to Rome with his army fresh from the fields of their exploits in Gaul, Cæsar found a schism headed by Cato and Cicero, clamoring in the Senate for his removal contrary to law, as the military commission he held was yet within two years of its expiration. An army commanded by Pompey sustained the administration. The Senate ordered Cæsar to relinquish his command. He knew that to do so, would be to place himself at the mercy of unscrupulous enemies. Yet, unwilling to declare war, he replied that he would disband his army if they would Pompey's. It was refused. He advanced at once to the Rubicon; there he paused a moment, then said, "The die is cast," and plunging through its waters, moved with startling rapidity upon Rome. The Senate fled in dismay and Pompey retreated.

In sixty days Cæsar had made himself master of Italy without shedding a drop of blood. Inferior in numbers to Pompey, he yet advanced upon him; then seduced him away from the sea-coast, and conquered him at Pharsalia; thence he subdued Africa; then Egypt, and then at the battle of Munda, in Spain, he overthrew the last band that opposed, and was undisputed Sovereign of the Roman world. However men may differ as to Cæsar's manner of obtaining power, there can be only one opinion as to his manner of using it. The Pompeians who fell into his hands were astonished at this magnanimity. The people at first fled before his army in dismay, but soon they welcomed it as the harbinger of peace and justice. There was no pillaging, no conflagrations, no slaughter of prisoners.

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Wherever his Eagles went, there was security of person and property, and enforcement of the most liberal laws. Welcomed at Rome as the Saviour of the people, Cæsar at once sought to re-establish confidence and good feeling. He declared that he knew no difference between Cæsarians and Pompeians, and that their individuality was lost in the common title of Roman citizens; and that the chief pleasure he had, was "in saving every day, one or another of those who had fought against him." He restored the statue of Pompey to its place in the Capitol, and when the head of that great general was brought him, he turned from it in tears. He recalled exiles to Rome, restored the property of the proscribed; reinvested with their honors, the children of those who had suffered under Sylla; relieved debts by cancelling a portion of the usury, and framed an Agrarian Law, looking to the interests of all. Brutus and Cassius, and others, late fighting with Pompey, were appointed to high positions in the State; passions were calmed, feuds settled, and instead of holding two parties, each carrying daggers for the other, Rome once more was the city of a great people glorying in their common ancestry, and bearing arms only for the defense of their common country.

The best evidences of Cæsar's genius, are not his splendid victories in Gaul, in Britain, in Italy, in Africa, in Egypt, in Spain; not that he was by general acknowledgment, second in oratory, in a country that boasted of a Cicero; not that while arranging the details of vast armies he found time to compose a history, that is a model of simplicity and purity of style; not that he excelled amongst many competitors as a General, a Lawgiver, a Jurist, an Historian, a Philologer, a Mathematician, and an Architect; but that when passions were seething like molten lava, he turned them into harmless channels and cooled them down; that he appeased hatred, restrained cruelty, and harmonized conflicting elements, and raising the minds of all above the mere schemes of a party; he interested them in grand enterprises looking to the glory and improvement of the whole.

Cæsar's course teaches this lesson that "the worst use you can put a man to is to hang him;" that the next worst is to persecute him; that the best use is to elevate him, by setting the example of moderation and magnanimity.

He did not pause at the restoration of peace. His mind sweeping the horizon like a telescope brought near the most distant objects, and then penetrating them with the scrutiny of a microscope, saw their construction and apprehended their meaning. Magnificent plans were meditated looking to the foundation of great institutions and internal improvements

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rose up as if by magic. The first public library was established; a full digest of Roman Laws was contemplated; and a scheme set on foot to drain the Pontine marshes; to enlarge the harbor of Ostia, and dig a canal through the isthmus of Corinth; he revived the sanctity of marriage; founded thriving colonies in Corinth and Carthage; erected fine public buildings, and framed the Julian Calendar, which exists with slight modification at the present day.

In the full vigor of this splendid career, Cæsar fell at the base of Pompey's statue; the very statue which he himself had reared to his noble foe, and by the hand of Brutus whom he had loaded with benefits. Thus passed away "the foremost man of all the world." His genius had undertaken almost everything, and had excelled in whatsoever it undertook. Never has there met together in one human being such rare endowments; grace of person, eloquence of speech, accomplishments in every branch of knowledge, and a daring brilliance of action beyond language to describe; and crowning all, the delicacy of a woman and the tenderness of a child. Well did he merit the eulogy of Antony:

> "This was the noblest Roman of them all.
> His life was gentle; and the elements
> So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, This is a man."

Other men in Rome could make parties; he alone could unite them. Any common blunderers could make wounds; he alone had the skill to heal them. His reign, compared to that of Sylla before, and those of Caligula and Nero after him, looks like the glorious summer blossoming out between the barren desolation of February and the withered desolation of November. The fine speech which Shakspeare puts into the mouth of Brutus is the mere license of the drama. History does not justify it. He was guilty of perfidy, cowardice, ingratitude and base selfishness. He had slain Cæsar, "not that he loved Cæsar less, or that he loved Rome more," but that he loved Brutus most. He had committed worse than a crime—a blunder, and the clock of the universe went back a century. To condense our admiration of the greatest and mildest of monarchs, we would change the deceit of the murderer, and say: "There are tears for his love, joy for his fortune, honor for his valor, and immortality for his ambition."

As to the Royal author who has drawn so graphically his great model, our esteem for him as a sovereign, a man, and a writer, is summed up in that vivid outflash of his people's love, "Vive l'Empereur!" Having set his eyes upon the throne in youth, he has marched to it with the steadiness of

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destiny. He has been a soldier without warring on women and children, and without adding to the profession of arms the profession of the hangman or the jailer. He is a statesman who scorns the jealousies of a partizan, and a conqueror who does not assert the "divine right" to persecute those who honestly opposed him, and he is a monarch whose name itself is a victory for peace, magnanimity and knowledge; and who is now admitted as equal in letters to the high distinction he has long since attained in statesmanship and in arms. True, in this book the Lion has painted and has portrayed himself astride of men; but we are only glad that when the French called for a ruler, Jupiter sent down, not a log that did nothing, nor a stork that eat them up, but a Lion, whose roar is never heard and whose claws are never seen except by their enemies.

ART. II.—WHAT'S TO BE DONE WITH THE NEGROES?

THIS question would be easy enough to answer if the radical leaders of the North, who have almost entire control of the subject, possessed one vestige of faith; faith in the past, in the prescriptive, in human nature, in human experience, in human laws and institutions, in human habits and customs, in legal analogies, in divine commands, in fine, had they faith in anything. But they have faith in nothing, and wildly and rashly speculate about everything. They are Rationalists all. And rationalism means, or inevitably leads to infidelity in all things. He who makes reason his sole guide, who will accept nothing that does not concur with his reason, must find, if he be capable of logical analysis and concatenated ratiocination, that he will have to reject every thing in the material and in the moral world as false, spurious, nay, as non-existent. Everything that does exist, or that we believe to exist, is unreasonable, simply because it is super-reasonable. Reason, boldly, fearlessly, profanely applied to the universe itself, dissolves the universe into thin, airy nothing, and leaves a few vagrant Ideas floating through the immensity of space. He is no philosopher, but an ignorant charlatan, who has not reasoned himself to this conclusion, who has not discovered, that all reasoning, which does not adopt faith for its premises, if pushed to its ultimate consequences, leads to gross fallacy and glaring absurdity.

But the Goddess of Reason is as devotedly worshipped by our Northern rulers, as she ever was by the *canaille*, the statesmen and philosophers of Paris in the days of Robespierre and the guillotine.

Our rulers are rationalists, and rationalism is the appalling

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evil of the day, for it has declared, and is maintaining, open war against everything in heaven or on earth.

There is hardly a reformer in New England, who would not undertake to make to order a far better social, moral, political and religious world, than this old crazy thing we live in. He would be certain to undertake it, if he could secure the Patent Right. One may be intimate with them for a month, without discovering the peculiar monomania; but they are all crazy on some point.

We of the South would not find much difficulty in managing the negroes, at least tolerably well, if left to ourselves, for we would be guided by the lights of experience and the teachings of history, sacred and profane. We are not perfectionists, like the Northern people, and should not expect, or try, to make Solomons, nor even Fred Douglasses of the negroes. We should be satisfied to compel them to engage in coarse, common manual labor, and to punish them for dereliction of duty or nonfulfillment of their contracts with sufficient severity, to make the great majority of them useful, productive laborers. We would take care of, in the most humane and ample manner, those, unable to provide for and take care of themselves; but they should be no charge or burden on the whites. By a tax on the labor of the strong and healthy negroes we would raise a sufficient fund to provide comfortable subsistence for the weak, infirm and aged negroes. We should treat them as mere grown-up children, entitled like children, or apprentices, to the protection of guardians or masters, and bound to obey those put above them, in place of parents, just as children are so bound. We think them no better, nay, not half so good as white sailors or soldiers, and even, if they were capable of taking care of themselves, like white adults, we see no reason why they should not be compelled to the specific performance of their labor contracts, just as sailors are. White men who violate such contracts may be sued for damages, for as a class, white men have very generally, something wherewith to pay damages. But negroes have no property, and if not liable, like white sailors and soldiers for breach of their contracts, they will be above all law, and worthless as laborers. The good negroes would suffer most in the absence of such legal redress, for no one would give half a fair hire for negroes, who could at any moment quit them with impunity. The bad negroes could live by theft, without employment, but the good and honest ones would starve. The wages of negroes would at once be increased a third, if the hirer could take them before a justice and have them punished for misconduct or breach of contract.

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Negroes will not provide in summer for the wants of winter, nor in youth for the exigencies of age, unless compelled so to do. The government of every country is bound to take care of all its citizens or subjects, from the results of the industry of all. To punish idleness is the first and most incumbent duty of government; and the punishment should be severe enough to prevent or correct the evil. Vagrant laws are hardly needed by the whites, and they sleep upon our statute books. The white race is naturally provident and accumulative, and but few of them thieves. They have many wants, and to supply those wants, generally labor assiduously and continually. Little legal regulation is needed to induce white men to work. But a great deal of severe legislation will be required to compel negroes to labor as much as they should do, in order not to become a charge upon the whites. We must have a black code, and not confound white men with negroes, because one in a thousand may be no better than the negroes.

Some negroes are sufficiently provident and industrious, to be left like white men, to take care of themselves without danger of their supporting themselves by theft in youth, and becoming a charge on the public in old age. Such persons would suffer nothing from a severe black code that compelled negroes to labor and to fulfil their engagements, under the penalty of punishment. Laws are necessarily general in their character, and work injustice in peculiar cases. Yet we must have laws however hardly they may sometimes operate. The law makes the husband the master of the wife, yet how often does it happen that the thing should be reversed, and the woman be put at the head of the family and the husband be compelled to obey her.

Generally men are best qualified to be the heads of families, and the law is right that recognizes them as such. Our Northern cousins mistake the exceptional for the normal and general, and would have all the women wear the breeches. We love and admire the ladies so much, that we feel half inclined to become a Woman's Rights man, yet we fear that women in breeches (or bloomer) might become coarser and viler than even the men, for we have observed that when woman is bad, she stops at nothing. Well, now, if the white woman can't complain, justly, that they are not put on an equality with the men, but really become, in legal contemplation, slaves, so soon as they are married, why should the negroes, male or female, complain that they are subordinated to the male whites. As a class are negro men superior to white women? Should not the right of suffrage be conferred on white women before it is

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given to negro men? Every Republican at the North, would give superior legal and political rights to negro men, over white women. Immemorial law, divine and human, custom and usages have in all countries and ages subordinated woman to man. We of the South have faith in the past, faith in the course of nature, faith in the fiat of the Almighty, and do not profanely question the propriety and necessity of this subordination of the female to the male.

But immemorial usage, law, custom and divine injunction, nay human nature itself, have subordinated inferior races to superior races. Never did the black man come in contact with the white man, that he did not become his subordinate, if not his slave. We must quite expel nature before we can make the negroes the equals of the whites, or even so elevate them, as to fit them to be governed by a code so mild as that which suffices to govern whites. All whites under twenty-one are denied the rights and privileges of adults, are in a state of pupilage and *quasi* slavery. We have reserved for the last this legal analogy, this universal custom and usage among civilized peoples, and even among savages. Infants, that is, those who have not arrived at the age of physical and intellectual manhood, have, we repeat, in all countries been denied the rights and privileges of adults, and kept in a state of pupilage or *quasi* slavery. This is the dictate of universal nature, and must be right. Now, are there not twenty whites under the age of twenty-one, better qualified to enjoy and exercise the full rights of equal citizenship, where there is one negro of any age so qualified? If so, the hardship is twenty times as great of retaining white boys in a state of pupilage, as of so retaining the negroes, as a class. As a class, neither boys nor negroes are fitted to exercise the rights of citizenship, and as sure as there is a sun in the Heaven, the negro will be remitted to a state of pupilage, or exterminated. He needs protection quite as much as white women, or white boys, and they who are protected must be controlled and abridged in their liberties. It is sheer nonsense to talk of extending special protection to any class of people, without at the same time abridging their liberties. We hope, indeed, we believe, the Freedmen's Bureau will not perpetrate this nonsense. It does extend complete and most costly protection to the negroes, but this protection will operate most ruinously to North and South, and to the negroes themselves, unless they be compelled to fulfil their duties as laborers. If the Bureau will force them to labor, as the emancipated white slaves of England were forced to labor, it will do much to benefit the North and the South, and more to benefit the negroes themselves; for it is

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on such terms alone, that they can be saved from a cruel and tedious extermination.

No one doubts that it is the duty of government to appoint guardians or masters for white infants, who have lost their parents, their natural guardians or masters. It is the most precious right of infants, that they are entitled to have such masters appointed. But it is more clearly the duty of government to appoint guardians, or patrons, or masters for negroes of all ages, for they are the inferior of white infants. But should the government neglect this obvious duty, the negro freedmen, like the Roman freedmen, will choose patrons, or masters for themselves. Probably half of them have already done so. Mere law cannot sufficiently govern negroes, any more than it can govern sailors, or soldiers, or infants. They need masters of some sort, as well to protect as to govern them. And masters they will have, or soon perish and disappear from the face of the earth.

ART. III.—THE FEDERAL UNION—NOW AND HEREAFTER.

THE question mainly to be considered of our subject is: Under what institutions are men and the nation most likely to advance? We recognize in all nations some ruling political principle, some ruling idea, which is—that it may advance itself and take rank as a benefactor of the human race. The national mind is not to be shut up in its own spiritual nature. It must act on matter. There must be an harmony between its public and national life. There must be a close alliance between inward and outward improvements. Distinct apprehensions by those devoted to legislation, to the development of moral and physical truths, must be properly associated to call forth the spring-tides of improvement. These things, sufficiently recognized and fully acted upon, will triumph over every obstacle—perpetually extending the great source of moral and physical good. The interesting relations and dependences of life are then so framed that men become fitted for the growth of power, for civil government, for the arm of industry, for redeeming the wilderness, for opening smiling fields, for planting opulent cities, for every thing that is spread around them. What cause have we for boasting? What is Liberty? What have we done to overcome the mighty barriers and lay the pillars of our political fabric upon an imperishable foundation? Have we made America conspicuous at a distance? Have we consoled ourselves that we were superior to other nations? Have we burned incense upon the altar

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of our national vanity, and forfeited our patriotism and virtue? In some respects we are guilty, and let us proceed to count the cost. With a people whose government and laws are nothing but the embodying of party spirit, to become fashioned in a foreign mould, after its own pleasures, and into whose minds the thoughts and wishes of foreigners are poured perpetually, we should not consider it as a strange result if the bonds of our Union had long since been broken and our Republic ruptured into fragments. A people having its own character, its own nationality, its own feelings, has a never-failing source of independent existence, which always enlarges and strengthens itself. A deep and concentrated energy is needed to sustain national prosperity and social well-being when man does not value himself as man, when there is so much mental darkness and mental bondage. Under such influences, men cannot understand why it is they have to submit to new results, undergo new trials. Among a people called to discuss great questions, to contend for great interests, to make great sacrifices for the public weal, to explore new paths, to reap new harvests, in the science of political philosophy, all with a purpose to prevent political decomposition, or to encourage renovation from abuses, unexpected energies of ripe and discriminating statesmanship must be brought to bear. This is God's political education for the human race, and all other methods to solve the problem of the future are vain attempts. However startling this fact may seem, and though it may be the admiration of one and the hatred of another, it is nevertheless true. The germs of mischief which have given birth to all modern revolutions, have usually been born from some popular formula transferring the patriot's allegiance to the insatiate rage of horrible and murderous passions. Therefore, there has been a vulgarizing tendency in modern politics. The genius of all revolutions takes us back to this starting point, showing that the political horizon was overspread with social wrath, ready to crush out the fondest hopes. It would seem, therefore, that we have yet great principles, great questions in morals and politics to be viewed under new aspects. We may, to accomplish this result, naturally expect to meet with many sacrifices. The bonds which held our nation together, have been rent asunder. We have now to be looked at from a new stand-point among the nations of the earth. The grievances which the United States have so long suffered (whether in part, real or imaginary) have been thoroughly probed and brought to light before the world. The recent civil war was the inevitable result growing out of these. And in what does it differ from other modern political revolutions? Perhaps, in nothing more than a honest difference of

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opinion as to Constitutional rights and principles. It is said that the first American revolution was fought for a principle and the maintenance of a principle. It was found, or at least it was supposed, that Great Britain was sorely oppressing her American colonies. In what way was she doing this? By drawing from them a large internal revenue by taxation without any representation in Parliament. The colonies said, "that taxation without representation was slavery," and they would resist such British encroachment upon their political rights. They did so, and went to war, and fought eight years to gain Independence. They were successful, and laid the foundation for a new and constitutional government inaugurated by Washington. But the Convention that met at Philadelphia to frame this Constitution for the American people, planted the germs of political parties, which in time have grown into monstrous proportions, and the very being of their own creation they have now despoiled with their own hands. They have plucked it up, root and branch, and thrown it out "to moulder and to rot in the winds and rains of heaven." Vain attempt thus to mantle the nation in darkness—rather give it a Promethean light—a "light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world." These most zealous advocates of Freedom and the cause of national liberty, perhaps, fond of the love and passion of power, contended that to preserve our Government pure and spotless, very energetic measures were absolutely necessary for its preservation. Rulers, therefore, possessing the power to "devise ways and means," met in conventions, adopted "platforms," with "such rules and regulations" as they deemed best, and in honor to abide by and carry out—not so much for the benefit of the country as for their own aggrandizement. Some of these were adopted at Chicago, some at Charleston, some at Richmond, some at Baltimore and some at Cincinnati in 1860, and various others too tedious to mention, at other places. These Juggernaut institutions ordained, after the manner of the "Roman See," Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Breckinridge and Mr. Bell. But schisms arose among them, and the "crown" fell to Mr. Lincoln. In 1861 he was placed in the chair of State, and took the accustomed oath to support the Constitution. In his Inaugural, which is laconic and brief, he reviews the affairs of the country, and maintains he must run the machine as he found it, according to his oath and the requirements of the Constitution. It was regarded by him as perilous, and involving great and serious responsibilities; but with a deep and heartfelt gratitude to Almighty God for the peace and preservation of the country, he entered on his duties, hoping that by

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the special protection of Divine Providence the impending clouds might be dissipated. The Senate and House of Representatives was a Pandemonium—a Cassius and a Brutus were there.

But we are somewhat in advance of our argument. Let us review briefly Mr. Buchanan's administration and some of its antecedents. The seeds of sedition and dissolution were sown into a fruitful political soil, to bring forth a rich harvest to its respective parties, at the coming in of Missouri, 1821. What is called the "Restrictive Clause" was wont to be incorporated into her Constitution by the House of Representatives. The Senate refused to concur in passing this bill, and the measure was lost, and she was finally admitted without it. This germinating principle, however, had been let drop into a fruitful soil. It springs up rapidly into the life and vigor of youth and manhood, and becomes gigantic and terrible in strength. Its light was not "hidden under a bushel." It lit up the dark recesses of the council chambers, and as a guiding star it threw its bright and effulgent rays athwart the pilgrim land. It was not the voice of a ghostly apparition, neither was it the "dread of something after death, that puzzles the will." It was as Hercules strangling in their infant cradles those who were worshipping the Hindoo gods, the "Chandelahs," of whom the prayer and soul was, that the enraged "Elephant" should crush out to all eternity for the sins of the world. In the beginning of this "Reformation" there were no very signal victories by either "belligerents."

But ever and anon a great panic came over the armed hosts; they were threatened by disastrous defeat. The "sharp-shooters," reconnoitering their forces and skirmishing with their enemy, met on the plains of Kansas, 1858, and fought the bloody battle of Lecompton. It was a Wellington victory and more than a Waterloo defeat. But President Buchanan, who was in command, granted a short truce until November, 1860, when the "Democratic Army" surrendered to Mr. Lincoln, and were paroled on "honor," and permitted to return to "wives, children and friends." No serious acts of hostility were committed by either army until "General Secession" took command of the Southern forces, and made an attack and carried Fort Sumter, 1861. "General Consolidation," then in charge of the Northern Army, met the opposing forces at Charleston to defend the boasted land of Liberty and the rights given to the American people. The revolution began from the broad Atlantic to the innermost waters of the "sunny South," and disunion had stirred up all the sanguinary elements for an exhausting and bloody civil war. The great "issue" was then

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upon its mission of "life and death"—for the perpetuity or overthrow of republican institutions.

However deep our attachments may be to Liberty, these are warnings which should teach us to reprobate its oppressors. What are all our histories but a peculiar dread and abhorrence of the love of power? In the name of Liberty, it has inflicted more evils on the human family than all others. It has convulsed all civilized nations, spread desolation and bankruptcy through every household.

But what is the office of a well-directed government and the duties of a properly subordinated people in respect to their support towards it? We conceive it the first duty of a government to remove all barriers from the people, so as to keep the people together, to keep them from injuring themselves. It is the duty of the people, in the first place, to cultivate moral culture. Government can render important aids to its people by thus infusing this principle into the national life. Virtue and intelligence can alone elevate any people to a high rank in the scale of nations. Prosperity and permanent happiness can only be secured and maintained by this course. All others are failures. In a government like ours, where the power is lodged in the people, the great question is the spirit of wise and moral freedom to be generated and diffused. To awaken a proper degree of solicitude for generous principles as a bond of union, a deep sympathy, a spotless purity, rooted in the conscience and reason of the whole people, is the philosophy for building up and perpetuating free institutions. Did not France fail through the want of a proper moral preparation. She was too corrupt for freedom. There was too great political ignorance for her to win her way to free institutions. The like causes apply to Poland, Hungary and Italy in their great struggles for liberty, and have made their countries a slaughter-house, a prey of rapacity and insolence. They have been trampled on, spoiled, oppressed like beasts of burden, with terrible sufferings.

Here was a systematic suppression of freedom. But in what has it differed from the supposed wrongs of the American people in giving rise to her revolution? Despotism, no matter from what source it comes, or what names it may assume, will convulse the peace and independence of nations. The history of all modern revolutions is a sad commentary upon the wisdom and sagacity of nations. In what does the superiority of Republican institutions differ from that of absolute governments? The superiority of our institutions by many is supposed to be, not that they give the greatest freedom, but that they give every man a chance of ruling. The result is, that

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political ambition infects our country, generates a feverish restlessness and discontent. The spirit of intrigue can accomplish no political purposes single-handed. Men band themselves into parties, ostensibly framed for public ends, but aiming, really, at the acquisition of power. The people, like all other sovereigns, are courted and flattered, and told they can do no wrong. Their pride is pampered, their passions inflamed, their prejudices made inveterate. These, we think, have been the usual processes by which Republics have been subverted, and any one must be blind who cannot see that these have been the causes that have endangered our country. There is a pernicious influence in political life. There is a delusion about it, there is a danger about it. To govern others! Oh! what a blushing shame that fills the page of history! This has always been thought the highest function on earth. We have the intrigues of cabinets, the quarrels of courtiers, seiges and battles; these are the staples of history. But what is the mark of the progress of society, of rulers, of government? As we have said, it is the growth of virtue and intelligence. These are the great interests of all communities, rulers and government. Human legislation must address itself to these ends as the noblest agency, the essentials to human happiness. The wealth of all nations is in its people. Government is not the spring or source. It cannot confer but little positive benefit; it can be productive of incalculable evil. However, it is a needful protection, though it cannot till our fields, weave the ties that bind us to our families, or give energy to the intellect and will. Government, then, can do but little to advance the chief interests of human nature by its direct agency. It may do something, it is true, in its functions in this respect. But the sacrifices, the scrambles for office, the appeals to base passions, are the prevailing errors which the direct influence of Government too often employ to compass political ends, for the great advantages that might accrue to the country. The chief interest which Government is expected to watch, and on which it is competent to act with power, so as to enrich its people, is its wholesome legislation. It is not to be expected of this that it should, as was done by Henry the Eighth, regulate and establish all the domestic relations. But laws are absolutely essential. Man, from the inherent tendency of his nature, needs their restraining influence. But to shackle and bind him, worse than the restive animal, with bits in his mouth, chains upon his hands, is no part of the policy of civilization and political institutions. We confess that we have in the administration of justice in this country, often turned with pain and humiliation from the Hall of Congress, where

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we have seen the legislator, forgetting the majesty of his function, forgetting his relation to a vast and growing community, sacrificing to his party or himself the public weal. To this department of government we cannot ascribe too much importance. We should feel it to be a duty to ourselves, and to our country, to hold up to unmeasured reprobation him who would establish an empire of brute force over rational beings. Woe, woe to the impious hands which have shaken our most sacred column of social and political liberty; who have desecrated this holy fabric with bloody hands, as the enemies of their race, that would fetter the human mind and subject other wills to their own. We are not inclined to elaborate on this branch of our subject, notwithstanding it is of unrivaled interest in both our present and future history. If we were to add any other opinion to those that have been implied, thus far, in the prosecution of our work, we should say that the main cause of our revolution rested in a honest difference of theory of our government. Our Constitution was formed, by its framers, in such a manner that there was much left in its interpretation to be supplied by logical deduction. This, necessarily, gave rise to differences of opinion and much latitudinarian legislation. Its deficiencies were early seen and were attempted to be remedied by amendments. Political theories, of the true nature and character of our government, under this order of facts, were an almost necessary consequence. We have said, that, in the convention which adopted the Constitution, was the first germ of political parties. They grew up, rather by rapid strides; developed themselves in John Adams and Thomas Jefferson's administrations; became particularly conspicuous during that of John Quincy Adams; manifested themselves, alarmingly, in the organization of the Hartford Convention, in opposition to the war against Great Britain in 1812; and particularly obnoxious in the scheme for dismembering the Union, which organized at Boston in 1826, in which, it is said, Mr. Adams himself was one of the great movers. In 1832 it grew into large and huge dimensions in South Carolina, in the shape of "Nullification Ordinances," which was only suppressed by the administrative ability of President Jackson. On the annexation of the Republic of Texas to the Union it culminated in a merciless and cruel war with Mexico, thus marking our country by the stupendousness of its acquisitions.

Other causes and different conclusions may be arrived at by political philosophers, by some new law of combination of elementary principles, a kind of catalytic phenomena, inherent in the original organism. The aims and tendencies of all causes are to produce, both in the physical and moral worlds,

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their corresponding effects; and these are mere matters for observation and experiment to definitely settle. Any unusual variation from usual or known results are to be regarded as perturbations incompatible with the harmony and durability of both systems. Then, there are mutual relations in the moral world as invariably established as there are in the physical world; and a violation of any of these, whether in the one or the other, necessarily inflicts a greater or less evil, as the case may be. There is no deception in this law. If a people attempt to set up new schemes for the development of social well-being, to settle the disputed points of difference, as to the proposed plans or methods for doing this, with a view to elevate its standard abroad or among themselves, they are very prone to imbibe revolutionary ideas, and end in civil war. This, at least, has been the course of such things in other countries. This revolution is to be regarded as a transition movement. Its aim was to give security to cardinal principles on the part of the South, under the rights guaranteed to it by the Constitution. The radical school of the North desired to indoctrinate new principles, to engraft them into our republican government, widen the Constitution, by implied doctrines, to meet the developments and rising demands that they believed our national life so absolutely required. In the organization of their methods for doing this, we are carried back in our history for forty years or more. By slow, then by rapid progress, it has played its part on the public drama, saying, "Speak of me as I am; I have done the state some service." If the record does not belie itself, it speaks of intrigue and corruption. Its advent into power speaks well and truly what has been accomplished by their fell purpose, concentrated, consolidated Despotism! Where, then, are the prospects of the United States? Magna Charta is said to have broken down the Norman tyranny. The Constitution of the United States must, then, succumb to Radicalism in this, the enlightened nineteenth century, and the liberties of the American people be exposed to a growing despotism. The great rights of society, life liberty and the pursuit of happiness, are to be fenced around, by a fierce and powerful Monarchy. A Reconstruction Committee—a French Directory—become the mandate of the Dictator's Imperial Power. The Judiciary, the sum of the nation's existence, are to be marked out on the statute-book, "false, deceitful and treacherous." The Freedmen's Bureau Bill—the Civil Rights Bill—forcibly discriminates their legislative policy as the light of a New Reformation, a new National policy! Federal authority everything; State legislation nothing. The black race everything; the white race nothing!

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It "prefers negroes to foreigners." The internal policy and economy of the States, and the well-being of its own citizens, are all placed under Federal prohibition. This catalogue of evils, enough to damn and disgrace any nation forever, not to mention numerous others incidentally growing out of these, being furnished, who will dare venture to work out the problem of results? If this does not sap and destroy our Federative system, we are at a loss to know what would? In the language of President Johnson, these things must "resuscitate the spirit of rebellion, and arrest the progress of those influences which are more closely drawing around the States the bonds of peace and union." It necessarily follows that our unfortunate condition is growing worse, and that a reign of terror is to be set up, perhaps, unparalleled in the world's history. There is but one line of policy, and that should be immediately adopted, which is, for the Radical party to "ground its arms," make peace, and establish a reconciliation upon the basis of the President's policy of Reconstruction.

ART. IV.—IMPROVEMENT OF OUR RIVERS.--THE APPOMATTOX OF VIRGINIA.

The following contribution is as applicable to the improvement of our river waters generally as to those of the Appomattox, and is furnished to the REVIEW by Mr. Stein, who is one of the best hydrographical engineers in the country.—EDITOR.

BEFORE entering upon the subject which I intend to discuss in this paper,—"The Improvement of the Tidal Compartment of the Appomattox River,"—I will take the liberty of making a few preliminary remarks, which may enable the unprofessional reader to understand more readily and more clearly the principles in view of which a plan for the improvement of a tidal river should be directed, and in conformity with which it should be carried out.

When the water of a river meets with no obstacles, it has generally its greatest velocity at or near the surface in the middle of the bed and least at the bottom and sides; but when it meets with some obstruction in its course, it appears to stop moving, forms a remove or rise of the surface, and produces a complete transformation in the whole of its section. The velocity at the surface may become almost insensible, while that at the bottom is strong.

Where the channel of a river is immoderately contracted, the surface rises in front of the contraction and produces a transformation in the direction of the veins of water. The particles at the surface, which had the greatest velocity, are retarded, while those at the bottom acquire a very considerable velocity; consequently the water becomes deeper where the contraction is, but the material scoured out by the current from the narrow part of the channel is

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deposited in the wider part below where the current is more languid, and thus the depth is diminished, in order to equalize the sectional area which the river is capable of keeping open.

An expansion of the bed of a river, and an increase in the length of its perimeter in contact with water, beyond its regular limits, increase the retarding forces, diminish the velocity and momentum of the passing stream, and the surface of the water above the expansion is forced to rise until it has generated an additional head, and acquired an additional momentum, so as to enable it to discharge its volume through this expansion of the bed, by which a part of the moving force is absorbed.

An island in the channel of a river increases the length of the wetted perimeter, diminishes the velocity and momentum of the stream, and the surface of the river above the island must rise above its original level to give an additional momentum to the stream, so as to enable it to discharge the water through the two branches that enclose the island. Shoals are formed in the bed immediately above and below the island, on account of the increased width of the stream.

All changes of direction of the line of current obstruct the free passage of water in rivers, and the more sudden they are the more disadvantageous their effect. The resistance to the free passage of water occasioned by this cause is likewise overcome by a rise of the surface of the river, or head of water.

If the bed of a river were properly regulated and directed, and the sides well defended, the current would work to obtain in depth what it cannot in width, and the bed of the river being lowered, and consequently the surface of low water, the flood-tide would be propagated more rapidly, and a much larger quantity of tidal water would be admitted.

The channel best calculated to receive the flood-tide most readily is that which gradually narrows up stream. For, as it advances up a channel so constructed, its momentum is preserved in a great degree by the sustained pressure of the larger body of water behind it, moving in the same direction, until, at the head, from having no escape, it is forced to rise to a higher level. On the other hand, if the channel of the river were straight and the breadth or transverse section the same all the way down, the velocity of the flood stream, as it advanced up, would be reduced by friction, and, consequently, as less tidal-water would be forced or thrown into the river, there would be a corresponding loss of scouring power on the return of the ebb.

The sedimentary matter with which the water of a river is, in a greater or less degree, charged, comes from above, and, as it has been set in motion and brought down by the weight and velocity of the water, so it will subside and become stationary whenever it meets with a place of rest. In like manner substances, which are pushed onward along the bottom of the bed by the weight and velocity of the water above them, come to rest whenever such

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weight and velocity are sufficiently diminished. But as the mechanical effect produced upon the bottom of the bed of a river by the ebb tide is far greater than by the flood, there is always a constant tendency to force such matter outwards to the sea.

The scouring power of a river, or the force with which the current acts upon the bottom of the bed, is in proportion to the depth or weight and velocity of the water, consequently the greater the depth and velocity the greater the scouring power.

With these few remarks, by way of introduction, I will now enter upon the subject more immediately contemplated in this paper, which first engaged my attention a good many years ago, and the importance of which has rendered it, at various times since, a subject of reflection sufficiently interesting to me.

The city of Petersburg, Va., is situated on the Appomattox river, a little below the falls, and about $11\frac{3}{8}$ miles above its mouth at City Point, where it empties itself into the James river. The influence of the tide does not extend above the falls, and at Petersburg, according to the report of the "Commission" on the Improvement of the Appomattox River, November 26, 1852, its ordinary rise is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, with little difference between that place and City Point.

From City Point to Point of Rocks, a distance of $3\frac{7}{8}$ miles, $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet of water can be carried. At Point of Rocks the river divides into two channels, and the difficulties of navigation are to be found in that part of the river between Point of Rocks and Petersburg, about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles long. From Petersburg to Point of Rocks the course of the river is so circuitous, and the width of the channel is so irregular, that the resistance to the regular flow of the water from the bends, in some places, and the excessive width of the bed in others, has led to the deposit of sedimentary matter, and the formation of islands, dividing the river into two and sometimes three channels, thus dissipating the volume of water in the river, retarding the propagation of the flood-tide, and diminishing the quantity and velocity of the back-water, so as almost to destroy the scouring power of the river. Such is the condition of the channel between Point of Rocks and Petersburg, that though the depth of water in front of the wharves at the latter place is $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet at ordinary high tide, no vessel drawing more than about 7 feet can get up to the city.

With the view of improving this defective condition of the river, and rendering it navigable for larger vessels, a Commission was appointed in 1852, to consider the best mode of carrying out the proposed improvement. In their report, November 26th, in that year, they recommended that a channel, 60 feet wide at the bottom, should be excavated by dredging.

Any improvement in the navigation of the river, between Petersburg and Point of Rocks, to be really valuable, or even worth the cost of its execution, must be of such a character, both as regards the depth and width of the channel proposed to be made, as would permit the larger vessels engaged in the Petersburg trade, on arriving in the river, to pass up directly to the city and unload, and when

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loaded to run down without any detention or delay from, or any interference with, inward or outward bound vessels. Now, I contend, that the channel recommended by the Commission, of the dimensions above specified, would be too narrow and contracted to be either safe or convenient, and too limited in capacity, to meet the requirements of the Petersburg trade, and that, even if it were practicable, it would turn out so little of an improvement, and would fall so far short of the expectations and desires of those really interested in the improvement of the river, that it would not be worth the cost of execution.

The very same report of the Commission, referred to above, suggests another objection by no means to be overlooked. It says: "The freshet of 1851 rose to about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet above ordinary high water at the city wharf, and that of 1852 to about 6 feet. The low islands in the stream, and the lateral channels, giving room for the water to spread, the rise was but little felt at Broadway." A question arises, then, whether a channel, of the capacity specified by the Commission, would be sufficient to give such vent to the accumulated waters of such freshets as would obviate all danger of overflow. My opinion is, that a channel, too contracted to give free and rapid vent to such freshets as sometimes occur in the Appomattox river, would cause the waters to rise to such a head at Petersburg as would certainly produce effects highly injurious, if not utterly destructive, to the navigation of the river and to the adjacent lands.

The narrow capacity of the channel would also have another injurious effect. The propagation of the flood-tide would be retarded, the quantity that could reach Petersburg would be greatly diminished, and consequently, there would be a corresponding loss in the velocity and scouring power of the back-water during the ebb.

But the most objectionable feature in the whole plan, as recommended by the "Commission," is the mode by which it is proposed to execute the work—dredging. There are cases, no doubt, where dredging may be highly useful. For a lake, where there is neither tide nor current, dredging may be useful to deepen the approach to the wharves of a city built upon its shore, or in any body of still water where it may be necessary to lower the bed, or even in some cases where the part of the bed of a river is composed of compact clay too hard for the current to wear away readily, or where the bed is covered with materials too heavy for the current to take up or push along the bottom. But in a river where the bottom consists of sand and alluvial soil, and where there is a current sufficiently strong to bring down sand and sediment, as long as the causes which led to their deposit remain, dredging is neither necessary nor useful. It is not necessary, because the current which brought them down and deposited them, if properly directed and its velocity restored, will again remove them farther down. Neither is it useful, except as a mere temporary expedient, because no sooner does the dredge lift its load of sand and mud from the bottom than the river begins the work of replacing them, and filling up the hole

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so made, and as the river works night and day, never sleeps, and keeps no day of rest, the result is inevitable. That hole will soon be filled up, unless the hand of God should stop the current, or the act of man change its direction. Therefore, I contend that the improvement of the Appomattox river by dredging alone is utterly impracticable.

In reflecting upon the defective condition of a river with the view of improving its navigable capacity, the first inquiry should be, What are the causes which produced that defective condition? The causes being ascertained, the first step in the work of improvement should be the removal of these causes. That being accomplished, the natural force of the river, properly used and properly directed, will gradually but certainly bring about all the improvement of which it is capable. In examining that part of the Appomattox river between Petersburg and Point of Rocks it will be seen at once that the causes which led to its present defective condition, are, the circuitous course of the river and the want of regularity in the bed. As long as these causes are permitted to remain, the navigable condition of the river can never be permanently improved; for, as they have acted in the past, so they will continue to act in the future, with always a greater tendency to increase their effect. But remove those causes, that is, move the course of the river as nearly direct as it can well be made, confine its waters to one channel, and regulate that channel with a view to a properly graduated width, and the natural consequences will follow. The resistance of the bends being in a great measure, if not altogether, removed, and the whole volume of water in the river being confined to one channel regulated to a proper width, the velocity of the stream, and consequently its scouring power will be increased, the sedimentary matter deposited in the bed through want of sufficient velocity in the current will be removed, the surface of the bed gradually lowered, and the depth of water increased. While from the less resistance offered to the flood-tide by the straightening of the course of the river, the regulation of its channel, and the washing out of the shoals, its propagation will be more rapid, the quantity of tidal water passing up will be much larger, and the volume and velocity of the back-water, that is, its scouring power, will be indefinitely increased on the ebb. In this case also, it should be considered, that as a defective condition of the channel of a river has always a tendency to become worse, so, on the same principle, an improved condition has a tendency to become better.

To effect an improvement so great and so important to the navigable capacity of the tidal compartment of the Appomattox river, I would propose the formation of a single channel, as nearly straight as possible, gradually diminishing in width from 500 feet at Point of Rocks to 200 feet at Petersburg, between banks well defended and secured from wastage. The work would be carried out by degrees, each step being quite complete in itself, but at the same time a part of the whole which might be extended at pleasure. If

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fully carried out and maintained, it would have the effect of equalizing the current and the bed of the river, removing shoals, and increasing the navigable waterway. I am confident that the execution of such a channel would be attended by the most complete success, and that instead of the present unsafe, shallow and winding channel, one would be secured with a sufficient depth of water to be navigable for large vessels.

The sectional area of the stream at Petersburg is about 1,500 square feet at high water, while that at Point of Rocks is about 7,000 square feet. But as the quantity of land-water is the same at both places, the increase in the capacity of the river must be owing to the tidal-water, which passing up on the flood and reacting with the land-water, has, by the momentum of its back-water on the ebb, which is composed of the tidal-waters which come up with the flood, plus the water ponded back, and the river-water continuing to flow out during the ebb, enlarged the sectional area of the river just as much as was necessary for its discharge and no more. Now, the quantity of land-water in a river may be considered a fixed quantity, and no works that may be erected in the bed for the purpose of improvement can add to it, but in the tidal compartment of a river, the quantity of tidal-water passing up on the flood may be almost indefinitely increased. As water is really the acting agent that produces all the improvement which can be made in a river, the chief object in the erection of works for the improvement of the Appomattox, should be to admit as large a quantity of tidal-water as the bed of the river can be made capable of receiving; for the larger the quantity the greater the scouring power of the back-water to lower the surface of low water and deepen the channel sufficiently for its own discharge.

If it were desired, there is no reason, in my opinion, if the proper means were used, why the depth at Petersburg should not be nearly the same as that at Point of Rocks. For though the present depth of the channel at the former place is more due to the land-water than to the tidal scour, yet the removal of the obstacles to the free flow of the tidal-water, besides lowering the bed of the river all the way down, would also have the effect of deepening the channel in the upper reach at Petersburg.

With the river in the improved condition contemplated in this paper, the passage up the river would be shortened by the straightening of its course, the capacity of the tidal compartment below the falls would be greatly enlarged, the flood-tide would be accelerated, and the quantity of water passing up would be greatly increased, so that high water would reach a higher level at Petersburg than at City Point, and the bed of the river being lowered by the increased momentum of the back-water, there would be a more rapid discharge on the ebb, and the level of low water at Petersburg would be reduced below what it is at present, thereby causing a nearer approximation between the period of flood and ebb than is now the case; while the shoals and sand-banks being removed, the low water

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lowered, and the tidal acceptable well filled and emptied, a channel would be created and maintained sufficiently deep to afford largely increased facilities to the commerce of the city, and also, which is by no means unimportant, to pass off more rapidly the land-floods which would never attain their former height at the wharves.

The advantages that would accrue to the city of Petersburg, her population and trade from such an improvement in the navigable capacity of the Appomattox, can hardly be overrated. The direct and easy access to her wharves by the larger vessels engaged in her trade would be a great saving of time, and those occasional losses, and additional expenses consequent upon the present defective condition of the river, which must prove a heavy tax on her mercantile interests. The increased facilities of navigation would necessarily lead to an increase of her commerce, and that by affording more occupation and employment for a greater number of persons, and daily opening new channels of industry, would greatly increase her population, promote her commercial activity, wealth and prosperity, stimulate the improvement of real estate within her limits, enhance the value of all property in her neighborhood, and develop new sources of revenue greatly in excess of the expenditure required to call them into existence. All these advantages can be secured by the city of Petersburg, provided her people exercise timely energy in carrying out this improvement.

MOBILE, *April*, 1866.

ART. V.—WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.—ITS PRACTICAL WORKINGS.

RELATION BETWEEN THE PLANTERS AND FREEDMEN IN THE ISLAND OF ST. CROIX.

The following is the testimony of a resident of St. Croix, whose contributions we shall in future, as we do now, welcome to our pages. A bitter opponent of slavery, he is not blind to the evils which emancipation has caused. Strange that a remedy which invariably has worked so badly should still be thought so much better than the disease. The negroes do not increase, prefer idleness to labor, are immoral and irregular, inhabit the finest country in the world, and the only remedy is IMMIGRATION. Alas! alas! this remedy, too, must be ours. The writer's views correspond with our own. Shortly we shall review Mr. Sewall's work to which he refers.—EDITOR.

BELIEVING that the experience gained in other regions, where slavery has existed and emancipation has taken place, will be of interest and use in considering and effecting the reorganization of industry in the Southern States of the Union, I make bold to offer to your readers the result of some personal observations, made during a residence of more than ten years, as to the existing relations between the proprietors of landed estates and the rural population of free laborers in the island of St. Croix in the West Indies.

In order to fully understand these relations and what causes determine them, it will be necessary to give a summary description of

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the circumstances under which the change from slavery to freedom took place and has since worked. I therefore preface my remarks with such a description, and with the just aphorism of so distinguished a writer as Mr. Emerson, that "what is truth anywhere is truth everywhere."

Among the West India Islands none is more beautiful than that of St. Croix, not unjustly called "the garden of the West Indies." It lies about forty miles to the south of St. Thomas. Both islands belong to Denmark—St. Thomas since 1671, St. Croix since 1733, when it was sold by Louis the Fifteenth to a Danish Company for 750,000 livres. It was already then partially settled. The first settlers were Dutch; the English then took possession of the island, but were expelled by the Spaniards, who, in 1650, were, in their turn, expelled by the French, who held it until they ceded it to the Danes, in whose possession it has since been, though not wholly undisturbed, for England seized it in 1801, and held it later, from 1807 to 1814.

This little island, whose most important relations are to form the subject of our investigation and remarks, is not more than about eighty square miles in size, and was inhabited in 1860 by a trifle more than 25,000 people. The entire extent of land, stated to be 51,000 acres, but of which only 18,000 are cultivated in sugar or otherwise, is appropriated, and offers no opportunity for squatting. Such land as is not under cultivation is used as pasturage.

The physical formation of the island presents three separate configurations. An easterly and westerly highland, separated from each other by a valley that leads to the level land which forms the whole of its centre and southern part. The highest points of the eastern highlands are not more than about 800 feet above the sea; the summits of the more extensive western highlands are between 11,000 and 12,000 feet high. The eastern highlands is the least fertile part of the island, and but little adapted to the cultivation of sugar, suffering, as it does, from frequent droughts; but it is admirably adapted to the cultivation of cotton, of which it produces the finest qualities. In times past, cotton was the staple produce of this district. The high prices of sugar in the early part of the century caused this plant to supplant cotton, and it is only since the great rise in the price of the last-named commodity that its cultivation has been attended to. It now promises to be, once more, the staple produce. Before the resumption of the cultivation of cotton, the whole of this part of the island seemed doomed to return again to its primitive state of wild forest. Nothing seemed to thrive there but the cassia and the cactus, the latter in all the hideous and grotesque forms it delights to assume, looking like deformed monuments erected on some ungodly burial place.

The district formed by the western highlands is the most beautiful and picturesque part of the island, but not either particularly adapted to the cultivation of sugar. Its scenery, however, is charming.

It is the comparatively level and tamer part of the island which

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forms its centre and southern coast that has procured it the name of "the garden of the West Indies." Level, as applied to it, is, however, a misnomer, and only excused by the contrast to the mountainous regions; its surface is rather alternate hillock and dale, with, now and then, a more extended plain. It is highly cultivated, and on its produce depends, more or less, the prosperity of the island. Viewed from the northern hills, it offers a pleasing sight. Its garden-like cultivation, that would otherwise be monotonous to the eye, is relieved by the intersecting roads, lined on both sides by the graceful cocoa-palm, the wide-spreading tamarind, or the dark-leaved mami-tree, forming, as it were, numberless avenues. The pretty dwelling-houses on the estates, with the adjacent works, and the regularly laid-out negro villages, surrounded by trees, add a peculiar charm to the view, that is further enhanced by the dark, blue sea, that battles these ever-green shores and expands as far as the eye can see.

The climate is delicious, mild and equable, rarely subject to any great changes; the thermometer is seldom below 75° or above 90°; the mean temperature being about 80°. The gentle trade-wind, varying from N. E. to S. E., blows constantly and refreshes the air. But few days are sultry, and then the air is so light that even these are far less oppressive than a sultry day in a more northern climate. The great defect of the climate is its dryness, the island being subject to frequent and long-continuing droughts.

As stated above, the population of the island amounted in 1860 to 23,000 souls. In 1815, ten years after the importation of slaves had ceased, it amounted to 29,000. A sad decrease has thus taken place, the more to be lamented as it is to be attributed to an excess of deaths over births. Emigration has had but little to do with the depopulation of the island, and that only within the last few years. Before emancipation it was wholly unknown.

The government of the island under Danish rule has always been mild and just, affording ample security to person and property. One of the first nations to prohibit the slave-trade (as early as 1803), the Danish Government was ever zealous to protect the slave against ill-usage, as the stringent laws given for this purpose amply testify. No where was the slave better treated. He was entitled by law to work for himself on Saturdays, so as to give him an opportunity of eventually purchasing his freedom; public schools, in which attendance was compulsory, were established for the education of the children; the constant endeavor of the Government was, by successive measures, to pave the way for final emancipation. The consequence was, that when the slaves rose in a body in 1848 and demanded their freedom, it was at once conceded by the Government, and emancipation was effected without any bloodshed, and accompanied but by few excesses. The emancipation in St. Croix had been preceded by that change in the form of government of the mother country that took place in 1848—a change from despotism to constitutionalism, based upon universal suffrage. This naturally caused a change in its colonial policy. The old protective

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system has been gradually abandoned, and the trade of the island is no longer encumbered by differential duties of any kind, the laws affecting it are based on the broadest principles of free trade. The local Government is conducted by a Governor appointed by the King, and a Representative Assembly with consultative powers, the members of which are elected partly by the Crown, partly by the people. The law knows of no distinction of color; and side by side sit black, colored and white members, elected indiscriminately by black, colored and white electors. The franchise is dependant on certain property qualifications, or the enjoyment of a certain income.

Not content with proclaiming the emancipation of the slaves, the Danish Government deemed it expedient to organize and regulate, by special law, the relations of the agricultural laborers to their employers, and under date of the 26th of January, 1849, an Act was promulgated giving minute rules in this respect. This Act, which has now been in force for seventeen years, is, as a legislative experiment, so curious, that we venture to lay before our readers its principal clauses in all their original fulness of thought and expression. They run thus:

"Whereas, the Ordinance dated 29th July, 1848, by which yearly contracts for labor on landed estates were introduced has not been duly acted upon: whereas the interest of the proprietors of estates, as well as of the laborers, requires that their mutual obligations should be defined; and whereas, on inquiry into the practice of the island and into the private contracts and agreements hitherto made, it appears expedient to establish rules throughout the island for the guidance of all parties concerned, It is enacted and ordained:

"PARA. 1. All engagements of laborers now domiciled on landed estates and receiving wages, in money or in kind, for cultivating and working such estates, are to be continued as directed by the Ordinance of 29th July, 1848, until the 1st day of October of the present year; and all similar engagements shall in future be made, or shall be considered as having been made, for a term of twelve months, viz.: from the 1st of October till the 1st of October, year after year.

"Engagements made by heads of families are to include their children between five and fifteen years of age, and other relatives depending on them and staying with them.

"PARA. 2. No laborer engaged as aforesaid in the cultivation of the soil, shall be discharged or dismissed from, nor shall be permitted to dissolve, his or her engagement before the expiration of the same on the 1st of October of the present or of any following year, except in the instances hereafter enumerated:

"(*a*). By mutual agreement of master and laborer before a magistrate.

"(*b*). By order of a magistrate, on just and equitable cause being shown by the parties interested.

"Legal marriage, and the natural tie between mothers and their children, shall be deemed by the magistrate just and legal cause of removal from one estate to another. The husband shall have the right to be removed to his wife, the wife to her husband, and children under fifteen years of age to their mother, provided no objection to employing such individuals shall be made by the owner of the estate to which the removal is to take place.

"PARA. 3. No engagement of a laborer shall be lawful in future unless made in the presence of witnesses and entered in the day-book of the estate.

"PARA. 4. Notice to quit service shall be given by the employer, as well as by the laborer, at no other period but once a year in the month of August, not before the first, nor after the last day of the said month. An entry thereof shall be made in the day-book, and an acknowledgment in writing shall be given to the laborer.

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"The laborer shall have given, or receive, legal notice of removal from the estate where he serves, before any one can engage his services, otherwise the new contract to be void; and the party engaging or tampering with a laborer employed by others will be dealt with according to law.

"In case any owner or manager of an estate should dismiss a laborer during the year, without sufficient cause, or should refuse to receive him at the time stipulated, or refuse to grant him a passport when due notice of removal has been given, the owner or the manager is to pay full damages to the laborer, and to be sentenced to a fine not exceeding twenty dollars.

"PARA. 4. The working days to be, as usual, only five days in the week, and the same days as heretofore. The ordinary work of estates is to commence at sunrise and to be finished at sunset every day, leaving one hour for breakfast and two hours at noon, from twelve to two o'clock. Planters who prefer to begin the work at seven o'clock in the morning, making no separate breakfast time, are at liberty to adopt this plan either during the year or when out of crop.

"The laborers shall be present in due time at the place where they are to work. The list to be called and answered regularly; whoever does not answer the list when called is too late.

"PARA. 9. The laborers are to receive, until otherwise ordered, the following remuneration:

"(*a*). The use of a house or dwelling-rooms for themselves and their children, to be built and repaired by the estate, but to be kept in proper order by the laborers.

"(*b*). The use of a piece of provision ground, thirty feet square, as usual, for every first and second-class laborer; or if it be standing ground, up to fifty feet square. Third-class laborers are not entitled to, but may be allowed some provision ground.

"(*c*). Weekly wages at the rate of fifteen cents to every first-class laborer, of ten cents to every second-class laborer, and of five cents to every third-class laborer for every working day.

"When the usual allowance of meal and herrings has been agreed on in part of wages, full weekly allowance shall be taken for five cents a day, or twenty-five cents a week.

"No bargaining for extra pay by the hour is permitted.

"PARA. 14. Laborers wilfully abstaining from work on a working day are to forfeit their wages for the day, and will have to pay over and above the forfeit a fine which can be lawfully deducted in their wages of seven cents for a first-class laborer, four cents for a second-class laborer, and two cents for a third-class laborer.

"In crop or grinding days, when employed about the works in cutting canes, etc., an additional punishment will be awarded for wilful absence and neglect by the magistrate on complaint being made.

"Laborers absenting from work for half a day, or breaking off from work before being dismissed, to forfeit their wages for one day.

"Laborers not coming to work in due time to forfeit half a day's wages.

"Parents keeping their children from work shall be fined instead of the children."

Besides these clauses, the Act contains a minute description of the kind of work to be performed by each class of laborers, and gives detailed enactments for the further regulation of the relation between the laborer and his employer.

At first sight, the provisions of the law seem humane and considerate, not only towards the laborer, but also towards the planter. To the first is secured shelter, a piece of land for his own use, and constant employment all the year round at a fair remuneration, whether his services be required or not; the planter, on the other

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hand, is secured against an absolute want of labor, on what seems reasonable terms. Both are protected in their rights by the hand of the law. On a more careful investigation and closer observation of the working of the law, it has been found that it has not only attempted to do a great deal, but to do a vast deal more than can be done by legislative enactment. Its principal features are, the enactment of yearly contracts with compulsory residence on estates, its division of laborers into three classes, its appointment of five days in the week for labor, the fixing of the hours to be employed therein each day, the kind of labor to be performed, and lastly, the attempt to regulate the price of labor.

It may be questioned whether these enactments were not all and severally an unwarranted encroachment on the freedom of the laborer and the liberty of the planter. It would almost seem so. The restrictions imposed on agricultural laborers were the more galling as no similar restrictions were imposed upon the freedmen inhabiting the towns.

Those that defend the Act, do so on the ground that it was a requisite and wise provision to guard against that vagrancy and idleness which experience in other West India islands had, but too plainly, shown the emancipated negro would be sure to give himself up to if not restrained by some necessity to work. In default of any natural necessity, an artificial one had therefore to be created by legal enactment. It was further argued that the production of sugar, combining, as it does, a manufacturing process with an agricultural, and carried on in a climate where vegetation never rests, absolutely required that the employer of labor should be secured against any sudden stoppage in the supply. A strike for almost any amount of wages, no matter how unreasonable, during crop-time, would, it was said, leave the planter but the choice of compliance or ruin.

How far these results would really have occurred, had the Act not been put in force, is just the question. Could it be proved that they would have occurred *but for the Act*, then the Act is justifiable; for better restricted freedom than wide-spread ruin to innocent homesteads, whose desolation would not only be distressing in itself, but would lead to the return of the negro to a state of barbarism infested with the vices of civilization. We do not believe that the results, so much and so justly dreaded, would have occurred to the extent supposed; and we are perfectly sure that the provisions of the Act, so far from retarding them, if they were to have resulted from emancipation, under the existing circumstances would, on the contrary, only have contributed to hasten their consummation. The ground on which we base our conviction is, that the supply of labor, though so much below the demand as to command a very high price, is so high a one, in fact, as to leave but little, if any profit to the employer, was yet not so deficient as to warrant a panic. The laborers, though commanding high wages, were not in a position to refrain entirely from work. There was no land to squat on, and sufficient authority and power to enforce the observance of a vagrancy

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act not encroaching upon the liberties of the industrious part of the population. But for the Act these facts would soon have become self-evident, and speedy resort would have been had to the only effective remedy against high wages—an increase of the laber-force by immigration. Instead of this, the law has deluded many into a belief that it has not only fixed wages at a low and reasonable rate, but, more or less, provided for all contingencies, barring the quantity of rain that might be desired.

The enforcement of yearly contracts is objectionable, not only on the ground of its being an undue encroachment on the liberty of the peasantry, but also because it counteracts the very object it purposes to effect. Its object is to secure the planter against a decrease in the laber-force employed in agriculture. Now, is it likely that this will be obtained by rendering such labor odious to those employed in it, and contemptible in the eyes of other laborers? It has come to this pass, under the working of the act, that agricultural laber is looked down upon. The most opprobrious epithet that a town-laborer, in moments of his highest indignation, can apply to a field-laborer is: "You d——d country nigger." The shaft rankles in the wound, and, on the next 1st of August, Sambo demands his ticket-of-leave and bids farewell, on the 1st of October, to rural life and the pastoral pleasures of a sugar-plantation, leaving behind him a comfortable house and ample wages, to be exchanged for a miserable, half-starving existence in town; but he is no longer a "country nigger;" no! a full-fledged freedman, soon to acquire the importance and airs of a gentleman of the town.

The rural population had, no wonder, decreased from the year 1850 to 1860 by nearly 1,000 individuals—no little loss in so small a population. It need hardly be said that it decreases every year still, and that at last immigration had to be resorted to, and that at a heavy expense to the colony. Every 1st of October there is not only a wide-spread removal of laborers from one estate to another, but many of the laborers move to town, some leaving the island altogether in despite of all the obstacles that the authorities lay in their way.

Now, we firmly believe, that if, from the first, it had been left entirely to the parties concerned to enter into labor-contracts on such conditions as in each individual case they could agree upon, without any governmental interference or peculiar legislative restrictions, the island would to-day be better supplied with agricultural labor, and, consequently, in a more prosperous condition. No stigma would have been attached to this kind of labor. That the former slave should shrink from it, being emancipated, was natural. This repugnance to follow his former occupation should have been foreseen; and, if possible, counteracted. Instead of that, it has been fostered by legislative enactments, given with a view to protect agriculture. To stigmatize a particular branch of labor, if even more remunerative than others, and then to expect that it will be generally sought for, is mistaking human nature. Executioners and informers

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can generally be procured; but to expect to find the exceptional qualities required of these persons in a community, as a whole, is an insult to human nature, and an unpardonable blunder on the part of a lawgiver.

The Act has, in fact, established an unnatural and artificial distinction and barrier between the rural districts and the two small towns in the island. In the latter, labor, or rather idleness, is free; the beggar or loafer is at liberty to earn as much as he can. In the former, wages are fixed by law, so, at least, it appears to the laborer; task-work is prohibited; and the laborer is on every side hedged in by legislative enactments. Small as the towns are, they contain, nevertheless, considerably more than one-third of the entire population, numbering nearly 9,000 souls, living mostly in such want and poverty as is only made bearable by the climate. Here we have, on the one hand, two over-populated towns; on the other, a rural district that is importing laborers from Calcutta, and that in an island not bigger than that a good pedestrian might walk from one end of it to the other in a day. That there is something rotten in such a state of things, must be evident to all.

The clause in the Act relating to compulsory residence, has always been a dead letter, as far as the laborer is concerned. On the planter, it has entailed the expense of always having to keep a house ready and in good repair for the laborer; but the latter makes use of it at his option; he takes possession of it and retains it as a retreat, for generally he spends his nights in town, or on some other estate, attracted by a card-party or dance, or by some sable beauty whom he has, perhaps, made his wife; preferring, however, that she should reside at some distance from him, or, as is more frequently the case, only intends, at some future and indefinite time, to honor with this sacred tie.

The classification of laborers into three classes is not less absurd than a classification of all human beings into any three classes would be. We remember somewhere seeing humanity classified under the three heads of lieutenants, chimney-sweepers and servant-girls; and the classification is about as good as any other we ever saw. Neither the quality nor the quantity of work that each laborer will perform can be determined by law. It is, therefore, unjust to attempt to fix their wages by a legislative act.

That the regular working days should, by law, be restricted to five days of the weeks, seems strange. In the time of slavery, Saturday was humanely set aside for the use of the slave as his own, to enable him, eventually, to purchase his freedom. It was then a day of honorable work. Now, it is left optional to the laborer whether he will work on that day or not; but the mere fact of the law making it exceptional has caused it to become, to a great extent, a day of idleness. It is called market-day, and the country people flock to town, the women to sell their poultry, vegetables and fruit, the men to idle and dissipate. On the estates, but little or no work is done on that day. One would think that the loss of the labor of

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the greater part of the rural population on every Saturday, all the year round, would be of some consideration in a community crying out for more labor.

The most remarkable feature in the Act, however, is its ambitious design and attempt not only to fix the price of labor for an indefinite time, but to introduce a new standard of value; the latter to consist of a compound of corn-meal, herrings and small coin. To account for this bold and daring attempt, not issuing from one of the centres of civilization, but from a small and obscure island, we must either presuppose the paramount influence on the conception and passing of the law of some utopian genius who, by accident, had found his way to this remote spot, or the most total and perfect ignorance, on the part of its originators, of the results that the science of political economy has arrived at.

The manner in which the law regulates wages has been already stated, and we will only notice that, it being left optional to the laborer whether he will receive his wages in money alone, or partly in money and partly in provisions, at a rate fixed by the law when the articles in question were about twenty-five per cent. lower in price than they now are, he invariably prefers the latter mode of payment, particularly as he is supplied on the estate, and saved the trouble of going to town to provide himself with these articles at present retail prices. The negro is no fool at a bargain.

If we even take into consideration that the wants and requirements of the laborer are far less than they are in a northern climate, that he has no winter to contend against, requires less clothing, and of a cheaper kind, less food, and that easily procured; that he need never be out of work, or entertain any fear of either himself or children being so—yet the wages, as fixed by the Labor Act of St. Croix, cannot be said to be high, or to favor the laborer to the detriment of the planter. In fact, we suppose that the intention was to fix them with a due regard to the interest of the planter. The only drawback to the whole arrangement is, that the Act has no more fixed the amount of wages, really paid to the laborer, than it has fixed the time for the moon to rise or the sun to set. What it has done by the attempt has been to create a great delusion that has proved most baneful to the very parties it wished to benefit.

Wages in St. Croix are governed by the same natural laws as they are governed everywhere else. Their amount is determined by the relation between the demand and supply of labor. Now, the supply of labor in the island being less than the demand, wages must be high. The population of the island is, as stated, about 23,000. Barbadoes, not more fertile, and not more than twice its size, supports a population of about 150,000. St. Croix could, therefore, and is ready to support a population of at least 50,000, or more than double the number that now inhabit it; consequently, wages there must be *very* high.

We have seen that the Act fixes wages at a low rate. How, then, is the difference between these wages and those really paid by the planter made good?

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Paragraph 22 of the Act reads thus:

"No laborer is allowed, without the special permission of the owner or manager, to appropriate wood, grass, vegetables, fruits and the like, belonging to the estate, or to appropriate such produce from other estates, nor to cut canes, or to burn charcoal. Persons making themselves guilty of such offenses shall be punished according to law, with fines or imprisonment with hard labor; and the possession of such articles not satisfactorily accounted for, shall be sufficient evidence of unlawful acquisition."

It will be seen, from this provision, that there are many and valuable privileges to be enjoyed on an estate, if they can only be obtained. Well, not only have all these privileges been gradually ceded to the laborer, but others of even greater magnitude. The laborer does, and that with the consent of the employer, appropriate grass, wood, vegetables, fruit and the like, and does burn coal. For all of these articles he finds a ready and profitable market. Further, on every estate a number of laborers keep horses, generally breeding mares; all keep hogs and poultry. It is no uncommon thing to find on an estate from ten to fifteen horses belonging to the laborers. All this stock is invariably fed out of the produce of the estates, and that at times when the stock of the estate is suffering for want of fodder. Another source of revenue to the laborers are the annual bribes, varying from five to ten dollars, offered to him as an inducement to leave one estate and move to another.

Where the deficiency in the legal wages is not made up by the returns obtained from these sources of profit, it is made up by the less amount of work given in return for them. Which is most injurious to the planter, it is difficult to say. In the latter case he loses what is most valuable to him—labor; in the former, he never knows what amount of wages he is really paying; a most serious evil. Such a state of things must exercise a most demoralizing effect upon employer and employed. The relation that ought to exist between them is subverted. The employer grudges the use of the privileges he has to allow, and they are a constant source of bickering and wrangling. The laborer defiantly demands them as a right, and is ready with threats to give notice to leave if they be not granted at once. The undefined use of these privileges leads naturally to their abuse. The laborer fancies that he has a right to appropriate everything growing on the estate, except the sugar-cane, and on emergencies not even the canefield is respected, but must, when grass is deficient, yield fodder for his horse and hogs. Thus the law does not contribute to cultivate a correct notion as to the right of property—a piece of education that it was important to impart as soon as possible to the emancipated slave. The practice of bribing laborers to leave one estate for another, extensively practised, does not contribute to raise the planter in the esteem of the laborer. With the loss of respect comes a loss of authority. The open manner in which the act is constantly and flagrantly broken cannot but lessen the respect of the laborers for the authority of the laws in general.

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The most serious injury, however, that this attempt to regulate wages by legislative enactment has inflicted on the planters, is, that it has as it were, obscured their views and clouded their understanding. It has prevented them from distinctly seeing and thoroughly realizing that the only remedy for the evil that so seriously threatens their prosperity, is an increase of labor. They have had a vague feeling that this was the case, but they do not, even yet, thoroughly realize it. This increase can only be thoroughly effected by immigration on an extensive scale. Only within the last few years has any serious exertion been made in this respect. It will hardly be believed, but it is no less true, that the most strenuous supporters of this preposterous act are the planters themselves. Its protective spirit seems to exercise a fascinating charm over their minds, they cling to its minute provisions as to a remnant of the old system, and do not see how much injury it inflicts upon them. To the laborers the Act is obnoxious and detestable, they only look upon it as an encroachment on their rights as freemen.

We have shown how far the supply of labor is below the demand, and that, as a consequence, wages must be high. The disproportion between the two contending forces is so great, that it threatens to annihilate the one. Capital will not employ labor for any length of time without its proper remuneration; it will seek for investment where such remuneration is to be obtained. Profits are so low in St. Croix, that the gradual withdrawal of capital for investment is to be apprehended, unless counteracted in some way or other. The only efficient remedy is immigration on a large scale. The island can support at least twice the number of its present population.

It may seem strange that no regard is taken of the natural increase that one would expect would be going on in the population. Unfortunately no such increase seems to take place; or if it does, it is so trifling as to be of little consideration when the question at issue is an increase of the labor force. This fact is one of the most melancholy features in the state of the native population apparent, not only in the island, but we believe throughout the West Indies.

Even before emancipation the laborers had every opportunity of acquiring religious instruction. They were under the care of Episcopal, Lutheran, Moravian, and Roman Catholic clergymen, between whose doctrines they were at perfect liberty to choose. The government not only provided them with free schools and teachers, but compels them, under a fine, to send their children to these schools from their sixth to their fourteenth year; there they are instructed daily in reading, writing and reckoning. On Sundays they attend the schools of their different churches. How much attention has been bestowed by the authorities on the education of the laborer is attested by the number of handsome school-houses erected at convenient distances all through the island. The supervision and management of the schools, the appointment of teachers, is placed entirely in the hands, not of the Lutheran clergy as might be expected, but in the hands of the Moravian brotherhood, whose

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zeal and exertions on behalf of the slave before emancipation, and of the laborers since, is beyond all praise. With untiring energy have they labored in this good cause. But the attention of the authorities was not bestowed on the moral improvement of the freedmen alone; great attention was bestowed on their physical well-being. The government has in this, as in the first respect, done everything that can be desired. There is a permanent Board of Health, the medical department of which is under a public physician, especially appointed to superintend the sanitary condition of the island, and to whom all other physicians are required to send in reports. Every estate is compelled by law to employ a physician. The island is provided with salaried midwives educated to their calling, to a great extent, at the public expense, and located in convenient districts; they are under the immediate supervision of the public physician. There is hospital room on every estate, the public hospitals, that are spacious and in admirable order, are for certain dangerous and infectious diseases, open to patients, free of all charges. Vaccination is made compulsory. What more can be done? The island has never been visited by any epidemic, not even the cholera; its climate is one of the finest in the world, and yet there is the melancholy fact staring you in the face, of the population not increasing, although its ranks are not thinned by any emigration that could explain the phenomenon. How explain this anomaly? Where is the cause of this evil? If the truth is to be made public, and I do not see why it should not, the cause of the evil is to be found in the ignorance, and in the depraved and profligate habits of the laborers, in the cruel and unnatural treatment of young children by their mothers, who neglect them in the most shameful manner, causing a very great mortality among them. Another cause may be found in the fact, that intermarriages between the white or the black, or the colored race, are either quite barren or very little prolific. The number of illegitimate children born in the island in 1860 amounted to 65 per cent. of all births. A peculiar feature in the population, and which may be worthy of notice in connection with the stationary, if not actual decreasing state of the population, is the numerical relation of males to females. In the United States the proportion among the free population was, in 1850, 100 males to 95 females; among the slave population it was 100 males to 99·95 females. In the Northern states of Europe the proportion is about 1,000 males to 1,018 females, showing a slight preponderance there of females. In St. Croix, the proportion was 1,000 males to 1,300 females. This preponderance of females seems to be all but general in the West Indies. In 1861, the relation was in Antigua, 1,000 males to 1,175 females; in Barbadoes, 1,000 males to 1,157 females; in Dominica, 1,000 to 1,120; in St. Vincent, 1,000 to 1,116; in Jamaica, 1,000 to 1,067; in St. Lucia, 1,000 to 1,000. In Cuba the relation is, under slavery, reversed there: for 1860 it was as 1,000 to 964.

Emancipation had to take place as a logical necessity. Slavery,

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as its bitter fruits must now prove even to the former slave-owner, was a woful wrong, a dreadful curse to the community that was guilty of maintaining it.* That question ought, by this, to be settled. But there remains another question, and that is, what improvement, what advance in culture has the freed negro made since emancipation? There is no use shirking the question, or equivocating an answer; it has nothing to do with the question of slavery, and must be answered in the interest of civilization. As far as the West Indies is concerned, the answer is not very satisfactory. The freed negro has not made such rapid strides towards cultivation as his friends predicted he would; but he has advanced, though slowly, in the right direction, and will do so at a progressive rate; provided that he live in communities swayed and governed by the intelligence and energy of the white man, not, however, to his exclusion, but admitting him to a share equal to his intelligence and energy.

We believe that the slow improvement among the negro population in the West Indies, since emancipation, is to be mainly attributed to the want of a sufficiently strong stimulant to labor. He has never felt the invigorating effects of necessity, that kind mother of invention; but was enabled, all of a sudden, to exchange compulsory labor for voluntary idleness. For a very little work he gets a very high pay; his wants are few and easily satisfied. Why should he work more than is sufficient to satisfy these? Who does? Why should he not enjoy an idle hour or more if he so chooses? Was it not M. Lepidus, a Roman, who, stretching himself on the lawn, exclaimed: "*Vellem hoc esset laborare?*" If an ancient Roman could entertain such a wish, why not a negro laborer? He does stretch himself, only differing from the Roman in this, that he exclaims: "*Hoc est laborare,*" turns round and goes quickly to sleep, with the mid-day sun shining on his greasy, but happy and contented countenance. The negro, although of a philosophical and contemplative turn of mind, is both willing and able to work. But he will not be made exceptional to other mortals. He must, like they, see a necessity for working, if he is to work. Immigration, on a large scale, is the only means of bringing this necessity home to him. Let this be done, and he will not only work, and improve mentally, physically and morally, but he will increase and multiply to the infinite satisfaction of himself, the philanthropist, and the planter. Eventually he may become hard-working, saving, avaricious, miserly, grasping, ambitious, highly intellectual, ingenious, etc., etc., but he is not so now, and we recommend again our remedy—a taste of necessity.

Having tried to describe the result of emancipation, and the system pursued since, in so far as affecting the laborer, let us see how it has affected the much neglected and overlooked planter, always, however, keeping in view, that it is not of the results of emancipation *per se;* these must be always beneficial; but it is of the immediate results of

* We think the very reverse of this is proved.—Ed.

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emancipation, under peculiar circumstances, that we are thinking. It was expected that one of the results of emancipation would be a greater security to the owners of property. We do not believe this result has taken place. So far from any friendly feeling having grown up between the negro race and the white, in consequence of emancipation, we believe the reverse to be the result; that it should be so, we consider, in conformity with a general law; for, as de Tocqueville justly remarks: "The division of property has lessened the distance which separated the rich from the poor; but it would seem that the nearer they drew to each other, the greater is their mutual hatred, and the more vehement the envy and the dread with which they resist each other's claims to power; the idea of right does not exist for either party, and force affords to both the only argument for the present, and the only guarantee for the future." The only collision resulting in the loss of life on record, in the history of St. Croix, occurred a few years after emancipation, when a very serious riot took place in an attempt to oppose the authorities in putting a stop to the barbarous dances, and rites indulged in by the negroes at Christmas time. The result of the riot was, that some eight or ten negroes were shot down.

The depreciation in the value of property, without regard to the former slaves, is more than fifty per cent. It need hardly be said that of the owners of estates, before emancipation, there is hardly a vestige left. The history of those families, would, if told, be but a sad tale. Innocent, delicate women, struggling bravely, strenuously, heroically against bitter poverty, left, perhaps, at the time with a family of young children, destined to grow up in ignorance amidst vice and depravity. These are facts that mostly escape the knowledge of transient visitors, and are entirely beneath the notice of newspaper correspondents; they smack of melancholy, let us leave them, and raise ourselves to the dignity of statistics.

The depreciation in the value of property will be understood from the following indisputable data: During the 12 years, preceding emancipation, 1836–1847, the average annual production of the island was 20,682,098 pounds of sugar. For the 12 years, 1849–1860, after emancipation, the average annual produce was 14,259,718 pounds of sugar, showing a falling off in the crop equal to 6,422,380 pounds, or a decrease amounting to 31 per cent., and that accompanied by a fall in the price of sugar. The average decline in the crops, has, since 1860, been somewhat checked by immigration; but the situation demands immigration on a still larger scale.

In his able and impartially written work on the "Ordeal of Free Labor in the West Indies," Mr. Sewell has clearly pointed out the importance of immigration to these islands. We do not agree with Mr. Sewell in all his conclusions, and would particularly point out one grave error, which, we think, he has fallen into, namely, that of inferring from the increased money value of importations to the several islands since emancipation, the existence of greater prosperity. The money value of imports has increased also in St.

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Croix, but here for one, we know, that it does not signify greater prosperity. The fund out of which the increased supply of tawdry dress and luxuries is paid for is not the result of increased labor or savings; it is taken from profits from what ought to be the legitimate share of the capitalists who give employment to the laborers. It is this that makes an increase in the labor-force, and lower wages, so imperatively necessary. Capital is now only invested in the hope of saving former investments. But this kind of investment has its limits, and when these are reached, importation will not only decrease but all but cease.*

ART. VI.—THE LAST DAYS OF THE CONFEDERACY.

It was evident enough for many months before the downfall of the Confederacy, that all of its hopes were concentered in the armies of General Lee, which had made the defense of Richmond more illustrious than any similar defense in ancient or modern history. When that army struck its colors, everywhere from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, the conviction came that the cause was lost, and it was not in the power of mortal man to have roused the people to

*A correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, writing a few weeks ago from Jamaica, adds the following melancholy evidence for that island of the value of the electro-franchise when exercised by the freedmen:

"The freedmen as a class have not yet acquired the means of managing their little freeholds to the best advantage. They only succeed well where they have intelligent example and employment, earning wages a part of the year; and they look for their work on the nearest large estate. But the owners of these large estates have, unhappily, for the well-being of Jamaica, left the island, discouraged by the extreme difficulty of securing steady, reliable labor in crop time. Since emancipation and the distribution of lands among the freedmen, none of them will work more than four days of the week for the planters, except on such terms as consume the profits. The chief mischief, however, is, that the owner of an acre or two, on which his wife and children could raise their food, with but an occasional day's work for himself, was too apt to depend on that alone, and so become idle and demoralized; and of this class were the ringleaders of the Morant riot. The better class of blacks are beginning to feel and complain of the evils of this horde of drones. The depredations of the men who will not work on the land of the men who do, have at last aroused even the careless blacks to ask for laws against vagrancy. Hitherto the Island Legislature has dealt too gingerly with facts that their voting black constituents chose to ignore.

"Three-fourths of the rural population of Jamaica—and I believe I may add nine-tenths of the most respectable blacks—would prefer the certainty of regular work at fair wages to the right of voting. You may meet this stubborn fact with what theories of ought and should you please, but it is a fact, nevertheless, that the elective franchise represents to the ignorant blacks—not that ignorance is of any particular color—two shillings and as much rum as they choose to drink on election day, at the expense of the candidates. The most worthy and intelligent blacks I have met seldom or ever use the right to vote, not thinking it worth the cost of the register tax. If a candidate has so much need of their votes as to pay the expense of bringing them to the polls, the longest purse would be sure of a majority."

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another effort. It was a hopeless contest, in which scattered, half-fed, half-naked men were brought face to face with increasing hosts, well appointed and provisioned, and recruited from all the nations of earth. Gallantry could avail nothing. Burning cities and devastated country left no hope that wives and children could longer be sustained whilst husbands and fathers abided by the sword. It was a terrible hour of trial, and yet even in that hour we saw enough and knew enough of the Southern heart everywhere to be sure that it would have been fired anew, had long-looked-for intervention come. But hope had fled, and war was at an end.

Such being the state of the case, everything relating to the final struggle of that grand old Army of the Potomac, will be embalmed in the memory of Americans whether of the North or the South, and perhaps less is at present known of that final struggle than of any other event of the war.

We have two accounts before us—one from the pen of an English writer, which will be given at length, and the other by Capt. J. C. G., published in pamphlet form by W. B. Smith & Co., of Raleigh, N. C.

From the Raleigh pamphlet we make the following extracts:

It was at this moment that the Federals made their most determined effort on Gordon's lines, and by heroic bravery and daring, and amid great slaughter, succeeded in taking a portion of the breastworks near the Appomattox. But they could not use the advantage they had struggled so hard to obtain. The works were so constructed that the men could retreat only a few yards to another line, while their old line was exposed to the raking fire from the artillery on the right and left. At this part of the line, the artillery fire in a manner ceased, and, from the construction of the works, an almost individual battle was kept up until dark, with no more advantage gained on the Federal side than the taking of the first line, which they were unable to hold in a body.

While this fierce battle was raging on the left of the "Crater," other parts of the line to the right were hotly engaged, but the Confederates succeeded in repulsing every effort. About 2 P. M., heavy masses of troops were concentrated by the Federals directly opposite the position which McGowan's brigade had left the day previous. It took place while a seeming lull had occurred in the battle. I saw them when they first came in sight, marching in line of battle, three columns deep, apparently by divisions, their guns glistening and sparkling in the sun, and their blue uniforms seemingly black in the distance. They drove the Confederate skirmishers before them with impunity, and when they reached point blank range received the fire of the batteries in the breastworks without staggering. Had infantry been there, perhaps another tale might have been told, but without their assistance the Confederate batteries were carried in a moment, and the long line of breastworks was theirs, and of the few men that occupied them, some fled to the rear and others to the right and left. A loud huzza, that drowned the sound of battle on other parts of the line, greeted our ears and gave assurance to our right that a success had been gained by the Federals, and disaster had befallen the Confederates.

Just in rear, some two or three hundred yards, on many parts of our line, heavy forts had been erected to guard against just such results as had ensued. In rear of the line of works captured by the Federals were batteries Mahone and Gregg, but neither had guns mounted nor men assigned them. Mahone was unfinished, and was simply an embrasured battery of three guns. Gregg was a large fort, with a deep ditch in front, and its sally-ports protected in rear, and was embrasured for six guns. These two forts were all that now prevented the

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enemy from completely cutting the Confederate lines in two to the Appomattox, and dividing A. P. Hill and Longstreet's forces, on the right, from the main body of the army.

As soon as the line of works were captured, the men from all the brigades which had been forced to retire were hurried into these works. Three guns, saved from capture on the entrenchments, were put in battery Mahone, with a few men, and three also in Fort Gregg, with about 300 infantry, mostly Mississippians. After reforming and getting in order, the Federals moved on these works—on Mahone first, and they took it with a rush, although the gunners stood to their guns to the last and fired their last shot while the Federal troops were on the ramparts.

I was standing where I could view the whole encounter. The Confederate line to the left of the run was not attacked. The creek divided us, and the struggle was going on on one hill while we were on the opposite, about half a mile apart, anxious and breathless witnesses.

As soon as Mahone fell, the Federals, in three lines, moved on Fort Gregg, with cheers. In the immediate vicinity all else was silent. How confidently, and in what beautiful lines they advance! As they near the fort their line curves into a circle. They are within fifty yards, and not the flash of a single rifle yet defies them. My God! have the boys surrendered without a struggle? We look to see if the sign of a white flag can be seen. At this instant it seems to gleam in the sunlight, and sends a pang to our hearts. But no; it is the white smoke of their guns, while cannoneers and infantry simultaneously fire on the confident assaulters, who stagger, reel under their death dealing volley, and in a moment the Federal lines are broken and they retreat in masses under cover. A loud and wild cheer succeeds the breathless stillness that prevailed amongst us, and is answered exultingly by the heroic little garrison in Fort Gregg. But reinforcements have come to the help of the assaulters. I can see their long serpentine lines as they wind their way through the cleared fields in the distance and over the captured works. I turned and looked to our rear, but no reinforcements were seen coming to the succor of the garrison. Every man is needed at his post, and no reserves are at hand. The repulsed assailants, animated by the sight of reinforcements, reform, and, as their comrades come up in battle array, march forth again in unbroken ranks. As they gain the hill-top, two hundred yards from the fort, the artillery within the fort belches forth from the embrasures, and the effect of its canister can be plainly seen in the heaps of dead and dying that strew the ground. But the check is only momentary. As the next line advances they move forward in serried ranks, and soon the fort is canopied in smoke. We can see the artillery as it fires in rapid succession, and the small arms pop and crack in a ceaseless rattle. The conflict elsewhere ceases, and both sides are silent and anxious witnesses of the struggle at the fort. Thus the fight continues for half an hour. The Federals have reached the ditch. They climb up the sides of the works, and, as the foremost reach the top, we can see them reel and fall headlong on their comrades below. Once, twice and thrice have they reached the top, only to be repulsed, and yet they persevere, and the artillery in the embrasures continue to fire in rapid succession. But, at last, all is hushed! The artillery once more, and for the last time, fires a parting shot, and we can see the Federals as with impunity they mount the works and begin a rapid fire on the defenders within. Their ammunition is exhausted, and, unwilling to surrender, they are using their bayonets and clubbing their guns in an unequal struggle. At last one loud huzza proclaims the fort lost, and with it the Confederate army cut into two parts. Generals Heth and Wilcox were in the fort, cheered the men to the last, and, at the minute of its surrender, mounted their steeds, dashed through the sally-port and retreated to the rear. I have since learned that 280 of the garrison, of a little over 300, were killed and wounded.

* * * * *

While the pursuit of Lee's army by Grant's overwhelming forces was still in progress, the following correspondence ensued between the two commanders:

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General R. E. Lee, Commanding Confederate States Army: APRIL 7th, 1865.

GENERAL: The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate southern army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,
U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General Commanding Armies of the United States.

APRIL 7th, 1865.

GENERAL: I have received your note of this day. Though not entirely of the opinion you express of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid the useless effusion of blood, and therefore, before considering your proposition, ask the terms you will offer on conditions of its surrender.
R. E. LEE, General.
Lt. Gen. U. S. Grant, Commanding Armies of the United States.

To General R. E. Lee,-Commanding Confederate States Army: APRIL 8th, 1865.

GENERAL: Your note of last evening, in reply to mine of same date, asking the conditions on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia is just received.

In reply, I would say, that peace being my first desire, there is but one condition that I insist upon, viz.:

That the men surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms against the United States until properly exchanged.

I will meet you, or designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,
U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General Commanding Armies of the United States.

APRIL 8th, 1865.

GENERAL: I received, at a late hour, your note of to-day in answer to mine of yesterday.

I did not intend to propose the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender.

But as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desire to know if your proposals tend to that end.

I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia; but so far as your proposition may affect the Confederate States forces under my command and tend to the restoration of peace, I should be pleased to meet you at 10 A. M., to-morrow, on the old stage road to Richmond, between the picket lines of the two armies.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,
R. E. LEE, General Commanding Confederate States Army.

To Lieut. Gen. U. S. Grant, Commanding United States Armies.

Gen. R. E. Lee, Commanding Confederate States Army: APRIL 9th, 1865.

GENERAL: Your note of yesterday is received. As I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace, the meeting proposed for at 10 A. M. to-day could lead to no good. I will state, however, General, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself; and the whole North entertain the same feeling. The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed.

Sincerely hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General United States Army.

APRIL 9th, 1865.

GENERAL: I received your note of this morning, on the picket line, whither I had come to meet you and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposition of yesterday, with reference to the surrender of this army.

I now request an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
R. E. LEE, General.

To Lieutenant-General Grant Commanding United States Armies.

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General R. E. Lee, Commanding Confederate States Army: APRIL 9th, 1865.

Your note of this date is but this moment, 11.50 A. M., received.

In consequence of having passed from the Richmond and Lynchburg road, I am at this writing, about four miles west of Walter's Church, and will push forward to the front for the purpose of meeting you.

Notice sent to me on this road where you wish the interview to take place, will meet me. Very respectfully, U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant General.

Gen. R. E. Lee Com. C. S. Army: APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, April 9, 1865.

In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th inst., I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit:

Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer designated by me, the other to be retained by such officers as you may designate.

The officers to give their individual parole not to take arms against the government of the United States until properly exchanged, each company or regimental commander to sign a parole for the men of their commands.

The arms, artillery and public property to be parked and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them.

This will not embrace the side arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage.

This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by the United States authority, so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they may reside. Very respectfully,

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY NORTHERN VIRGINIA, April 9, 1865.

Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant, Commanding United States Army:

GENERAL: I have received your letter of this date containing the terms of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th inst., they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect. Very respectfully your obedient servant, R. E. LEE, General.

* * * * * * *

While the interview with reference to the surrender was taking place between the commanders, a strange scene was transpiring between the lines of the two armies, and occupied the period of the armistice. An informal conference and mingling of the officers of both armies gave to the streets of the village of Appomattox Court House a strange appearance. On the Federal side were Gens. Ord, Sheridan, Crook, Gibbon, Griffin, Merritt, Ayers, Bartlett, Chamberlain, Forsyth, and Mitchie. On the Confederate side were Generals Longstreet, Gordon, Heth, Wilcox and others. The conference lasted some hour and a half. None but general officers were allowed to pass through the skirmish line; there were mutual introductions and shaking of hands, and soon was passed some whiskey, and mutual healths drank. Gradually the area of the conference widened. The parties filled the streets, and before this singular conference closed, some were seated on the steps, and others, for better accommodations, chatted cosily, seated on a contiguous fence.

Between the skirmish lines of the two armies there was a great suspense, for it was felt that great interests were at stake between them. Skirmish line confronted skirmish line, lines of battle confronted lines of battle, cannon confronted cannon. Eager hopes hung on the interview between the opposing great commanders of the two armies. Peace might follow this interview. It might end in resumption of hostilities, in fiercest battle, in terrible carnage. The two armies were plainly visible to one another. The Confederates skirted a strip of woods in rear of the town. Through the vistas of the streets might be seen their wagon trains. The minutes passed but slowly. The approach of every horseman attracted an eager look. Two o'clock had been appointed by Grant for the resumption of hostilities. It arrived, and the Federal skirmish line commenced to advance. The Confederate pickets were in plain sight, and stationary. A moment more and the crack of the rifle would indicate the resumption of carnage. But a clatter of hoofs is heard, and a flag of truce ap-

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pears upon the scene, with an order from General Grant that hostilities should cease until further orders.

After the interview at McLean's house General Lee returned to his own camp, about half a mile distant, where his leading officers were assembled awaiting his return. He announced the result and the terms. They then approached him in order of rank, shook hands, expressed satisfaction at his course and their regret at parting, all shedding tears on the occasion. The fact of surrender and the forms were then announced to the troops, and when General Lee appeared among them he was loudly cheered

At about four o'clock it was announced in Grant's army that the surrender had been consummated and signed. And now the enthusiasm which had been restrained by uncertainty broke loose. The various brigade commanders announced the joyful news to their commands, and cheers of the wildest description followed. The men leaped, ran, jumped, threw themselves into each other's arms and seemed mad with joy.

The day after the surrender General Lee bid farewell to his army in the following simple address, so characteristic of his plain and manly style of writing:

GENERAL ORDER, No. 9. HEADQ'RS ARMY N. V., April 10th, 1865.

After four years of arduous service, marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources.

I need not tell the survivors of so many hard-fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I have consented to this result from no distrust of them; but, feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that could compensate for the loss that would have attended the continuation of the contest, I have determined to avoid the useless sacrifice of those whose past services have endeared them to their countrymen.

By the terms of agreement, officers and men will be allowed to return to their homes and remain there until exchanged.

You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed; and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you His blessing and protection.

With an unceasing admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration of myself, I bid you an affectionate farewell. R. E. LEE, General.

The following is the account, *in extenso*, as given by the English writer:

"It is said by Coleridge that no man thrown to the surface of human affairs ever succeeded in simultaneously gaining distinction and affection, unless he possessed something of an epicine nature—that is to say, a mixture of masculine and feminine qualities. Without claiming for General Lee, in the highest sense, the title of 'great,' it is impossible to deny that his memory will be cherished by those who, in the crisis of his three years of trial, stood and suffered by his side, as an exceptionally dear and precious possession. Few soldiers, if asked whether they would rather have served under Lee, on the one hand, or under Cromwell, Frederick the Great, Marlborough, or Napoleon on the other, would hesitate to prefer the four famous generals to the discomfited Confederate. Yet, it is doubtful whether any of the four, after they had passed away, and had ceased to communicate the electric shock of their presence and contact—of eye, voice, character, and influence—to others, possessed such hold on the affections and esteem as were inspired by Robert E. Lee.

"The truth seems to be that the greatest men *de par le monde* are

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necessarily and intensely selfish. All great men are monsters, says a German proverb; and it may, I think, be conceded that when a man is playing a conspicuous *role* in life, and is generally loved, he is not, in the world's highest sense, great. He is probably something better. He has the thoughtfulness about others, the unobtrusiveness and renunciation of self, the truthfulness, purity, modesty, charity, guilelessness, which cannot long be unnoticed by those around him, and which lay firm hold upon their hearts. But to be great, to fill a very large space in the world's eye during a man's few brief years upon earth, he must throw modesty and unobtrusiveness overboard; he must be grasping, aggressive, discreetly greedy of praise, covetous of a large share of honor, judiciously envious; he must know how to undermine troublesome rivals without being found out, and to help useful friends without being supplanted. Heartily agreeing with Coleridge, that where distinction and affection have been won coincidently, there must be the epicene element in their winner. I venture to doubt whether man's affection is ever won by the greatest, or, in other words, whether in the greatest any of the woman is to be found. It is the nature of man to love woman; and thus if A, being a man, love B, who is also a man, it has always seemed to me that in proportion to the womanly qualities of B (wisely interspersed, of course, with the best manly qualities), will be the love that A bears him. The upright, earnest, energetic man, in whom there is little or no womanliness—such men as the incomparably drawn character of Tom in *The Mill on the Floss*—won confidence, admiration, esteem; but from their brother man they win little love. Be this as it may, there was a large streak of the Woman both in Washington and Lee, admits of no doubt. The men who are brave from tenderness, are braver than the men who are brave from pride. But the men who, to encourage or spare others, are gratuitously brave, are not selfish enough to be great. The calm judgment of posterity, especially if assisted by the pen of Mr. Carlyle (who is said to hold that Washington stands too high, and who, if I am rightly informed, contemplates lowering his pedestal), will, I think, reverse the verdict of Mr. Everett's well-known lecture, and will pronounce that Washington was not greater than Peter, or Frederick, or Marlborough, as Mr. Everett contends, but was simply more estimable.

"The exceeding lovableness of Lee became more patent as your consciousness that, as a politician, he lacked vigor and self-assertion, became more irresistible. This lovableness was based on a never-tiring unselfishness, a contagious endurance of hardship and danger, a shrinking modesty, an abounding tenderness. The child and the young girl, who had never seen him before, ran to him instinctively, as to a friend. His look spoke of honesty, directness, kindliness, courage; his smile was irresistibly winning. But the stuff which made Cromwell, Napoleon, William the Silent, greater as politicians than as soldiers, was lacking in Lee. All that there was of true and brave in the people whom he so nearly made into a nation

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called on him by signs that he who ran might have read, to put Congress aside, to control the press, to be Dictator, indeed; and yet he would not! Nevertheless, in the belief that there is more powerful stimulant to a noble ambition than the study of such a character as Lee's, I desire to throw my stone upon the cairn by gathering together a few notes, for the general accuracy of which I can entirely vouch, exhibiting the main features of those eventful six days which intervened between the evacuation of the Confederate lines around Petersburg and Richmond, on the night of April second, and the surrender of Lee's army on the morning of April ninth.

"In order to rightly understand these six days, it should be premised that the Federal cavalry, massed under General Sheridan, numbering about fifteen thousand sabres, splendidly equipped, and converted by their able commander into a body of military horsemen upon whom an Austrian or French *sabreur* might have looked without disdain, moved southward down the Valley of Virginia between the first and tenth of last March, and encountered a scratch Confederate army of about three thousand men, under General Early, at Waynesboro'. Gen. Early, distrustful of his men and his men equally distrustful of him, planted them with their backs to a deep river, in order to make retreat impossible. The result is easily foreseen. General Sheridan bagged two-thirds of his enemy's force, and most of his enemy's artillery. In the previous summer I remember that, as General Early kept losing gun after gun, great efforts were made to re-supply his losses by sending up fresh guns from Richmond. Upon one of these guns some wag of a Confederate soldier had chalked, 'General Sheridan, in care of General Early.' The transfer was probably effected at Waynesboro'. Sweeping rapidly onward toward the James River, between Richmond and Lynchburg, Sheridan found himself confronted by a swollen and impassable stream. He fell back, rounded the left wing of Lee's army, crossed the Pamunkey River at the White House (where he recruited his strength by picking up twelve hundred fresh horses which awaited him there), and upon the twenty-fifth of March joined General Grant in the lines before Petersburg. To Sheridan's untiring and sagacious activity in the subsequent operations, more than to the agency of any other man, is due the completeness of the Federal triumph—the seemingly inexplicable collapse of the Confederacy.

"It was not long before Grant's accession of strength was felt by Lee.

"Upon the evening of Saturday, April first, General Longstreet, who had long defended Richmond by commanding the Confederate forces to the north of the James River, received information from Lee that Grant had detached Sheridan's cavalry, and two corps of infantry (about twenty-five thousand men in all) to act against the Southside Railroad. Before communicating with Longstreet, Lee had dispatched Pickett's and Bushrod Johnson's divisions, Huger's battalion of artillery, and Fitzhugh Lee's division of cavalry, (in all

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about seventeen thousand men), to meet the attack with which the Southside Railroad was menaced. But in sending away these seventeen thousand men, Lee had so weakened his lines before Petersburg that there was but one Confederate left to every fifty yards.

"Under these circumstances, Lee called upon Longstreet for men. But at dawn upon the second of April, before Longstreet had had time to obey Lee's orders, Grant descried from his wooden tower of observation the weakness of the Confederate lines. Immediately he threw a very heavy column, consisting, I believe, chiefly of Gibbon's corps, upon the weakest spot. The Federals carried, with very slight loss, the outer line, thinly held by Heth's division of Confederates, and bulged forward until they struck two of the detached forts, whereof a string or system ran behind the whole length of the Confederate outer works. These two detached forts, which were of course designed to cover each other, were named Forts Gregg and Alexander.

"The officer in command of Fort Alexander, which was farthest away from the on-coming Federals, deemed it more important to save his guns than to try and help Fort Gregg. Receiving no assistance from its twin brother, Fort Gregg, manned by Harris's Mississippi brigade, numbering two hundred and fifty undaunted men, breasted intrepidly the tide of its multitudinous assailants. Three times Gibbon's corps surged up and around the works—three times, with dreadful carnage, they were driven back. I am told that it was subsequently admitted by General Gibbon, that in carrying Fort Gregg he lost from five to six hundred men; or, in other words, that each Mississippian inside the works struck down at least two assailants. When at last the work was carried, there remained, out of its two hundred and fifty defenders, but thirty survivors. In those nine memorable April days there was no episode more glorious to the Confederate arms than the heroic self-immolation of the Mississippians in Fort Gregg to gain time for their comrades.

"Fort Gregg fell about seven o'clock in the morning of the second. After a delay of two or three hours the Federals swept onward in the direction of Petersburg, taking the Confederate lines *en reverse*. At this moment Longstreet, accompanied by Benning's brigade of Field's division, about one hundred and seventy bayonets strong, met the on-pouring flood, and checked it long enough to enable fresh troops to hurry up in his rear, and to form line in front of Petersburg.

"Simultaneously, in an attempt of Heth's division to re-establish their lines, General A. P. Hill (who commanded the corps to which Heth's division belonged) lost a life which for nearly four years he had unflinchingly exposed in a hundred of his country's battles. About the same moment was dispatched the memorable telegram which surprised President Davis in church, and announced that the last day of that heroic resistance which had made Richmond the most notable of beleaguered cities had at length arrived. The

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delay purchased by the obstinate defense of Fort Gregg, and by Longstreet's bold handling of Benning's brigade, saved Petersburg until the tobacco and cotton stored in that city could be burned, and until leisurely preparations for its evacuation could be made. It is remarkable that no further onslaught was made by the Federals throughout the day, or during the evening, although the flames springing up in many parts of the town must have told their own tale. At nightfall on the second, all the Confederate troops, about four thousand strong, which remained under the command of General Ewell, to the north of James River, fell back from their lines, and passed through the bewildered streets of Richmond, traversing, before daybreak, the bridges over the James River, which were so soon to be given to the flames. About eight on the night of the same second, the Confederate troops also commenced leaving Petersburg, their retreat being covered by Field's division, under Longstreet. Pursuit there was none. It is probable that already Grant was bending all his energies to get round, and cut off Lee's retreat. The Petersburg section of the Confederate troops, full of vigor and *elan*, crossed to the north of the Appomattox River on a pontoon bridge, and made siqteen miles during the first night of retreat. It would be difficult to conceive of anything brighter, or more hopeful, than the tone of General Lee's spirits on the morning of the third. 'I have got my army safe out of its breastworks,' said he, 'and, in order to follow me, my enemy must abandon his lines, and can derive no further benefit from his railroads, or from the James River.' There can be little doubt that Lee's design was to recruit his army with rations, which he hoped to find in abundance at Amelia Court House, and to fall in detail upon the Federals, who, breaking up into bodies of one or two army corps, were scattering all over the country, with a view to a vigorous pursuit. Two days' rations at Amelia Court House, for forty thousand men, would possibly have made a great difference in the immediate, though, as I believe, none in the ultimate history of the continent of North America.

"There is little satisfaction in dwelling in detail upon the five subsequent days, for which a parallel must be sought on the banks of the Beresina, or in other similar passages of military anguish. It is hardly necessary to state that at Amelia Court House Lee found not a ration. I shall not pause now to distribute blame, or to investigate who was at fault. All that I have to state is that the fault was not Lee's, whose orders on this subject for a fortnight past had been urgent and precise. It became necessary for Lee to break nearly half of his army up into foraging parties to get food. The country through which he was passing was a tract of straggling woods and pine barrens, with occasional little patches of clearings. The foraging parties had to go so far afield in quest of food that they were taken prisoners by wholesale. In the face of such suffering as they left behind, it cannot be wondered at if some of the poor fellows courted capture. Those foragers who returned to Lee

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brought little or nothing with them. The sufferings of the men from the pangs of hunger had not been approached in the military annals of the last fifty years. But the sufferings of the mules and horses must have been even keener; for the men assuaged their cravings by plucking the buds and twigs of trees just shooting in early spring, whereas the grass had not yet started from its winter sleep, and food for the unhappy quadrupeds there was none. As early as the morning of the fourth, Lee sent off half his artillery toward the railroad to relieve the famished horses. This artillery, making slow progress, thanks to the exhaustion of the horses, was captured by the Federals on the eighth, but not until General Lindsay Walker had buried many of his guns, which were, of course, subsequently exhumed (seventy of them at one haul) by their captors.

"It is easy to see that the locomotion of an army in such a plight must have been slow and slower. The retreat was conducted in the following fashion. About midnight the Confederates slipped out of their hasty works, which they had thrown up and held during the previous day, and fell back until ten or eleven o'clock the next morning. Then they halted, and immediately threw up earthworks for their protection during the day. It was not long before the wolves were again on their heels, and from their earthworks the Confederates exchanged a heavy fire with their pursuers throughout the day. Delayed by the necessity of guarding an ammunition train from thirty-five to forty miles in length, enfeebled by hunger and sleepiness, the retreating army was able to make only ten miles each night. This delay enabled the active Sheridan to get ahead with his cavalry, and to destroy the depots of provisions along the railroad between Burkesville and Danville. Upon the fifth, many of the mules and horses ceased to struggle. It became necessary to burn hundred of wagons. At intervals the enemy's cavalry dashed in and struck the interminable ammunition train here or there, capturing and burning dozens upon dozens of wagons. Toward evening of the fifth, and all day long upon the sixth, hundreds of men dropped from exhaustion, and thousands let fall their muskets from inability to carry them any farther. The scenes of the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth, were of a nature which can be apprehended in its vivid reality only by men who are thoroughly familiar with the harrowing details of war. Behind, and on either flank, an ubiquitous and increasingly adventurous enemy; every mud-hole and every rise in the road choked with blazing wagons; the air filled with the deafening reports of ammunition exploding, and shells bursting when touched by the flames; dense columns of smoke ascending to heaven from the burning and exploding vehicles; exhausted men, worn-out mules and horses, lying down side by side; gaunt famine glaring hopelessly from sunken lack-lustre eyes; dead mules, dead horses, dead men everywhere; death, many times welcomed as God's blessing in disguise; who can wonder if many hearts, tried in the fiery furnace of four years' unparalleled suffering

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and never hitherto found wanting, should have quailed in the presence of starvation, fatigue, sleeplessness, misery—unintermitted for five or six days, and culminating in hopelessness?

"Yet there were not wanting occasional episodes which recalled something of the old pride of former memories, and reminded men that this hunted, famished crowd was still the same army which had won two Bull Runs, which had twice (in pursuit of a fatal policy) trodden its enemy's soil, and had written Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and a dozen other glorious names upon its banners. On the sixth, a large body of Federal cavalry, having got ahead of Lee's army and occupied Rice's Station, was attacked by some Confederate horse under General Rosser, who drove them off, capturing six hundred and eighty prisoners. On the seventh, a heavy attack was made on Mahone's division, and the prowess of this active Confederate General, so frequently exhibited during the last twelve months of the war, was maintained to the end, inasmuch as a Federal brigade, getting entangled in a ravine, was surrounded by Mahone's men, and literally disappeared. On the evening of the seventh, General Gregg, with six or seven thousand Federal cavalry, made a desperate attempt to capture all the wagon trains. He was gallantly met by two thousand horsemen under Fitzhugh Lee, and defeated. Gregg himself was captured.

"Throughout these gloomy days, as an offset to the countless Confederates captured while foraging by the Federals, numerous Federal prisoners were taken by the Confederates, and became participants of a hunger and suffering of which they had no previous conception. I may as well mention now, that as the surrender became more inevitable, Generals Fitzhugh Lee and Rosser, with about two thousand Confederate cavalry, tacitly determined not to be included in it, and started off towards Lynchburg. On their road they fell in with a Federal supply train, and burned eight hundred and sixty wagons. The scanty and partial rations which, after the surrender, were issued on the night of the ninth, to the starving Confederates by their captors, were apologized for by the Federals on the ground of the destruction of these eight hundred and sixty wagons by Fitzhugh Lee.

"The reader will have gathered that when General Lee found his depots along the Danville road destroyed by Sheridan, he had no alternative but to make for Lynchburg. He still hoped to get rations, and to turn suddenly upon Grant, whose army was dispersed into many columns. The fatigue of the pursuit, though unaggravated by famine, was beginning to tell upon the pursuers. But in pressing for Lynchburg, Lee found himself in a dangerous predicament. He was on a strip of land, not more than seven or eight miles broad, between the James and Appomattox Rivers. On the afternoon of the seventh, Lee's situation seemed so unpromising that Grant, for the first time, sent to propose surrender. Lee at once replied that his circumstances did not seem to him such as to justify his entertaining such a proposal. On the morning of the

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eighth, Grant renewed his solicitations. Lee did not decline, but debated the matter, calling a council of war in the evening. No determination was arrived at on the eighth, and at midnight the usual dreary retreat was resumed. The springs of energy and will, unstrung by long want of food, had run down in the men like the machinery of a broken clock. Hitherto the retreat had been covered by Longstreet and Gordon alternately; but now the Federal force which had got ahead of Lee, and was obstructing his retreat, had become so considerable, that Gordon was thrown out with two thousand men in front, while the 'old bull-dog,' Longstreet, whose pluck neither hunger, nor fatigue, nor depression could abate or subdue, still covered the rear. At daybreak on the ninth, a courier from Gordon announced to Lee that a large body of Federal cavalry (in other words, Sheridan's army) was across the road at Appomattox Court-House. At the same moment, a heavy force of infantry under Grant was pushing Longstreet vigorously in the rear. Between Gordon and Longstreet were the remaining wagons, and clinging to them thousands of unarmed and famished stragglers, too weak to carry their muskets. Lee sent orders to Gordon to cut his way through, *coute qu'il coute*. Presently came another courier from Gordon, announcing that the enemy was driving him back. Lee had at this moment less than eight thousand men with muskets in their hands. The fatal moment had indisputably come. Hastily donning his best uniform, and buckling on his sword—which it was never his fashion to wear—General Lee turned sadly to the rear to seek a final interview with General Grant.

"There is no passage of history in this heartbreaking war which will, for years to come, be more honorably mentioned and gratefully remembered than the demeanor of the ninth of April, 1865, of General Grant toward General Lee. I do not so much allude to the facility with which honorable terms were accorded to the Confederates as to the bearing of General Grant and of the officers about him toward General Lee. The interview was brief. Three Commissioners upon either side were immediately appointed. The agreement to which these six Commissioners acceded was as follows:

"APPOMOTTAX COURT-HOUSE, Va., *April* 10, 1865.

"Agreement entered into this day in regard to the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia to the United States authorities:

"1st. The troops shall march by brigades and detachments to a designated point, stack their arms, deposit their flags, sabres, pistols, etc., and from thence march to their homes under charge of their officers, superintended by their respective division and corps commanders, officers retaining their side arms and the authorized number of private horses.

"2d. All public horses and public property of all kinds to be turned over to staff-officers, to be designated by the United States authorities.

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"3d. Such transportation as may be agreed upon as necessary for the transportation of the private baggage of officers will be allowed to accompany the officers, to be turned over at the end of the trip to the nearest United States Quartermaster, receipts being taken for the same.

"4th. Couriers and mounted men of the artillery and cavalry, whose horses are their own private property, will be allowed to retain them.

"5th. The surrender of the army of Northern Virginia shall be construed to include all the forces operating with that army on the eighth instant, the date of the commencement of the negotiations for surrender, except such bodies of cavalry as actually made their escape previous to the surrender, and except only such pieces of artillery as were more than twenty miles from Appomattox Court House at the time of surrender on the ninth instant.

"(Signed)

"JOHN GIBSON, *Major-General Volunteers.*
"CHARLES GRIFFIN, *Brevet Major-General U. S. Vols.*
"W. MERRITT, *Brevet Major-General.*
"J. LONGSTEET, *Lieutenant-General.*
"J. B. GORDON, *Major-General.*
"W. N. PENDLETON, *Brig.-Gen. and Chief of Art'y.*

"In the meantime, immediately that General Lee was seen riding to the rear, dressed more gayly than usual, and begirt with his sword, the rumor of immediate surrender flew like wild-fire through the Confederates. It might be imagined that an army, which had drawn its last regular rations on the 1st of April, and harassed incessantly by night and day, had been marching and fighting until the morning of the ninth, would have welcomed anything like a termination of its sufferings, let it come in what form it might. Let those who idly imagine that the finer feelings are the prerogative of what are called the "upper classes," learn from this and similar scenes to appreciate "common men." As the great Confederate captain rode back from his interview with General Grant, the news of the surrender acquired shape and consistency, and could no longer be denied. The effect on the worn and battered troops—some of whom had fought since April, 1861, and (sparse survivors of hetacombs of fallen comrades) had passed unscathed through such hurricanes of shot as within four years no other men had ever experienced—passes mortal description. Whole lines of battle rushed up to their beloved old chief, and choking with emotion, broke ranks and struggled with each other to wring him once more by the hand. Men who had fought throughout the war, and knew what the agony and humiliation of that moment must be to him, strove with a refinement of unselfishness and tenderness, which he alone could fully appreciate, to lighten his burden and mitigate his pain. With tears pouring down both cheeks, General Lee at length commanded voice enough to say: 'Men, we have fought through the war to-

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gether. I have done the best that I could for you.' Not an eye that looked on that scene was dry. Nor was this the emotion of sickly sentimentalists, but of rough and rugged men familiar with hardship, danger and death in a thousand shapes, mastered by sympathy and feeling for another which they had never experienced on their own account. I know of no other passage of military history so touching, unless in spite of the melo-dramatic coloring which French historians have loved to shed over the scene, it can be found in the *Adieux de Fontainbleau.*

"It remains for me briefly to notice the last parade of an army whereof the exploits will be read with pride so long as the English tongue is spoken. In pursuance of an arrangement of the six Commissioners, the Confederate army marched by divisions, on the morning of the 12th of April, to a spot in the neighborhood of Appomattox Court House, where they stacked arms and deposited accoutrements. Upon this solemn occasion Major-General Gibbon represented the United States authorities. With the same conspicuous and exalted delicacy which he had exhibited throughout these closing scenes, General Grant was not again visible after his final interview with General Lee. About 7,800 Confederates marched up with muskets in their hands, and they were followed by about 18,000 unarmed stragglers."

ART. VII.—THE AMERICAN COLONY IN MEXICO.

We have expressed our opinion freely in reference to the American Colony in Mexico. We know personally, and have the highest respect for many of the eminent Southern gentlemen who are at its head, and cannot but admire that hardiness of purpose which makes them brave everything in maintaining what they regard as principle. Though we have not agreed with them and have discouraged the immigration which they would encourage, time only can show whether they or we are right. Our theory is, that liberty may yet be enjoyed in the land of our nativity, but should fanaticism and radicalism prove this to be impossible, true men and brave men must find another home. Though the clouds are dark we are not yet despondent. We have the nerve yet to endure and wait.

A writer in the *New York Tribune* writing for the *Southern Colony*, says: "Sincere or not, the feelings of the rebels towards the United States assume a milder form here than at home. Distances which blot out bitterness of resentment; the hopes and prospects of a large fortune; the knowledge they have that the desire of the Emperor is, that they should abstain from any utterance calculated to wound the pride and susceptibilities of the Americans; the absorbing interest produced by the novelty and richness of the Mexican landscape; the want of rest; the softening influence of the climate; the effect of captivating scenery, speaking to the senses and to the imagination—all this, no doubt, contribute to lessen the unpleasant remembrances of the past and to deaden the pangs of defeat. I was informed, that those who have already settled here are even praising the Government of the United States. As a proof of this, one of my neighbors showed me in a number of the Mexican *Times*, edited by Governor Allen, of Louisiana, an eulogistic article on President Johnson and his message."

Speaking of the labors of the several colonists, he says: "The farms of Gen. Price, Gen. Shelby, and Gov. Harris are contiguous. None of them are yet

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under cultivation, for the reason, that these gentlemen entered their lands late in October, and the season was too far advanced to go straightforward to work. They are now cleaning their fields and getting them ready for spring. The fields in this blessed country are mostly banana and pineapple plants. Fruits are found here in great abundance. It was told that there were no less than three hundred species of fruit, including the varieties. For instance, there are twelve varieties of bananas, half a dozen varieties of pineapple, five or six species of zappotillos—the most delicious fruit in the world—figs, pomegranates, oranges, &c. For their supply of meat they go to Cordova, where beef is sold at twelve and a half cents a pound."

The letter which follows was addressed by its distinguished author to a citizen of Tennessee, who caused it to be published in the *Union and American:*

My Dear Sir: I have received your letter, inquiring, like many others, about Mexico, with a view of making it their home. You know its geographical features, and the fame of its mineral wealth. Its soil is of unsurpassed fertility, and its climate, after you begin to ascend the table-lands, is as delightful and healthy as the heart of man can desire.

The Emperor is ruling wisely and mildly. Their Majesties are beloved by the Imperialists, and respected by all. They move as freely among the people as the President of the United States ever did in days of yore.

The Empire is continually gaining ground. Enterprise is abroad—many works of internal improvement are already under way, and about to be commenced. Capital is leaving its hiding-places, and the columns of the newspaper press are daily, and for months have been filled with the names of Liberals, who, looking upon the Empire as a success, and their cause as a failure, have laid down their arms and are giving in their adhesion. Property and life are daily becoming more secure. As an illustration, the doors of the house in which I live are without locks; nor do I ever take care even to shut any of them before I go to bed. True there is a *portero* below, but the building is an old convent inhabited and frequented by hundreds of people who are not barred from each other by any fastenings. The impressions abroad about Mexico are very erroneous. With regard to the inquiries in behalf of our friends who desire to come to this lovely land, I have to say: They can find desirable locations in any climate they please, and suitable for the cultivation of any staple they prefer, or the raising of any kind of stock.

As to the most profitable branch of agricultural industry, that varies with the locality; the variation depending as well upon the convenience and circumstances of the market as upon geographical conditions. Owing to the want of roads, navigable rivers and canals, internal transportation is tedious and expensive, and exportation difficult. Hence, in one part of the Empire the spectacle has not been unfrequently presented, of breadstuffs at famine prices, while in a neighboring department they were wasting for want of consumers. The most desirable location, therefore, for immigrants who are "well to do," (and this is the class that must lead the way,)

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are on what may be called the intertropical belt of Mexico, within which Cordova and Jalapa are situated. This is a sort of steppe or slope which rises from the low lands of the coast to the various climates, which are to be found in all intertropical latitudes, at the height of from 2,000 to 4,000 feet above the sea. Within this range the climates are those of perpetual summer—they are healthy and delightful.

These steppes encircle the Empire on the east, south and west. They overlook the valley of the Coatzacoalcas and the Gulf of Mexico on one side, and the Pacific Ocean on the other, and abound in garden spots as beautiful as Eden itself, and as sinful too. Cordova and Jalapa are such places—they are in sight of the sea. The farmer there, and at many other places, may reap from the same field two or three crops annually, with an increase of three or four hundred fold upon the seed sown.

In the course of the present year a railway is to be completed from each of these points to Vera Cruz, which will bring them fairly within the domains of foreign commerce. Corn, cotton, coffee, sugar and tobacco all do well here, but as a rule, I consider coffee, cotton and tobacco the most profitable staples of cultivation, because they can best bear transportation and stand competition in foreign markets. Formerly, and before the country began to be tossed and vexed by revolution, lands in the neighborhood of these two cities were valued at from $75 to $100 per acre.

Many of these splendid haciendas, some of them large enough to accommodate with elegant farms ten times fifty families, were broken up during the revolutions, and their owners compelled to seek safety elsewhere. They have fallen into ruin and decay through absenteeism, and now that order is restored, the Empire gaining ground, and internal improvements encouraged by the wise policy of the Emperor, these lands are coming into demand.

But present owners find themselves too poor to repair and bring them under cultivation again. They are for sale, and may be bought at from $2 to $3 per acre.

These abandoned haciendas, (and they are to be found in all parts of the Empire), are the places for your thrifty American farmers to establish themselves. Let them, therefore, send out their head men to select a place for the whole settlement, to be followed immediately by their young men to sow, build and repair, and make ready for the old men, the women, and the children, and others to follow by the time the lands are ready.

They will find it, at first, best to establish themselves in villages as well for mutual convenience, as for protection against the bands of lawless marauders who are ever ready to pounce upon the helpless farmer. Immigrants should bring with them such mechanics as are required to satisfy their own wants and necessities.

Tell those who come, to count upon all the assistance, every facility, and the best information that it is in my power to afford, or within the province of this office to give.

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In the Northern departments the vine flourishes well, and the wine is excellent.

On the slopes next the sea, cochineal and indigo are cultivated, drugs, gums, and spices collected.

The most profitable stock-raising are mules, horses and goats. There is room for profitable improvement in the breed of horses, cattle and sheep.

The immigrant is allowed free exercise of religious worship. It is guaranteed to him both by an ordinance of the Empire and a dispensation of the Pope. He is also entitled on entering the country, to a free duty permit, for all of his cattle and effects, and exemption from all taxation for one year, and from military conscription for five years. He is allowed to bring his arms also, and with his neighbors to form a sedentary militia for her own defense against robbers who are daily becoming less bold. But he may not bring in anything for sale, exchange or barter, without the payment of full duties.

In the rural districts, the Indians generally are honest; indeed, in some parts of the country, theft among them is unknown. They are a gentle and docile race. Simple in their habits, they are superstitious, entering zealously into all the festivities and ceremonies of the church.

They seem not to care to earn more than a dollar or two a week, and when they have done this, whether by two or three days of labor, they generally stop work and frolic until the money is gone, when they are ready to earn by labor in the field the next instalment. The Sabbath is not much observed by them, or the Mexican generally, except as a day of parade and pleasure. As a rule their wages are paid weekly in cash, and at the rate, generally, of from twenty-five to fifty cents a day, the laborer finding himself.

Silver is the principal circulating medium; there are also gold and copper coins, but no bank notes.

The implements of husbandry are generally rude, and agriculture is by no means in a high state of improvement. Nevertheless, the Indian and the mixed classes, of whom there are about seven millions, are skillful laborers in their way. This mode of husbandry is so much the better for the display by the European or American farmer, of his exquisite skill and the virtues of his improved implements, which last he can bring in duty free.

It is not advisable, at present, for immigrants without money to come to Mexico, unless they come under the auspices of some friend who can assist them, or under the care of some one of the various companies for establishing colonies that have been recently incorporated. Some of these propose to bring the immigrants into the country, to furnish them with land, to establish them on their farms, to subsist them for awhile, and to receive a certain portion of their crops for the loans advanced for these various services. Many, who have some means, and desire to come in companies to Mexico, and establish themselves on some of these fine but abandoned haciendas,

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wish to know where these haciendas are, and their price. *Ans:* In almost every part, and at any price from a few cents to a few dollars per acre.

Of course, the prices named to me, though moderate, are the *asking* prices. It is best for every such company of immigrants to send some of their number ahead to select a place, and bargain for it themselves. Bryant, from Arkansas, has established a colony in Chihuahua; Mitchell, of Missouri, another on the Rio Verde, in the department of San Louis Potosi; Terry, of Texas, another in Jalisco. They rent at first, with the privilege of purchase in the meantime at a stated price.

Then there is the fine colony of Carlotta, near Cordova, where the lands were abandoned. There was a number of haciendas in that neighborhood that were indebted for more than they were worth to the church, and which, by the Juarez Government, were confiscated.

These have been exappropriated by the Empire, and applied to colonization. These lands are sold to immigrants at one dollar per acre in five equal annual instalments. Gens. Price and Shelby of Missouri, Gov. Harris of Tennessee, Judge Perkins of Louisiana, Rev. Mr. Holman of Missouri, and a number of others, have already established themselves there. They are highly pleased with their prospects. By the time the railway through to Vera Cruz is completed, and the last instalment falls due, they will have improved their farms, when the most staid among them expect that their farms will be worth ten, twenty and even fifty dollars per acre.

A gentleman from Louisiana has been there for seven or eight years. He established a coffee plantation of eighty acres, which is now in good bearing, and the crops from which last year were valued at $16,000.

The Cordova coffee sells in the New York market as Java, and the tobacco equals that of Cuba, while the sugar has fourteen per cent. more of saccharine-matter than that of Cuba. It will cost at the rate of some five or six dollars the acre to clear, enclose and bring these lands under cultivation. Hence it will be so much cheaper for those who have a little money to buy a hacienda, with ground already cleared, fences made, and houses, or at least walls of houses, already erected. All the lands of this colony are already, or soon will be, taken up. Each married man there is allowed 640 acres, but it is now generally admitted that one-fourth of that quantity will probably be quite as much as one family will be able to cultivate, it is so fertile and wonderfully productive. But to immigrants with a little capital, the speedy filling up of this colony should not be disheartening, under the idea that there are no more good lands and choice spots. There are better lands than these, both about Cordova and Julapa, which the present owners, not being able to work, are ready to sell on favorable terms. Agents have been established at various convenient points to assist immigrants on their arrival in the country, by giving them information and furnishing them with the necessary certificates and passports to enable them to

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pass the custom houses, and to enjoy all the rights, privileges and exemptions of the Emperor's decree. It has not been as yet practicable to establish agencies on the Rio Grande, but as soon as it may be, one will be stationed at Presidio del Norte. At present the following agencies have been established, viz:

Y. P. Oropesa, at Vera Cruz.
John Perkins, formerly of Louisiana, at Cordova.
John T. Lux, formerly of Louisiana, at Monterey.
Alonzo Ridley, formerly of California, at Mazatlan.
Captain of port of Tampico, at Tampico.
Captain of port of San Blas, at San Blas.
Captain of port of Matamoras, at Matamoras.
Mr. Ramon de la Vega, Presidente de la Junta de Mevoras de Colima, at Manzanillo.

I am about to embark for England, expecting to return to this beautiful land accompanied by my family. The office is left in charge of my son, R. S. Maury, who, during my absence, will attend to the business of the office. He is earnest in the cause, and has now in hand a guide-book for immigrants, which will soon be ready for the press. The rainy season commences in June and ends in October. Immigrants should not come during that time.

There are many inquiries made, also, in regard to religious liberty in Mexico. Perfect freedom of worship is guaranteed by the organic law of the Empire, and sanctioned by the Pope.

I have just returned from the Palace, where I had a long and interesting interview with the Emperor. I read him your questions; we discussed them *seriatim*, and he gave his answers to them one by one. I repeat your questions and give his answers:

1st. "Will Protestant clergymen be tolerated and permitted to enjoy their religious opinions and worship in these colonies, without molestation?"

"Yes, and encouraged."

2d. "Can a support be provided for such clergymen?

"Yes, as soon as I get my finances in a better condition."

3d. "Will they be sustained in the establishment of Protestant schools and colleges?"

"Yes."

4th. "Would a Protestant bishop be allowed among them?"

"Certainly."

5th. "Will the Government do anything toward the support of schools and colleges?"

"Yes."

6th. "Could endowments of land, or otherwise, *now* be made for their support?"

"Yes, by lands and voluntary contributions *now*, and money from the Government afterwards."

7th. "Would it be possible, for the present, to engraft on the University of Mexico, a department in which the studies, lec-

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tures and instruction in general, should be in the English language?"

"The question suggests a capital idea; I will converse further with —— upon that point. I desire to see communities of different religious persuasions established in the country, and to give encouragement to all, for they act and re-act upon each other with wholesome effect."

I have quoted as nearly as, after the interval of an hour, I can remember the words used by this remarkably clear-headed and business-like sovereign.

There is a clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Holman, in the colony of Carlotta, near Cordova. He is the only preacher except the Rev. Mr. Mitchell (Methodist), of the Rio Verde colony, that I have yet heard of among the settlers.

In the City of Mexico, there is a large number of English and American residents who are anxious to engage the services of an Episcopal clergyman, who can minister unto them in "mother tongue." They meet at houses of one another o' Sundays, when the services of the church and a sermon are read. I attended service in a sort of "upper loft" or retired room, such as we may imagine the early Christians met together in, and in which the congregation were all Mexicans. There were not more than a dozen or two, but enough apparently to represent all classes of society.

The services were performed in Spanish, with the prayer-book in that language. The sermon was a very good one. It was also preached in Spanish, and by a Mexican who had been a priest of the Roman Catholic Church.

So you observe, my dear sir, even here in Mexico, a field and a harvest, much room for and a great lack of laborers. Come to us.

We have accounts now of some six or eight hundred emigrants with their families, who are on their way thence, and who are preparing to come hither.

I had an offer this morning of lands for colonization, on the north bank of Panuco river. They commence about thirty miles west of Tampico and extend up to the table-land. The tract includes several hundred square leagues; it is in what is known here as the Huasteca country, decidedly one of the best regions of the whole Empire. The owner, a Mexican, is very anxious for our people to establish themselves upon these lands, and has requested me to tell him how to get them there: "Give the alternate sections, with a pre-emption right to the rest, at two dollars per acre." "I'll do it," said he, "and give the lands for roads and villages besides." He has now gone to reduce the offer to writing.

The river is navigable, and the country there, has been for years, and until recently, in a disorderly and unsafe state. A few months ago, however, the people there, gave in their adhesion to the Empire, and everything now is as orderly and as quiet as could be desired.

A party of surveyors went out yesterday from the Land office to

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survey a fine body of public lands in Millatoynca, one of the sub-districts of Tamaulipas.

We hear of immigrants who are coming from the South to the number of several hundred families. They should aim to arrive in this country by the first of May if possible. They would then have an opportunity to shelter themselves by the time the rains commence. Yours, very respectfully,

M. F. MAURY, Imp. Com'r.

ART. VIII.—FRAGMENTS OF THE PAST.

More than once we have imposed upon the reader's good nature by copying into the REVIEW, from journals and manuscripts, some of the effusions of our younger days, and not having received any punishment for the offence, have grown bold enough to venture again.—EDITOR.

No. 1.—A HOLIDAY IN OUR BOYHOOD.

"But when they seldom come—they wished for come,
And nothing pleaseth but rare accidents."—*Henry* IV.

Shakespeare says this of holidays, and Shakespeare says rightly, thought we the other morning, musingly. We must have a holiday, and such an opportunity—Beaufort and Bluffton and Bay Point—and a steamboat excursion—glorious!* We must have a holiday. So come out from thy retreat, in the longitudinal extremity of our waistcoat pocket, and let us take one farewell glance at thy patched and battered and crumpled face, thou wretched representative of toil and sorrow—two dollar bank note! Thou art the exacted tribute. By Hercules, hast thou not disfigured our vestment long enough, and should'st go now, hurrying onward in a never-ceasing circuit from pocket to pocket, thou thing of shreds and patches.

. . . . Away go we, crashing, dashing, clattering, battering. What an eternal melody of iron—whiff, whiff, baw-aw-aw—on a pleasure excursion. . . . . And now come, the broad ocean.

Oh, this interminable sinking. Those monster billows throw steamer, passengers and all in the air, and catch them again for amusement. Some giant game of ball—*Ohe! jam satis*—on a pleasure excursion!

Put on more steam—spread the canvass. Aristocratic, democratic, wonderfully pretentious little Beaufort, we greet thee in the distance! With all thy staid and stiffened gait, we love thee. With all thy calculating "*nativities*," and anxious looking back to Noah and the flood for thine eternal ancestry! We love thee for

* Twenty-five years have passed since then, and, alas, what desolation has visited those abodes of our nativity and youth, of chivalrous men and fair women, of unaffected hospitality, of refinement, elegance and wealth.—EDITOR.

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the associations of other days and joys of other hours—"hours that were" when we were full of youth and full of romance.

Dreams in thee we've had of Heaven—
In this dingy planet here,
Love and beauty make a Heaven
Of a desert waste more drear.

Gales of Heaven—blow ye lightly
O'er this clime, we fondly pray;
Lights of Heaven—shine ye brightly,
Gild it with effulgent day.

Mem'ry, faithful in its duties,
Will not fail to linger here;
Will not fail to paint thy beauties,
To the heart forever dear.

But those days have gone, and with them our youth, our romance and our poetry, and such poetry—*bah!*

Bluffton this morning. . . . . Yet, stay a moment; they come, tripping it gently and lightly, with bright, sparkling eyes and roseate cheeks, the fair ones of Beaufort. Soft, fair, fragile, blushing, gentle, coying, languishing. Gay hearts ye have to-day, and warm ones, and gushing feelings and hopes, and bright, cheering anticipations. A gala day, indeed! . . . . . .

Hark! it ascends—floating upon the breezes, eddying in the current, Apollo and Orpheus, and ye, daughters of Mnemosyne, catch these strains, and greet thine immortal "band" of votaries! The well-attenuated and sonorous reed adjusted to the hand and the pastorals of Maro and the Tiber.

. . . . . And thou art here, too—poor, blind bard. There is that which speaks the soul in thy unsophisticated countenance, and in thy sightless balls an expression which few know how to read. Patient and enduring in desolation. Come, child of song, yours is a nobler strain—a higher aspiration. There is that in thy melody which steals the soul away and carries it to heaven. Thou guardest sacredly thine instrument of melody. It is to thee a world of light and glory. It awakes an extacy in thy heart, and dispels the snows that gather around it. Awake its living harmonies—let its liquid waves of sound float onward and upward, and thy clear, deep voice, be taught to follow it into the high and airy regions of thine own Schiller. Thou art touching it now, and thy soul is mounting upwards; it feels its imperishable essence; the bonds are galling it, and the dross disgusts it; the fetters break, and the spirit soars, revelling amid suns, and worlds, and systems, on the bosom of eternity. Art thou happy now, blind bard? . . . . . .

Well did the heart of the old Huguenot warm, and his lip vent the passionate exclamation, when his wearied gaze first fixed upon thee, beautiful Broad. There is a wild romance which lurks about thy shores, and hurries us back to other times. And thou, too, gentle,

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meandering MAY, with the shadows of the tall pines sleeping upon thy bosom. We are floating on thy current, and the gentle zephyrs are fanning us, and the liquid strains are ascending; the merry peals, and the bright flashing eyes, and the silvery accents of love, attend us as we float upon thy surface, oh, lovely May!

We have climbed thy rugged slope and reached its top, and gaze upon the now romantic Bluffton. Thy beautiful ones, too, are decking themselves in their gaudiest paraphernalia to meet and rejoice in hospitalities with the stranger. The bright galaxy have gathered upon the shore; and happy urchins think that heaven has blessed them to-day.

. . . . . .

And now they come, from sister cities, with their happy throngs, the "Beaufort" and the "Santee." Georgia sends her fair ones to-day, so joyous and so happy, and they meet and embrace Carolina's daughters on the banks of the lovely "May." . . . . . .

It is over now. Evening's shades are gathering, and lengthened shadows fall. They have gathered on the "bluff," the sorrowing heart, the waving 'kerchief, the cheer, the shout. Speed the onward gallant vessels, freighted with the chivalry and pride of sister cities, and one last, lingering look and shout for thee, Bluffton! Farewell forever.

No. 2.—ON THE DEATH OF HUGH S. LEGARE.*

Pallida mors,
Equo pede, tabernas pauperum,
Turresque regum; pulsat.—*Hor.*

. . . . LEGARE, who has never, who can never be mentioned without admiration and respect. LEGARE, whose transcendant genius could only be associated with the airy heights of Olympus, and whose patriotism lived and glowed with inspiration caught from the immortal architect of the Phillipics and the exiled chronicler of the Pelopenesus.

To be known—yet never seen. To have won favor and admiration, to be greeted everywhere with the shouts of proud and grateful hearts. A whole country for a home, and a whole nation warming into enthusiasm at the mention of a name. This is to attain a giddy elevation; to reach a height worthy of the immortality of genius.

But we shall contemplate no more in our midst that exalted character. He is gone, dissipated, as it were, in the mists of his sublime elevation. Gone, and what remains? The shroud—the sarcophagus and the clay.

Expende Hanibalem, quot libras, &c.

But he is not dead. Death, though it may destroy the "*sensible*

* Written in 1842.

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proof" of existence, is impotent against that existence itself. It is only the mortality of LEGARE that the satyrist could "weigh," only the mortality that is exhibited in its insignificance.

Mors sola fatetur,
Quantula sint hominum *corpuscula*.

This is the highest eminence to which death essays; his shafts are broken here. There is that which cannot die. When mortality ceases, immortality begins—the bright immortality of LEGARE.

"Nam divitiarum, et formae gloria fluxa, atque fragilis; virtus clara, deternaque habetur."

It was a superstition, amiable and beautiful in its exercise, which sent the ancient Greek and Egyptian to heaven, in search of the guardian spirit he had lost on earth. How touching the conviction when one of their number, celebrated for the lofty exercise of virtue or patriotism, was removed, that it was to a higher sphere, where, unfettered in action, every energy could be applied in ameliorating the condition of those so loved in life, to shield, protect and bless them. The apotheosis of the good and the brave is among the first sentiments of unenlightened reason, and among its latest, metaphysics can exhibit nothing more tender and affecting.

It has been said (Raynal, Am. Rev.), "if deification be due to man, it is undoubtedly due to that man who fights and dies for his native soil." Can this be affirmed of the warrior only whose blood purchases liberty to his country? What is there, then, for the genius of the scholar, whose wonderful resources—whose transcendant effort, and untiring zeal, builds up a mighty bulwark around that liberty—preserves, confirms and establishes it?

"Peace has her victories," &c.

The laurels of Minerva, though less imposing at first sight, are more useful and enduring than those of Mars. The song of Homer is heard, to remind the world, that Ajax lived, and Agamemnon was mighty. How divine the comfort which the dying Pericles is said to have drawn from the reflection, that he had never made one of his countymen wear mourning.

Republics have been said to be ungrateful. They have been affirmed to be sterile fields in which disinterested patriotism is choked and perishes. And, yet, LEGARE was a republican—born, lived, died, in a republic. They point us to Athens. Was there ever more than a fickle, transient cloud, to obscure virtue there? By the tragedy at Susa, the reputation of Themistocles was vindicated, and his memory was held in veneration ever after. The "Just" was honored with a public funeral. A monument pierced the clouds for Socrates; and Demosthenes triumphed over the vindictive and venal thunders of the Philipized Aeschines. True virtue had little to fear from the terrors of ostracism. Its potency disarmed, and as it were, in effect, ostracised the ostracism itself.

In no country under heaven can consummate genius and virtue reach, other than an elevated niche in the public estimation; and,

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least of all, in a republic, whose very soul is virtue, and where, alone, it is admitted to be the criterion of excellence. The lamented LEGARE has exemplified this; wherever his name was heard—wherever his reputation traveled, there was he revered—there is he regretted. Courted by public honor, crowned by public confidence, he has mounted upwards, challenging, by his fate, the unfeigned grief of every bosom. Great men are the property of the nation.

If man is ever humbled, it must be with an exhibition of his weakness. Speculative admonitions of it, will not suffice, there must be practical exemplifications. Speak to a man's intellect and he hears, address his senses and he *understands* you. Death speaks to the senses, but it is not always equally impressive; when he goes down into the hovel and singles out his victim from the mire, there are few laurels won in the unequal contest; the "*victory*" is little heeded. Let him seek out the palace and break its bolts and bars; seek the senate house, the high seats of authority; let him grapple with the strong man, and the mighty man, and the man of genius!

The nation that wreaths a garland for the brow of a gifted, noble son, will soon have fresh garlands to wreath. The shouts that ascend to heaven in welcome of the patriot and the sage may die upon the air, but they are not lost. There have been vibrations produced in the human heart, a morbid excitement succeeds; the pulsations do not cease with the removal of their cause. Those shouts are ever after heard in activity as in solitude, impelling onward to fame and glory.

The public honor decreed at Athens to those who became eminent in the service of the State, account for Athenian glory, and explains what was to Valerius Maximus so great an anomaly, that after banishing Aristides, Athens could still find one virtuous or deserving citizen, *invenire aliquem bonum*, &c. The monument erected at the "Pass," in Phocia, inscribed by Simonides, was seen in the heart of Attica, nerved and inspired at Marathon, conquered at Mantinea.

The games celebrated in honor of the Peloponesan dead, and the eloquent eulogy of Pericles, roused up in many a bosom dormant but noble energies, and sent forth eager aspirants for contest in the high fields of thought and action.

ART. IX.—AMERICAN INDUSTRY AND THE APPROACHING FRENCH EXHIBITION.

It is understood that Congress will make liberal appropriations in aid of the exhibition of American products at the great French Fair in 1867.

The London Exhibition of 1851, that of Paris in 1855, at London again in 1862, and Hamburg in 1863, were under individual auspices though aided by Government. For the first time Government itself undertakes the great work, and France appropriates twenty millions of francs, and is followed by the other European powers for lesser amounts. A building which covers thirty-six acres of ground has been erected in the Champ de Mars, one-eighth of which

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is allotted to the United States. It is proposed to divide the produce of the country into ten groups, and appoint a scientific commissioner for each.

With these remarks by way of preface, we introduce the following views and speculations, for which we are indebted to the Hon. N. P. Banks, of Massachusetts.—EDITOR.

WE did not know in 1851, when we sent to London unknown men, not unknown merely in England, but unknown in America, that they were to instruct and electrify the people of all nations most interested in prominent industrial pursuits. When Mr. McCormick took out his reaper it was hardly recognized here as a successful implement of agriculture. It was regarded rather as evidence of speculative than practical mechanical genius. It was only when it challenged and received the admiration of the world that general attention in this country was called to its great merits and wonderful success. When George Steers sent out the yacht America it attracted little attention. The London Journals announced, after a careful examination of its model, that it was of a novel and not very promising style of architecture, of which we had no great reason to be proud; but when it entered the contest against the sailing vessels of the whole world, and so far won in the sea race as to leave no flag second, then every American heart bounded with joy, and the light of brighter thought and new ideas broke upon the people of all nations.

There were other honorable examples of American skill. There went from New York city an unknown mechanic, Mr. A. C. Hobbs, a native, I believe, of Massachusetts. His purpose was to exhibit a commercial lock of American manufacture. The English locksmiths, Chubb and Bramah, put their most ingenious and important pieces of mechanism against the world. Bramah had exposed his lock in one of the grand throughfares of London, with an offer of 200 guineas to any one who could open it, for more than twenty years, without a claimant for the golden prize. Mr. Hobbs opened the Chubb lock in twenty-five minutes, and relocked it in seven. He did this with such facility that the London News said it rendered the challenge ridiculous. The London mechanics estimated that it would require the life-time of a Methuselah to open the Bramah lock, if it could be done at all, so numerous were its combinations; but Mr. Hobbs unlocked and relocked it, after a couple of days' study and experiment, without injury, as often as it was desired, to the astonishment of the English mechanics. But this was not his only triumph. He offered to allow any man to take his own lock to pieces and put it together again, and then challenged him to open it, and there was not a man in England that could do it.

But, sir, it is unnecessary to refer to the brilliant success of other American exhibitors, and yet every one must confess, that so far as the Government was represented in the Exhibition of 1851, it was a melancholy and discreditable feature. We were saved from humiliation, if not disgrace by the unexpected and marvellous skill and power of our own unappreciated mechanics.

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In the Exposition of 1863, at Hamburg, the Government was not represented, but some of our enterprising citizens were there; among others, an enterprising farmer from the State of Vermont, on his own account, without the slightest expectation of achieving distinction for himself or his country. He took with him, to represent one of the great staple interests of this country, twelve sheep. I do not suppose there is a man in this House, or that there was at that time a man in the United States, who believed for a single moment that the American States were equal in sheep culture to those nations where it has been pursued with zealous and prudent care for many hundred years. In the Exposition at Hamburg, thirty-five different nations were represented. The crowned heads of Europe had their own finest specimens of the sheep of Europe and Asia; the Emperor of the French was represented among others by his own choice specimens of stock. And this Vermont sheep raiser, Mr. Campbell—I ought to mention his name—who carried out, at his own cost, twelve sheep, was honored not only by a comparison of his animals with those of other States, but he received two first prizes, and a second prize, for the superiority of his stock. The award was not made by friends of this Government, not by men interested in our people, but by strangers; and when it was announced that an American had received two first prizes for the superiority of his stock, and the second prize also, it was rejected as fabulous, and being verified by the subsequent publication of the awards, the integrity of the judges was disputed; but Mr. Campbell challenged a second examination, which was not accepted, and the award was further vindicated by the sale of his sheep to the first breeders of Europe for $5,000.

In works of art, although we have a reputation not yet in blossom, I am sure we shall stand in some respects the equals of modern representatives of older nations. The illustrations of the grand features of American scenery by Church, Bierstadt, Lutze and others; the marbles of Powers, Story, and Hosmer, and other sculptors yet unknown, and who will never be known except they shall have an opportunity to compare their achievements with the art triumphs of other countries, cannot fail to attract at least respectful attention.

In wood engraving, the great democratic exemplification of the art most important of all to literature, and for that instruction of the people, the United States not only stands equal to the best, but it has achieved distinction by photographic applications and other processes hitherto unknown to artists of the same profession in other parts of the world, which will hereafter be to the art of design what photography has been to painting. The day is not distant when neither journals nor books will be published in this country without pictorial illustration.

The inexpensive and most instantaneous process of making casts from life lately introduced, will make the study of sculpture, that branch of art most attractive to Americans, as common as crayon

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sketching and photography. The cultivation of the art of design is destined to give our manufactures and commerce an advantage which has been hitherto monopolized by older nations, and open to our people, women as well as men, elevated and limitless occupation. In the manufacture of silverware, jewelry, porcelains and other articles of luxury, in which elegance of design and skillful handiwork constitute the chief value, our products already maintain exclusive possession of our own markets.

In materials and applications for the liberal arts, we have no just, still less exact knowledge of our capacity. We can only know by comparison with other nations what this continent will produce in the way of materials applicable to the liberal arts, but we need not be surprised if in this feature of the first group we stand as well as other nations.

In the fifth group, which embraces minerals and the raw and wrought products of mining, certainly we may assume that no part of the world is equal to the United States. The mines of Russia do not compare with our metalliferous deposits. The mineral regions of Russia are chiefly on the eastern slope of the Ural mountains, from three to five thousand miles from St. Petersburg, whose waters run mainly from the centers of population to the Arctic sea, the expense of transportation consuming the greater part of the value of the products. Our exhaustless wealth lies on the lines of settlement, where population is moving, where railroads are constructed, and towns, cities, and States are rising, and commerce flows in living and perpetual streams, so that we may say that our mineral wealth in respect to the seaports of the Atlantic or Pacific coast, in view of the great lines of rail and water transportation, are the same to us, or will be, as if it were at the threshold of the Mint of Philadelphia and San Francisco, or the marts of New York and Boston.

The capacity of our people in mechanism and invention requires no endorsement, and in other branches of manufacturing industry we shall maintain at least a respectable position. In respect to mechanical development, it is impossible for us to estimate justly our own position without comparison with other nations. But our progress will far surpass our own expectations. The most successful exhibition of American industry ever given by the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association was that of last year, when, on account of the press of applications for space, machines were excluded, except those which had been invented within the last five years.

The chief feature in our progress is the achievement of numerous and surprising results by the aid of machinery, which in other lands are accomplished by the slow and costly process of manual labor. The adaptation of machinery to the manufacture of watches, where the roughly swedged materials are in a single day, under one roof, at a small cost, by the labor of girls and men, turned out in the form of time-keepers, equal in style, workmanship and integrity of time, to the best articles of European manufacture; the substitution of

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mechanical for manual labor in the cultivation of the soil; the construction of philosophical instruments, and in the manufacture of arms and ordnance, and in naval architecture, and the general adaptation of mechanical powers to the purposes of Christian civilization, are among the wonders of the world. If other nations surpass us, their instruction will richly repay us for any contributions we make to the general stock of industrial ideas.

Let a square yard of the prairie soil of the northwest, and the rich alluvial of the Mississippi valley, be transported in glass, covered by the natural grass which furnishes food for the autumnal prairie fires, showing its depth, accompanied by the products to which it gives life; the charts which illustrates its location; the tables which show its extent; the prices at which it is held; the cereals which it is capable of producing; its proximity to the markets of the world, and the probable increase of the population it is destined to support within the present generation; and the landless millions of European middle-life will gain new hopes, and give to American civilization renewed strength and nobler aspirations.

Let me recall a few of the leading features of our position and power, scarcely known to us, and never contemplated by the people of other countries.

Our cereal products double in quantity every ten years. They are now larger than the grain crops of France, equal to those of England, and, in ten years, will exceed the crops of both empires. Lamartine, in his letter justifying the French occupation of Mexico, says distinctly that the North American Continent is to become the granary of the world, and that France must control a portion of its territory, or be subordinate to the Government and people of the United States.

The cotton crop gives employment to forty million Europeans. It has been cultivated in eight States, mainly in but five. Its largest product has been five million bales a year. It can be successfully and profitably cultivated in twenty States, certainly in half of the States of the Union, and instead of being limited to five million, we will soon send to the markets of the world twenty million bales each year.

The grape is an indigenous product of this country. In the northern Mexican States, on the Pacific coast, in the valley of the Mississippi, on the Ohio, and in other sections, there is evidence, abundant and irresistible, that we shall soon share, at least, with the rest of the world in the control of its wine markets. We already export wines, with other agricultural products, from the Pacific coast to South America, Australia, the Sandwich Islands, Japan, and the Asiatic nations.

The mineral wealth of this country is fabulous. No man would be credited for a moment in the industrial council of nations, next year, if he stated upon his own responsibility what is the possible, even the probable, development of the mineral wealth of this

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country. It is only when the Government makes its exposition that the people of the old world will credit the relation. Our metalliferous regions embrace seventeen parallels of latitude, and nearly an equal measure of longitude, covering two million square miles, the whole of which is plethoric with iron, lead, copper, asphaltum, silver, quicksilver, gold, and other known and unknown mineral substances.

California has already given us $460,000,000 in gold. The same energy applied to other mineral regions of the Pacific coast will return an annual product of $400,000,000 in gold, and $200,000,000 in other useful and precious metals. Six hundred million dollars a year! In the centre of the continent, between our most populous States, on the threshold of our commercial cities, at the doors of the mints of Philadelphia and San Francisco, lies this deposit! Its value is inappreciable, its presence is unquestionable, its proximity undeniable, and its realization demands but the completion of the lines of transportation now in process of construction! What in the world is equal to it? What are the mines of Spain, of India, and Australia? Russia alone offers material for comparison; Russia, whose metallic wealth lies mainly upon the eastern slope of the Ural Mountains, from three to five thousand miles from the centres of commerce and population; cut off from the artificial and natural lines of communication, and offering no available natural outlet, except the waters that flow from the mountains northward into the Arctic Sea.

Several years since, Baron Von Humboldt expressed to Mr. Sanford, our Minister to Belgium, the confident belief that the mountains of Virginia would be found to be a rich deposit of diamonds. And in confirmation of this suggestion of one who could read the surface of the earth as an expert in natural science recognizes a fish by its bones or its scales—as if in exemplification of the philosophic theory of Humboldt, we see it announced, in the southern portion of the continent, that diamonds and other precious stones have already been discovered.

We know comparatively nothing of the mineral character, resources, or wealth of the metalliferous regions of our country. It is only when we shall stand in the council of scientific men, representing all parts of the world, and thoroughly conversant with its wondrous developments, our own resources fully and justly represented that we shall be able to estimate their value.

I need not speak of the petroleum discoveries in the view or with the spirit of speculation. I have no eye for speculation. I never saw in my life a share of stock or scrip of any sort, and have no care for such things. I do not doubt that, so far as petroleum is the subject of speculation, it will be, as all speculation is, a public injury. But we must respect the developments of nature, in whatever shape they present themselves. Here in the rich bosom of our most populous States, we discover that Providence has given to us wealth in a form indispensable to all nations and all pursuits, in

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almost exhaustless quantities. It would seem as if precious oils flowed in the veins of the earth as does its water; that when it is exhausted in one place it appears in another, and when exhausted in the second fountain it reappears in the first. With any ordinary and reasonable drain upon this most bounteous and marvellous development, we may well say that it is exhaustless. It extends from the Alleghanies to the Pacific coast, and may be found anywhere within an area of two million square miles; and no man can fix his stake at any point where it is not possible to penetrate the earth and receive wealth in this form, in addition to the other perhaps more reliable and beneficent products of the soil.

Let us look at another subject in which we have or ought to have some interest. It is the American railway system. The railway is a new element of civilization and power. We have thirty-one thousand miles of railroad—four times as much as England—more than any other country. We can build as much as we want, and as soon as we please. Other nations count the cost, but we have no cost, for to invest in a railway is to give value to property existing in other forms. The construction of our railways has cost $1,100,000,000. Eight hundred millions, as I stated the other day, were expended between 1850 and 1860; and I have no doubt that between 1870 and 1880, $1,000,000,000 more will be invested, so that we shall have a railway to every part of this country, connecting all the points of domestic wealth with the commerce of the world, whether it be the coal of Pennsylvania, the lead of Illinois, the copper of Michigan, or the gold and silver of the Pacific coast.

Mr. Oliphant, of the British Parliament, said in a public speech, the other day, that in religious and secular education, the United States are ahead of the whole world. It is well known that we appropriate more money in public education than all other nations. In the exposition of 1867, education will be a material feature. It would be a crime if the nations of the earth are to report progress in popular education, and the Government of the United States should not, in this respect, at least, be properly represented. And the same is true of the public press of the country, another form of public education in which adults rather than children, receive instruction. In its present democratic form, it is essentially an American institution. In 1860, of four thousand journals, according to the census returns, a thousand million copies were published and sold, making one weekly copy for every soul in the country, and the annual publication is now probably more than double the number.

The area and population of every country limit its productive power. The population is its only active agent in the development of its resources, and its territorial area limits the growth and strength of its population. In these respects, we cannot well hesitate to enter the arena of comparison. Our territorial area is nearly three million square miles. It is equal to the area of Europe. More than nine hundred million acres have been sold to

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actual settlers, and a thousand million acres yet remain in the hands of the Government. Less than twenty per cent. of the land is now cultivated, the average value of which is but fourteen dollars per acre, while that still unsold cost but a dollar and a quarter. It is a grand theatre, certainly, for the development of population. It will support a thousand million people. Populated as England now is, 330 to a square mile, the valley of the Mississippi alone will maintain nearly that number. It will grow every product of the eastern or western hemisphere, tea, coffee, and sugar in the south-west, grain in the northwest, and become the depot of the luxuries and necessaries of life.

The second element of national strength keeps pace with the extension of territory. France has grown in population, they say, thirty-seven per cent. in sixty years. Prussia has increased a hundred and fifteen per cent., and England one hundred and thirty-seven per cent. in the same time, while the growth of our population has been five hundred and ninety-three per cent. on our numbers in 1800. We double every thirty years. In 1876, a century from the Declaration of Independence, with a government by all for all, the fundamental condition of which is universal freedom, we shall number fifty millions. At the close of this century, we shall have a population of a hundred millions, and in 1950, two hundred and fifty millions, nearly equal to that of Europe at this time.

The evidences of wealth harmonize with the elements of popular power.

The property valuation of the country has doubled every fifteen years, since the beginning of the century. It was then one thousand million dollars. It is now sixteen thousand millions. It more than doubled from 1850 to 1860, and in 1870 will exceed thirty thousand million dollars, greater than the valuation of England which doubles only in thirty years.

ART. X.—THE FUTURE OF ITALY.*

The permanent disintegration of Italy was an accepted fact. The degradation which, under the fostering care of petty tyrannies had infected the heart of her people, the wild schemes of her few sons, who had not forgotten the name of nationality and the heavy pressing incubus of Austrian despotism, were admitted to preclude all hope of Italian unity; but suddenly, amid the thunder and smoke of Magenta and Solferino, the simultaneous uprising of Central Italy, and the magic Sicilian conquests of Garibaldi, there appears an Italian nation of (22,000,000) twenty-two million people. Is this appearance of unity a glorious fact or a dazzling phantom, whose speedy vanishing shall demonstrate what the long line of patriotic failures from Rienzi to the republic of '48 had indicated—the inher-

* We hope to publish a series of similar papers upon all the States of Europe, and invite their preparation by those familiar with such studies.—Editor.

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ent incapacity of the Italians for nationality? The interest of the question is heightened by its intricacy through the great variety and uncertain influence of the elements involved. Its discussion must be mainly a balancing of opposing facts and tendencies.

Let us first notice the obstacles to a permanent Italian nationality. Her territorial unity is incomplete. Venice—one with Lombardy, by every natural element of union—is yet enslaved to Austria, and Rome, the natural and historic capital of Italy, is held by that spiritual power whose hostility to the new nation finds its exponent in the excommunication of her sovereign.

Italy is in constant peril from foreign foes. Austria, commanding a standing army of 570,000, traditionally regarding Italy as her natural spoil, still holds the Quadrilateral; here, in the center of Northern Italy, on the border of Lombardy, the first State of Italy in wealth, culture and natural resources, Francis Joseph can mass an army ready for invasion.

Nor is Italy in danger from Austria alone. Napoleon, while anxious to weaken Austria's influence in the peninsula, while, probably not without some sympathy for the oppressed Italians, has yet shown that he does not desire a truly independent Italian nationality. While claiming the high honor of fighting for an idea, he secretly makes the cession of Nice and Savoy the condition of the expulsion of the Austrians. If we remember that these provinces comprise those mountain passes which a handful could hold against an army, we can estimate the worth of that generosity which would free Italy from one tyrant to make her dependent on another. This is not the worst. Napoleon did not fulfil the conditions of the cession. Italy was to be freed, but he left to Austria Venetia and the Quadrilateral, yet he none the less demanded the Alpine provinces. If the original stipulation revealed the commercial character of the Emperor's friendship, how shall we charaterize the insisting on the payment of the full price when the work was but half performed? No wonder Victor Emanuel shed tears at such a surrender of the home of his ancestors, the cradle of his monarchy; no wonder the Milanese, who had greeted the army of intervention with applause and benediction, whose maidens had strewn their pathway with flowers, wreathed them with garlands, and rushed to the pavement to embrace them, now shrunk from them with fear and abhorence. No wonder Cavour, for once gave way to a fury of rage, which did not regard the presence of his sovereign. But two corps of the French army remained at Milan to enforce the demand, and Nice and Savoy were yielded up.

The States of Central Italy had expelled their tyrants, and, with almost entire unanimity, desired annexation to Piedmont. Piedmont reciprocated the wish. The articles of Villa Franca, moreover, had stipulated that they should be free to choose their condition; but it was only after intrigue had been exhausted that the Emperor permitted the consummation of the popular will.

When the conquests, or rather triumphal progress of Garibaldi,

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had so nearly freed the Sicilies, that the forlorn hope of Francis II., shut up at Gaeta, could not, unaided, offer the shadow of resistance to Sardinia, Louis Napoleon, to prevent the unification of Italy, did not scruple, month after month, to prop the falling fortunes of that Bourbon whose wanton fines and exiles, and noisome dungeons had given him an infamy hardly surpassed in all the annals of his cruel race.

Once more. The French occupation of Rome, already cited, as showing the incompleteness of Italian unity, equally proves the Emperor's hostility.

It has been urged that Napoleon's seeming opposition to Italian nationalization springs from necessity, imposed upon him to conciliate the papal power. Had he shown himself the obedient son of the Church, the plea would have weight, but he has refrained from no measure injurious to her, which seemed conducive to his ends. He has not only suppressed her journals, but joined her enemies, curtailed her territory, and sanctioned the appointment of a Sardinian prime minister long the open advocate of confiscation of church property. The plea, then, is groundless. But were it true, it would only substitute for the hostility of one man, past middle life, that of the controlling religious element of the French people.

The internal hindrances to Italian unity require but brief discussion; not because secondary, but because obvious and undisputed. Is unity in coinage, language and race essential? Almost every Italian duchy and principate has its separate coinage; the dialect of the Piedmont peasant is jargon to the Sicilian; and in race the Teutonic element of the North is in marked contrast to the Grecian of the South.

In these days of costly government, the state of the finances is a question of great importance. In Italy, from the time when Cavour decided to participate in the Crimean war, nearly or quite every year has brought a deficit of the revenue and an increase of the debt.

In Central and Southern Italy despotism has borne its natural fruit in degradation, reaching to the soul. Hence a general ignorance of the rudiments of knowledge; hence a priesthood nearly as ignorant as the mass, whose piety lies chiefly in adherence to the Pope and hatred of liberalism, so numerous, too, that every household has one or two; hence, mendicity, seen not alone in the crowds of squalid lazaroni, but so manifest even in the higher classes at Naples as to excite the contempt of Sardinian officials; hence that cowardice which made the soldiers of Francis II. the ridicule rather than the foe of the Piedmontese. Along with timidity, we find its natural accompaniments, hardheartiness and ferocity. In Central Italy these latter traits appear in frequent political assassinations, while in Calabria even the women torture Sardinian prisoners of war.

Finally, a formidable obstacle to Italian unity lies in the ultra republicanism and infidelity which so largely pervade the liberal party itself. It may be urged that the unanimity with which Central and Southern Italy voted annexation to Sardinia, evince full capacity for

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self-government. But that admiration for an invincible general which thrills the most enlightened people, and rises to reverence among the benighted, would attract them to the banner of Garibaldi; add the crushing weight of their old despotisms, and you have a sufficient cause for their action without the existence of any high degree of virtue and intelligence.

Let us now turn to the grounds for hope. The diversity in dialect and race is not so prominent as in England and Scotland, where they co-exist with perfect political union. The local systems of coinage may easily be supplanted with a national system.

The baser element is mainly excluded from political power. Annexation appears to have been by universal suffrage, but since the passage of the organic act for the payment of taxes, to the amount of eight dollars, is a requisite for the franchise.

Red Republicanism, while it has repeatedly caused no little embarrassment to the moderate party, has nearly always been in the minority. If it has for the moment gained the ascendancy, either responsibility has made it cautious, or its excesses have driven the nation back to conservatism.

For all the forms of Southern degradation we have a counter Northern element. To offset stupidity and corruption we have intelligence and virtue. Instead of a pusillanimous soldiery, an army to whose skill and valor the Crimea and Solferino are a sufficient testimony. In place of Neapolitan lazaroni, a peasantry whose industry has made Piedmont and Lombardy a garden. Instead of an ignorant priesthood, loyal only to the Pope, an enlightened clergy, whose piety involves patriotism. This union of piety and patriotism is a noble trait of Northern Italy. It is nobly illustrated in these memorable words of her sovereign: "True to the creed of my fathers, and like them, constant in my homage to the Supreme Head of the Church, whenever it may happen that the ecclesiastical authority employs spiritual arms in defense of temporal interests, I shall find in my steadfast conscience, and in the very traditions of my ancestors, the power to maintain civil liberty in its integrity, and with it my own authority—that authority for which I hold myself accountable to God and my people only."

But Northern Italy has a far nobler faith than the most enlightened Catholicism. Driven from plain and valley to the nooks of the Savoyan Alps, occupying but sixty square miles of arable land, the victims of thirty-three religious wars, and of all the tortures within the compass of inquisitorial ingenuity, the Waldensian Christians have kept a pure faith. They now accept, with holy enthusiasm, the regeneration of Italy as their mission. At peril of life, nay, at untold sacrifice of life, they have kept the sacred truth, that, in the fulness of time, they might publish it for the salvation of their persecutors. And this little handful of mountaineers, filling no brilliant page in history, having neither wealth nor learning, known only through suffering; hardly noticed to-day by most who consider the Italian question may be the element whose elevating power can alone make Italian nationality a possibility.

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The new kingdom has now been on trial seven years. Already, contact with the superior enlightenment of the North is improving the Neapolitan provinces. The lazaroni of Naples are fast becoming a feature of the past; the Sicilian peasantry have caught something of northern industry and thrift: liberty has brought courage too, so that the Piedmontese soldier is not ashamed of his Southern comrade. The improvement reaches the heart. The Waldensian colporteur is successful even in benighted Naples, while England and America are aiding the work of evangelization earnestly, and with signal blessing attending it.

Yet, it may be urged, that all favorable indications are of little value when each year's budget shows a deficiency in the revenue. A constantly increasing debt is an ominous feature, but the contest of England with Napoleon affords a precedent for rapidly increasing a national debt, through a series of years, without bankruptcy; moreover, the revenues of Italy are annually more nearly approximating the expenses, while the development of the country's resources, by the great system of railroads inaugurated by the far-seeing Cavour, and prosecuted by his successors, and the general mental and moral progress, will enable the nation to pay heavier and heavier taxes. The great drain on Italy's exchequer is her army, which numbers nearly four hundred thousand men. This must be maintained until her unity is complete. When she shall have acquired Rome and Venetia her policy will be no longer aggressive but defensive, therefore she can greatly reduce her army, while the increase of territory will augment her revenues. Thus the financial prospect for Italy depends on her foreign relations. To those we now turn.

Austria while menacing Italy by the possession of the Quadrilateral, has, since the peace, treated Sardinia fairly. She has even disclaimed all intention to reclaim her former spoil. Moreover, the exhaustion of her finances, and the chronic disaffection in Hungary and Venetia, put her under heavy bonds to keep the peace.

Nay, if she shall become involved in war with Prussia, will not Italy, with her immense army and her navy—a sixth larger than that of Austria—easily free Venetia? While I write, such a consummation seems not improbable. It is reported that Prussia has made an alliance with Italy, and that the latter is increasing her forces. Thus, very possibly, we may see Bismark repeating the strange *role* of Napoleon, crushing constitutional liberty at home but promoting it abroad.

We have seen full evidence of Napoleon's hostility to Italian unity. But even he partially succumbs to the spirit of the age and the strength of the new kingdom. We saw this in Central Italy and at Gaeta. The same fact is illustrated in two subsequent events —the appointment of Prince Napoleon on the Council of Regency, and the treaty of September, 1864. The former gives a controlling position, in the event of the Emperor's death, to a steadfast friend of Italy; the latter pledges the evacuation of Rome before 1867. Subsequent pretexts and interpretations have lessened the value of

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the treaty, but the past quite clearly indicates that imperial ambition will ultimately yield to the persistent demand of Italy for unity. We should notice that Italy has strengthened herself against France by transferring the seat of government to Florence. This city is within a mountain range, which, according to General Cialdini, is passable in but seven points, easily defensible.

We have now completed our survey of the Italian question. The results of despotism at home, and the hostility of despotism abroad, combine, with the excesses of untaught freedom, to accomplish her ruin. Yet, at home, Northern conservatism and progress seem more than a match for red republicanism and Southern degradation, while abroad, the spirit of the age or their necessities curbs the ambition of her foes. Thus, while there are elements of evil which, unimpeded, would involve speedy dissolution, the elements of strength appear the stronger; yet there is enough of uncertainty to cause anxiety.

Italy draws our interest by no common ties. She gives us the legends of kingly Rome, and the simple virtue of the republic, and the splendor of the empire and its priceless legacies of art and literature and law. She first, as a people, received our holy faith; she illumined the middle ages by the magnificence of her merchant republics; she caught and reflected the first rays of the returning light of letters; more than all, to-day, by the purity and genuis of Garibaldi, by the profound statesmanship of Cavour, by the 10,000 patriot dead of Magenta and Solferino, by her self-sacrifice in the hour of the nation's travail, and her self-control in the hour of triumph, she proves herself worthy of freedom; and by this same self-sacrifice and self-control, she assures us that there shall be an Italy of the future, triumphant over all peril, within and without, excelling her mythic and classic and medieval glory, not by magnificence at cost of popular rights, but by asserting, through a living example in the midst of continental despotism, the strength and beauty of free institutions.

ART. XI.—JOURNAL OF THE WAR—ENTERED UP DAILY IN THE CONFEDERACY.

REPRESENTING THE VIEWS AND OPINIONS WHICH PREVAILED, AND THE CONDITION OF THINGS WHICH EXISTED AT THE TIME OF EACH DAY'S ENTRY, IN THE CONFEDERATE STATES OR IN PORTIONS OF THEM.—BY THE EDITOR.

THIS Journal was not commenced until April, 1862, and thus a very interesting and instructive year is necessarily omitted. A condensed statement of events will however be presented prior to its opening, and in this, and in future numbers of the REVIEW for the next two years the journal will be given complete, together with very full notes and extracts from the leading newspapers of the South, upon all subjects which would be likely in the most interesting degree to illustrate the text. Several large volumes of clippings were made at the time and are fortunately preserved by us.

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1860. NOVEMBER (6,) Lincoln elected President of the United States on a clearly recognized abolition platform, supported by nearly the entire Northern, and by no part of the Southern vote. (8,) Flag of Independence unfurled at Charleston—great excitement among the citizens; federal court resigns. (17,) Authorities of South Carolina ask for the possession of the forts.

DECEMBER (20,) South Carolina Convention passes the ordinance of secession and declares the State an independent Republic. (26,) Major Anderson dismantles and evacuates in the night fort Moultrie, and takes position at fort Sumter, (27,) South Carolina troops take possession of forts Moultrie and Pinkney. (29,) Floyd, Secretary of War, resigns; President Buchanan sustains Major Anderson.

1861. January (2,) President refuses to receive the South Carolina Commissioners officially. (3,) Fort Pulaski taken by Savannah troops; Star of the West at Charleston fired into when about to reinforce fort Sumter; Virginia invites Peace Conference; Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana secede from the Union, in the order named; Alabama troops take the arsenal there, and fort Morgan; Louisiana troops occupy forts Jackson and St. Philip, etc. Troops of Louisiana, Mississippi and Florida, take Florida forts and navy yard.

FEBRUARY. Arsenal seized at Little Rock; public property transferred by Twiggs in Texas to the State authorities. Jeff. Davis inaugurated President of the Confederate States by Congress at Montgomery. Provisional Constitution adopted by Seven States. Texas secedes and is admitted into the Confederacy. People of the Seven States ratify the Provisional Constitution.

MARCH. General Beauregard takes command of the army near Charleston and makes active preparation for the defence of the harbor and the siege of fort Sumter, should it become necessary. Southern Congress in constant session with closed doors, organizing the government and legislating for the new state of things. Lincoln reaches Washington in disguise and is inaugurated, and lays down a line of policy which, if adhered to, must lead to war. He temporizes with, and at last dismisses Southern Commissioners. Peace Conference in Washington proves a failure. Great excitement North and South in anticipation of hostilities. The South having done everything to prevent, is not unprepared to meet them. Sends Commissioners abroad for recognition.

APRIL (12, 13,) Battle of fort Sumter. After thirty-nine hours bombardment the fort surrenders to Confederate troops under Beauregard without loss of life on either side. Lincoln makes proclamation for 75,000 volunteers to put down the Southern rebellion. North Carolina forts are seized by State troops. Northern troops passing through Baltimore are shot down, and the people tear up the railroad tracks; Federal army captured in Texas and posts given up. Virginia secedes; Federals attempt the destruction of Norfolk navy yard and Harpers Ferry. They are occupied at once by Virginia troops. Arkansas troops capture fort Smith; Tennessee secedes.

MAY. Federal troops under Butler occupy Baltimore; people of St. Louis fired upon by Northern troops; citizens butchered in cold blood; blockade of Charleston harbor commenced; unsuccessful attempt on Sewells Point batteries in Virginia; Alexandria, Virginia, occupied by Federal troops and Col. Ellsworth killed by Jackson; New Orleans and Mobile blockaded; Arkansas and North Carolina secede; seat of Government removed to Richmond; First battle on Southern soil, after fort Sumter, is fought by Virginia cavalry at Fairfax Court House.

JUNE. Engagement with Federal fleet, by Acquia Creek batteries; battle of Phillippi, in Western Virginia, in which Federals are successful; success of Confederates at Piggs Point; battle of Great Bethel, in which Magruder repulses four times his number and gains a great victory for the Confederates; Jackson of Missouri, calls the State troops to arms; enemy routed at Vienna, Virginia; routed and badly beaten near Leesburg; battle in Kansas; battles of Boonville and New Creek; Ashby's cavalry succeed at Romney; steamer St. Nicholas seized by Captain Thomas and others, and taken as a prize into Fredericksburg.

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JULY. Gen. Patterson crosses a Federal army over the Potomac; skirmishes at Haynesville and near Newport News; battle of Carthage, Missouri, in which, Federals are badly beaten by Governor Jackson; battle at rich Mountain and St. George, Virginia, and defeat of Confederates by McClellan; Garnett killed; battle of Scarey Creek, Virginia, in which Confederates defeat many times their number and take several Colonels prisoners; Federal army driven back with heavy loss from Bull Run. (21,) Great battle of Manassas, in which 27,000 Confederates under Beauregard and Johnston, defeat 55,000 Federals under McDowell. The enemy fly panic-stricken to Washington; Confederate loss 1,600; Federal, in killed, wounded and prisoners, estimated at 15,000; Federals defeated by Taylor in Arizona.

AUGUST. Hampton, Virginia, burned by order of General Magruder; great victory by McCullough at Oak Hill, Missouri, in which the Federals are routed with loss of their General, and great slaughter; fight at Hawks Nest, Virginia; Beauregard advances on the Potomac; fight at Baileys Cross Roads; Floyd whips the enemy at Cross Lanes, Virginia; Confederate intrenchments with garrison at Cape Hatteras, taken by the Federal fleet, under General Butler.

SEPTEMBER. Fremont in Missouri, confiscates the slaves of rebels; Federal advance into Kentucky; General Pillow occupies Columbus, Kentucky, and General Johnson, Bowling Green; Federals under Rosencranz in great strength, fail to carry Floyd's position on the Gauley; masterly retreat of Floyd; battle of Lewinsville, on the Potomac, and of Stony Creek on the Kanawha; Zollicoffer routes the enemy at Barboursville, Kentucky; Price at Lexington, Missouri, achieves a glorious victory, taking 3,500 prisoners and an immense amount of arms, horses, provisions munitions of war and money, with the seal and public records of the State; skirmishing at Sewells Mountain, Virginia.

OCTOBER. Battle of Greenbriar, Virginia, in which General Henry Jackson with 1,500 Confederates, forces 3,000 Federals to retire; Rosencranz retreats from Sewells Mountain; battle of Santa Rosa Island, in which the Federals are badly whipped; Commodore Hollins with the ram Manasses, causes the stampede of blockading fleet at the mouth of the Mississippi river; Ashby routes Federals near Harpers Ferry; fight at Frederickstown Missouri; victory at Leesburg, in which Evans with 1,500 troops defeats 7,000 Federals under Baker who is killed; Missouri admitted into Confederacy; General Scott resigns command of the Federal army and is succeeded by McClellan.

NOVEMBER. Enemy's great armada carry the Sand forts on South Carolina coast; they are evacuated with small loss and 12,000 Federal troops take possession; East Tennesseeans burn railroad bridges; enemy repulsed at Piketon, Kentucky; Mason and Slidell, Confederate States Commissioners to Europe, are seized on the English steamer Trent, by Commodore Wilkes, of the United States navy; Clarkson takes Guyandotte, Virginia; Floyd retreats; Federal troops occupy Eastern shore of Virginia; Virginia cavalry under Colonel Lee, rout the enemy at Falls Church; two days' engagement at Pensacola, in which, Federal vessels are driven off badly worsted; occupation of Tybee Island; Ramsons North Carolina cavalry whip the enemy near Vienna.

DECEMBER. Stuart forced to retreat near Dranesville in presence of superior numbers; great fire at Charleston, South Carolina, which causes much distress; Colonel Edward Johnson repulses a vastly superior force of the enemy near the Alleghany, in Western Virginia; Hindman's victory at Woodsonville, Virginia; Mason and Slidell surrendered up, on demand of England; battle in the Indian territory.

A recapitulation which has been made for 1861, gives fifty-two Confederate and eight Federal successes, and an approximate of losses assigns to the Federals 4,911 killed, 7,821 wounded, 8,177 prisoners, total, 20,909 and to the Confederates 1,135 killed, 3,345 wounded, 1,487 prisoners, total, 5,967. This is not very far from the truth. The loss from diseases on both sides was many times greater.

1862. JANUARY. General Sidney Johnston calls for 30,000 troops to sustain the Confederate movement from Kentucky; Burnside expedition of over 100 vessels, sails from Hampton Roads and is much worsted by storms; Confederate

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forces at Fishing Creek, Kentucky, under Crittenden are overwhelmed and much cut up, with loss of the gallant Zollicoffer.

FEBRUARY. Burnside's fleet and forces after a short struggle capture Roanoke Island, North Carolina, and the garrison of 3,000 men; Government much censured; forts Henry and Donaldson and nearly the entire army of Floyd, Pillow and Buckner, after a heroic struggle of several days, surrender to enemy's gunboats and overwhelming numbers; Johnson hastily evacuates Bowling Green, Kentucky, and leaving Nashville to the enemy, falls back upon Murfreesboro, his only recourse after the disasters on the Tennessee and Cumberland; President Davis on the 22d is inaugurated President of the Confederate States for six years; Buell's army take possession of Nashville.

MARCH. Startling exploit of the Merrimac (Virginia,) on the Chesapeake bay, in which she sinks or burns United States ships Cumberland, Congress, several gunboats, etc., with great loss of life on the side of the enemy; Congress requires the military to burn all cotton exposed to the enemy and authorizes planters to do so, declaring that all sufferers shall be reimbursed out of sequestered property; Martial law declared in New Orleans, Memphis, etc.; Confederate army evacuates Manassas, as not adapted to check advances from the Chesapeake and Potomac and takes position on the Rappahannock in the direction of Richmond; immense efforts to reinforce the army of Beauregard and Johnson in the West; planters advised by Congress to substitute provisions in lieu of cotton, as the crop of the coming year.

SUNDAY, April 6.—NEW ORLEANS.—Dr. Palmer, who has been almost the Peter the Hermit of the great crusade on which we have entered, discourses to-day upon the seemingly drooping fortunes of the Confederacy, and is listened to with breathless interest. With the inspiration of his theme, and the natural eloquence and fire which are his, he tells his audience that God is about to show them the way out of the wilderness, and calls their attention to the sermon, which, on the great day of Manassas, he had preached before them, and in which, under the control of feelings for which he could not account, he had foreshadowed the glorious results which were being achieved far away upon the Potomac. The same ardor was upon him now. In spite of the darkness and gloom which are around us, we seem to hail it as a bright harbinger of events upon the Tennessee, which almost involve the fate of a nation. Late at night, a telegram reaches the St. Charles Hotel, and is read by one of General Lovell's aids, to the effect that we have won a glorious victory near Corinth, and that the army of the enemy will be captured or annihilated. The news is received with shouts, which seem to shake the great walls of the edifice, and men, and women too, shake hands, and almost embrace over the glorious tidings. The despatch is read over and over with increasing enthusiasm.

MONDAY MORNING.—General rejoicing throughout New Orleans. The desponding look up. The sanguine see no bounds to the results of our victory. Tennessee is open to us. Nashville regained. Our forces have the way opened to the Ohio and beyond. Later in the day some doubts are thrown out as to the extent of the victory, and of the enemy's forces engaged. Beauregard calls it the battle of Shiloh. He telegraphs:

BATTLE FIELD, April 6.—Dear Brother: We have won a glorious victory. I am unhurt. G. T. BEAUREGARD.

TUESDAY.—In the dust again. The erect countenances of yesterday disappear from the streets. A line from the Secretary of War cruelly mars our rejoicings and our hopes. The enemy has rallied and united his wings. The contest has been renewed, and the result is doubtful. Finally, Beauregard telegraphs that he has fallen back to his original position. Do these things mean defeat after all?

It is eleven P. M., and an extra from the *Delta* dissipates the gloom and darkness which are upon the city. *We did not retire defeated.* The dispatch reads:

The Confederate victory is complete.
Yesterday was a more glorious day than Sunday.

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We killed, captured and wounded from 10,000 to 20,000 of the Federals.
We drove the enemy across the river.
It is believed that his gunboats cannot get down the river, on account of the low stage of water.

WEDNESDAY.—The remains of Gen. A. Sidney Johnston are brought to New Orleans, and are escorted by a grand military procession to the City Hall, where they are laid out in state.

THURSDAY.—Nothing more from Corinth, except the number of our prisoners taken is between 3,000 and 4,000, and perhaps more. Several of the enemy's gunboats are reported as below Island No. 10, on the Mississippi, having passed our works in the night. There are rumors that the island has been abandoned or surrendered. The universal opinion is that it will prove untenable. Fort Pillow will be our main defense above, and that is said to be of great strength and nearly completed. If we can have a few weeks more for preparation, New Orleans will be secure from assaults from above or below. The floating battery, which we visit to-day, is on the eve of completion, and can be made available at any moment. It is clad heavily with iron and mounts many very heavy guns.

FRIDAY.—The news is that Fort Pulaski, which protects the approaches to Savannah, is undergoing a furious assault from the Yankee fleet. It is a strong work, and it is believed can hold out for several months.

SATURDAY.—There is now no longer doubt, though the military authorities suppress the information, that Island No. 10, a strong fortification defending the upper Mississippi, and upon which great expectations have been placed, has been captured, and the entire garrison, guns, stores, etc., are in the possession of the enemy.

SUNDAY, April 13.—News of the surrender of Fort Pulaski, which leaves Savannah greatly exposed. If the enemy pushes his advantages, the worst may be expected. Every day teaches more and more that the coast cannot be successfully defended, and that men and means are wasted in the effort. Southern independence must be won by the armies of the interior.

The enemy has advanced upon Huntsville and Decatur, and captured the bridge over the Tennessee, which he will undoubtedly destroy. This is a serious blow.

Telegram from the mouth of the Mississippi announces a brush between the Forts and the enemy. We may expect his great demonstration soon.

Gen. Gladden, one of the wounded at Shiloh, is dead.

MONDAY.—Gen. Beauregard has issued an address to the army announcing the death of Gen. A. Sidney Johnston.

SOLDIERS: Your late Commander-in-Chief, Gen. A. S. Johnston, is dead! A fearless soldier, a sagacious captain, a reproachless man, has fallen. One who, in his devotion to our cause, shrank from no sacrifice; one, who, animated by a sense of duty, and sustained by a sublime courage, challenged danger, and perished gallantly for his country whilst leading forward his brave columns to victory. His signal example of heroism and patriotism, if imitated, would make his army invincible.

A grateful country will mourn his loss, revere his name, and cherish his many virtues. G. T. BEAUREGARD, General Commanding.

TUESDAY.—Wounded soldiers, whom we meet to-day from the recent battle-field, estimate our killed and wounded at eight or ten thousand. Nine out of ten of the wounds, however, are slight. The enemy's loss will be greater.

WEDNESDAY.—Northern accounts claim the victory at Shiloh, but admit a frightful loss, 15,000 to 20,000, including some of their generals. As usual, they greatly exaggerate the Confederate numbers and diminish their own. We may never know the facts. Great disaffection towards the Federals, is reported in Kentucky. Congress passes the Conscription Act, which, if fully carried out, will give the Confederacy an army of seven or eight hundred thousand. The measure is a wise one, and in good time.

THURSDAY, April 17.—An action took place yesterday on the Peninsula of Virginia. The enemy attempted to force our position, but were repulsed. We lost 20 killed and 75 wounded.

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Gen. Beauregard has issued an address to the army of the Mississippi.

SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI: You have bravely fought the invaders of your soil for two days in his own position. You have fought your superior in numbers, in arms, in all the appliances of war. Your success has been signal; his losses have been immense, outnumbering yours in all save the personal worth of the slain. You drove him from his camp to the shelter of his iron-clad gunboats, which alone saved him from complete disaster. You captured his artillery, more than twenty-five flags and standards, his tents, and over three thousand prisoners. You have done your duty. Your commanding general thanks you; your countrymen are proud of your deeds on the bloody field of Shiloh, confident in the ultimate results of your valor.

Soldiers! untoward events saved the enemy from annihilation. His insolent presence still pollutes your soil. His hostile flag flaunts before you. There can be no peace as long as these things are. Trusting that God is with us as with our fathers, let us seek to be worthy of His favor, and resolve to be independent, or perish in the struggle. G. T. BEAUREGARD, General Commanding.

The enemy shelled our forts yesterday at the mouth of the river, but without damage.

FRIDAY.—Bombardment of the forts continued during the day, and thousands of shells are thrown without effect. The enemy on the other hand are damaged by our fire, but the particulars are not known. The enemy are reported as demoralized by their recent defeat on the Tennessee. The attack on Fort Macon, N. C., is vigorously waged by him, and he has driven our troops beyond the Rappahannock, and is in possession of Fredericksburg. Stonewall Jackson has been compelled again to retire with loss, in the presence of overwhelming numbers, and is *en route* for Staunton. General Price, the hero of Missouri, has published an address to his army:

SOLDIERS OF THE STATE GUARD! Veterans of six pitched battles and nearly twenty skirmishes! Conquerors in them all! Your country, with its "ruined hearths and shrines," calls upon you to rally once more in her defense, and rescue her forever from the terrible thraldom which threatens her. I know that she will not call in vain. The insolent and barbarous hordes which have dared to invade our soil and to desecrate our homes, have just met with a signal overthrow beyond the Mississippi. Now is the time to end this unhappy war. If every man will do his duty, his own roof will shelter him in peace from the storms of the coming winter.

Let not history record that the men who bore with patience the privations of Cowskin prairie, who endured uncomplainingly the burning heats of a Missouri summer, and the frosts and snows of a Missouri winter; that the men who met the enemy at Carthage, at Oak Hill, at Fort Scott, at Lexington, and in numberless lesser battle fields in Missouri, and met them but to conquer them—that the men who fought so bravely and so well at Elkhorn—that the unpaid soldiery of Missouri, were, after so many victories, and after so much suffering, unequal to the great task of achieving the independence of their magnificent State.

Soldiers! I go but to mark a pathway to our homes. Follow me! STERLING PRICE.

SATURDAY.—The address of the immortal Johnston, on the eve of the great battle of Shiloh, omitted in the appropriate place, may be inserted here:

CORINTH, MISS., April 3, 1862.

SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI: I have put you in motion to offer battle to the invaders of your country. With the resolution and disciplined valor becoming fighting men as you are for all worth living or dying for, you can but march to a decisive victory over the agrarian mercenaries sent to subjugate and despoil you of your liberties, property and honor. Remember the precious stake involved; remember the dependence of your mothers, your wives, your sisters and your children on the result; remember the fair, broad, abounding land, the happy homes and ties that would be desolated by your defeat. The eyes and the hopes of eight millions of people rest upon you; you are expected to show yourselves worthy of your race and lineage—worthy of the women of the South, whose noble devotion in this war has never been exceeded at any time. With such incentives to brave deeds, and with the trust that God is with us, your generals will lead you confidently to the combat, assured of success. A. S. JOHNSTON, General C. S. A.

Stonewall Jackson appeals for support in defending the beautiful valley of Virginia.

Our brethren in the Northern frontier counties are now groaning under the heel of despotism, their property torn from them without compensation, their rights as

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citizens of Virginia and of our Confederacy disregarded, their persons levied, and without the form of law, both imprisoned and carried beyond the limits of the State. They look to you for liberation from the tyrant's grasp. Come with the firm and patriotic resolve to lay down your lives, if need be, on the soil of your birth, to emancipate it and our loyal citizens from Northern thraldom.

A brave army is here waiting for you to rally around it, and swell its ranks with volunteers determined to serve for the war, and drive back an enemy who has dared to invade your homes for the purpose of subjugating not only yourselves, but your wives and children. Show the invader that you know how to die, but not be enslaved. T. J. JACKSON, Major General.

SUNDAY, April 20.—At Jackson, Miss., on business for the Government. The war has made large inroads upon the male population. There are some refugees here from Missouri and Tennessee. Col. Starke's cavalry regiment is encamped here. The several railroad connections make Jackson an important point in travel, particularly since the enemy have interrupted the Memphis road, and thrown the travel through Mobile and Montgomery. Two hospitals for sick and wounded soldiers are established by the ladies.

News from New Orleans, that the fleet has thrown many thousand shells at the forts without damage, except to some of the wood-work, which does not impair the strength of the fortification.

MONDAY.—Nothing additional from New Orleans. President Davis sends a special message to Congress, in which he offers heartfelt tribute to the services and memory of the lamented Johnston:

"My long and close friendship with this departed chieftain and patriot, forbid me to trust myself in giving vent to the feelings which this sad intelligence has evoked. Without doing injustice to the living, it may safely be asserted that our loss is irreparable, and that among the shining hosts of the great and good who now cluster around the banner of our country, there exists no purer spirit, no more heroic soul than that of the illustrious man whose death I join you in lamenting.

"In his death he has illustrated the character for which through life he was conspicuous, that of singleness of purpose and devotion to duty. With his whole energies bent on attaining the victory which he deemed essential to his country's cause, he rode on to the accomplishment of his object, forgetful of self, while his very life-blood was fast ebbing away. His last breath cheered his comrades to victory. The last sound he heard was their shout of triumph. His last thought, was his country, and long and deeply will his country mourn his loss."

Visit the hospitals, which are splendid structures and are admirably managed. Many army patients are under treatment, including the wounded from Shiloh. These hospitals, on a pinch, could accommodate 5 or 600, or even more. Vicksburg has acted with great spirit and liberality, and her ladies are foremost in the work.

Martial law is proclaimed and order reigns in the city.

Gen. Duncan, commanding at the forts below New Orleans, telegraphs: "God is certainly protecting us; we are cheerful, and have an abiding faith in our ultimate success. Twenty-five thousand thirteen-inch shells have been fired by the enemy, thousands of which have fallen in the fort. They must soon exhaust themselves—if not, we can stand it as long as they can."

There are no defences at Vicksburg, and if the enemy reaches here *immediately*, he cannot be resisted.

THURSDAY.—Telegram that some of the Federal gunboats have passed our forts, creates the most profound impression, and gives rise to a thousand rumors in regard to the fate of New Orleans.

FRIDAY.—Great excitement everywhere, and, of course, the most exaggerated rumors. It is yet uncertain if the enemy's vessels have reached New Orleans, and what reception they will meet with. A special train reaches Jackson this afternoon with the specie of the New Orleans banks. It is to be sent into the interior.

SATURDAY.—Converse with persons just from New Orleans, who left yesterday. Our gunboats have engaged the enemy and been destroyed. The forts still hold out. It is reported on high authority that the Federal ships are at the city, and that commanding General Lovell refuses to surrender, but will consent to capitulate. Decision not reached. Some indication that the vessels may be boarded and captured at the levee.

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Even with the loss of New Orleans and of the entire river, and all upon it, the cause of Southern independence will be very far from desperate, if our people are truly in earnest and will do their whole duty as men and patriots. A great interior army of half a million of men must yet be vanquished. It never can be.

An accident on the Mobile and Ohio railroad last night, killed or seriously injured many of our soldiers from South Carolina.

Later in the day it is confidently asserted in many quarters, that despatches have crossed the wires to the effect that the military authorities refuse to surrender the city, and that four days are allowed to remove the women and children, when a bloody and desperate struggle will take place.

With such an exhibit of spirit and daring, New Orleans will be retained, though in ruins.

SUNDAY.—The worst is realized. New Orleans is in the power, if not the possession of the enemy. His fleet is at the levee, and the military authorities have evacuated. The surrender will be made by the civil authorities. The forts, it is thought, still hold out, but cannot do so long. Our gunboats of every kind are destroyed by the enemy, or by ourselves. General Twiggs, and a number of others, reach Jackson from the city. They represent the utmost confusion prevailing—everything without a head. The archives and money of the Sub-Treasury are here, in charge of Mr. Guirot, who has taken an office in the State House. Our troops and the Commanding General will reach here soon. This is the darkest hour of our trials and our peril, but the path of duty is still clear.

Before evacuating, the troops destroyed the cotton at New Orleans, and brought off commissary, quartermaster and ordnance stores, but to what extent is unknown.

The general feeling is, that our cause in the Southwest has been disgracefully lost.

MONDAY.—Many fugitives from New Orleans reach Jackson. Communication is still kept open. Points have arisen with regard to the surrender of the city which exhibit the highest degree of patriotism on the part of the citizens and authorities. The following correspondence has taken place:

MAYOR'S OFFICE, CITY HALL, New Orleans, April 26, 1862.

FLAG OFFICER D. G. FARRAGUT, U. S. FLAG-SHIP HARTFORD:

Sir, in pursuance to a resolution which he thought proper to take, out of regard for the lives of the women and children who still crowd this great metropolis, General Lovell has evacuated with his troops, and restored back to me the administration of its government, custody and its honor. I, however, in concert with the city Fathers, considered the demand you made of me yesterday, of an unconditional surrender of the city, coupled with a requisition to hoist the flag of the United States on our public edifices, and to haul down the one that floats to the breeze from the dome of this Hall. It becomes my duty to transmit to you an answer which the universal sentiment of my constituency, no less than the promptings of my own heart, dictate to me on this sad and solemn occasion.

The city is without means of defense, and utterly destitute of force and material that might enable it to resist the overpowering armament displayed in sight of it. I am no military man, and possess no authority beyond the municipal laws of the city. It would be presumptuous for me to attempt to lead an army to the field if I had one at command, and I know still less how to surrender an undefended place held as this is, at the mercy of your guns' mouths and your mortars. To surrender such a place were an idle and unmeaning ceremony.

The city is yours by power—brutal force—not by any choice or consent of its inhabitants. It is for you to determine what will be the fate that awaits her. As to hoisting any flag other than the flag of our own adoption and allegiance, let me say to you, sir, that the man lives not in our midst whose hand and heart would not be palsied at the mere thought of such an act. Nor could I find, in my entire constituency, so wretched and desperate a renegade as would dare to profane with his hands the sacred emblem of our aspirations.

Sir, you have manifested sentiments which would become you, if engaged in a better cause than that to which you have devoted your sword. I doubt not but that they spring from a noble though deluded nature, and I know how to appreciate emo-

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tions which inspired them. You will have a gallant people to administer during your occupation of the city—a people sensitive to all that can in the least affect dignity and self-respect. Pray, sir, do not allow them to be insulted by any interference such as would render themselves odious and contemptible by their dastardly desertion of the mighty struggle in which we are engaged; nor such as might remind them too painfully that they are the conquered and you the conquerors. Peace and order may be preserved without resort to measures which could not fail to wound their susceptibilities and fire up their passions.

The obligations which I shall assume in their name shall be religiously complied with. You may trust their honor, though you ought not to count on their submission to unmerited wrong.

In conclusion, I beg you to understand the people of New Orleans. While unable at this moment to prevent your occupying the city, they do not transfer allegiance from the government of their choice to one which they deliberately repudiated; and that they yield simply obedience which conquerors are enabled to extort from the conquered. Respectfully, JOHN T. MONROE, Mayor.

TUESDAY.—The fugitives still arrive, crowding every nook and corner of Jackson, and much distress results. Women and children are almost without place of refuge. The hotels are crowded beyond their capacity, and many sleep in the halls and piazzas.

WEDNESDAY.—Rumors of a great battle at Yorktown, and a glorious success for our arms, but they are not credited. A despatch to Governor Pettus from General Lovell, announces that on account of a *mutiny* in the garrison, the forts at New Orleans have surrendered. The enemy has now every obstruction removed to his triumphant advances on the Mississippi and its tributaries. The hour grows darker and darker.

THURSDAY.—Trains still arrive from New Orleans. The civil authorities refuse to strike their flag, but require the enemy to do it. Their attitude is high and chivalrous. The ladies request the authorities to hold out, and let the enemy shell and destroy the city. The following demand was made on Tuesday:

TO HIS HONOR THE MAYOR AND CITY COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW ORLEANS:

Your communication of the 28th inst. has been received, together with that of the City Council.

I deeply regret to see both by their contents, and the continued display of the flag of Louisiana on the Custom House, a determination on the part of the city authorities not to haul it down. Moreover, when my officers and men were sent on shore to communicate with the authorities, and to hoist the United States flag on the Custom House, with the strictest order not to use their arms unless assailed, they were insulted in the grossest manner, and the flag which had been hoisted by my orders on the Mint, was pulled down and dragged through the streets.

All of which go to show that the fire of this fleet may be drawn upon the city at any moment, and in such an event the levee would in all probability be cut by the shells, and an amount of distress ensue to the innocent population, which I have heretofore endeavored to assure you that I desired by all means to avoid.

The election, therefore is with you. But it becomes my duty to notify you to remove the women and children from the city within forty-eight hours, if I have rightly understood your determination. Very respectfully your obedient servant,

D. G. FARRAGUT.

Flag Officer Western Gulf Blockading Squadron.

The Mayor convened the City Council, and we learn it was decided by them not to recede from their position, and the Louisiana flag still floats proudly to the breeze.

FRIDAY.—Preparations are being made to defend Vicksburg. Cannon are sent from Jackson and troops, and a large force is at work upon the fortifications above and below the city.

Some of the enemy's transports have reached New Orleans with troops.

SATURDAY AND SUNDAY.—Make the trip from Jackson, Miss., to Mobile. Trains crowded, and much irregularity and discomfort. Mobile much deserted, but not without hope. Enemy's fleet soon expected, but the city will make a vigorous defence. The people speak with great determination.

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NOTES ON THE JOURNAL.

1.—The Provisional Government of the Confederate States was adopted 4th February, 1861, and a Constitution four days after. The following day Jefferson Davis and Alexander Stephens were elected President and Vice-President (unanimously). The President was inaugurated on the 18th February. The permanent Constitution was adopted 11th March, 1862, and the government under it was organized 22d February, 1862.

2.—SHILOH.—The following digested account of the battle of Shiloh was published in one of the records of the day:

"The Federal army, commanded by Gen. McDowell, according to best informed Lincolnite journals, was 55,000 strong, and had 119 pieces of cannon. The Confederate army, under command of Gens. J. E. Johnston and Beauregard, was about 28,000 strong, and had 50 pieces of cannon. The battle commenced soon after sunrise, and raged until nearly 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when the Federals, defeated at all points and panic stricken, fled from the field in the utmost disorder, in all available directions, closely pursued by the victorious Confederates. The vaunted 'On to Richmond' movement was changed into a general and unglorious route. 'The admirable character of our troops,' General Johnston says, in his official report, 'is incontestably proved by the results of this battle; especially when it is remembered that little more than 6,000 men of the army of the Shenandoah, with 16 guns, and less than 2,000 of that of the Potomac, with 6 guns, for full five hours successfully resisted 35,000 United States troops, with a powerful artillery and a superior force of regular cavalry.' 'The brunt of this hard-fought engagement fell upon the troops who held their ground so long with such heroic resolution.' 'The victory,' says General Beauregard, 'was dearly won by the death of many officers and men of inestimable value, belonging to all grades of our society.' Among the Confederates killed were Generals Bee and Bartow. The Confederate loss, according to General Beauregard's report, was—killed 869; wounded 1,483; making an aggregate of 1,852. The Federal loss cannot be accurately stated. Their official reports only afford data for an approximate estimate. General Beauregard says, in his report: 'We are warranted in placing the entire loss of the Federals at over 4,500 killed, wounded and prisoners. To this may be legitimately added, as a casualty of the battle, the thousands of fugitives from the field who have never rejoined their regiments, and who are as much lost to the enemy's service as if slain or disabled by wounds.' In addition, the Confederates captured on the field and in the pursuit, 28 pieces of cannon, about 5,000 muskets, nearly 500,000 cartridges, a garrison flag, 10 colors, 64 artillery horses, with their harness, 26 wagons, much camp equipage, and a great quantity of clothing, blankets, knapsacks, subsistence stores, &c. President Davis arrived on the field of battle in time to witness the final recoil of the enemy."

The Hon. Alexander Walker, of New Orleans, who was an eye witness of this battle, wrote a very graphic account of it, which was published soon after, Referring to the great event of the day, which almost neutralized the victory. the death of the incomparable Sydney Johnston, he says:

"Seeing the inability of the other commanders to reform the broken and dismayed line, he rode forward, with the ever cool and undaunted Breckinridge, and, seizing a musket, presented it at a charge bayonet, and called on the men to follow. The grand figure of the Commander-in-chief, mounted on a large bay horse, looming up from the foreground (so conspicuous a target for the enemy's sharpshooters), seemed to expand to gigantic proportions, as he beckoned his men on to the charge. The gallant Kentuckians were the first to follow—Tennesseeans, Mississippians and Arkansians caught the heroic contagion, and now the line moved steadily forward at double-quick, and then, with a wild rush, receiving the deadly iron blast as it swept along the slopes, and pouring over the batteries, they scattered the heavy masses of the infantry in the wildest confusion. This was perhaps the mightiest effort of physical force and courage of the day, and when it was performed, the tall figure of Breckinridge could be seen on the crest of the hill, waving his cap in triumph, while the shouts of his men echoed far off like the roar of many waters. As soon as General Johnston perceived the success of his appeal, and that his men had caught the spirit which he had sought to infuse into them, and were moving forward with the requisite vigor and resolution, he rode from the front, and returned to his original commanding position, a little in the rear and on the right, and waited the result of the assault. It was only when its success was evident and the enemy

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was in retreat, that one of his aids, perceiving blood on his clothes, anxiously asked if he was wounded. He replied, 'Only a scratch!' adding in entire unconsciousness of self, 'Was not that splendidly done; glorious fellows; we have got them now.' There was a pause and a few minutes of observation and consultation, when evident symptoms of weakness manifesting themselves, the aids of the General insisted that he should dismount and have his wound examined. He did so in a careless and unconcerned manner. His boot being pulled off, it was discovered to be full of blood, and that the purple current was still flowing rapidly from a small wound under the knee. It proved, on examination, to be what Dr. Choppin pronounced the smallest wound that he ever knew to produce death in a hale and vigorous man. But an artery had been severed."

3.—NEW ORLEANS.—The fall of New Orleans produced a feeling of despondency in the Confederacy, which existed for many months after the event. It was regarded the key to the Valley of the Mississippi, and its possession of almost vital consequence in enabling us to preserve our hold upon the trans-Mississippi, and obtain its vast supplies of grain and meat necessary to the support of the army. It is evident that a point of such importance should have been defended with all the engineering and military resources of the country. People everywhere thought so, and were convinced that the administration was alive to the matter. Our papers contained accounts of the wonderful preparations which were in progress; the range of forts at every few miles, the impassible rafts, the vast chains, the combinations of a thousand kinds, which no enemy could resist. Even citizens of New Orleans believed their stories, and the enemy, deluded by them, delayed his attack for more than a year, thus adding precious time for preparation. Alas the event! Never, in the history of the world, was such a point so ingloriously yielded. A few days bombardment of two forts a hundred miles distant, which are not substantially injured, and in which scarcely any lives are lost, and a triumphant fleet steams quietly up to the city, with a trifling exception, *as though in time of profound peace.* The world was amazed at the event!

The writer was in New Orleans for three or four months preceding its fall, except for the last week, in which he was engaged in the service of the government in Mississippi, and can bear testimony to the want of vigorous and energetic measures for its defence. The construction of rams and gunboats went on with snails' pace, and was interrupted by what seemed the most trifling causes. Troops necessary to the defence of the place were withdrawn and not returned. The military authorities were reticent, and the reports from Richmond were that the Secretary of War laughed at any apprehensions, and asserted confidently that no fleet in the world could pass the forts and reach the city! The general in command was greatly censured, but we have understood that he has exhibited to certain gentlemen his defence, in manuscript, which is masterly. Time will show.

During the period referred to, the citizens of New Orleans formed a "Committee of Public Safety," which meetings we attended, and there was but one voice, and that was for the defence of the city to the last extremity, and the Committee, as well as the Council, pledged its whole resources for the purpose. At one of these meetings it was suggested by a gentleman, and loudly applauded, that, rather than submit to capture, the city be burnt as Moscow had been by its citizens!

Never was there such unanimity of sentiment among any people, and men and women, and even children, partook of the enthusiasm. The last thought that would have entered any mind was surrender, and the possibility of it was not admitted almost up to the very day it occurred.

And yet New Orleans fell, and so prostrate was the country, and so inadequate the preparations, that had the enemy elected to do so, he might, the day after, have ascended the river and taken almost undisputed possession of its banks, as high nearly as the city of Memphis!

It was among the first of the great disasters which ended in the downfall of the Confederacy after it had performed miracles of valor and endured privations for which history has scarcely a parallel.

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DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

1.—THE COTTON PROSPECT AT THE SOUTH.

C. F. JENNY, consular agent of Italy, issued a circular recently to all parts of Texas, for the purpose of eliciting information in regard to the working of the labor system and the future prospect of cotton.

We have had the pleasure of a call from Mr. Jenny, who placed in our hands a number of the replies, which will be published hereafter. We can only present his circular letter now, which is very closely based upon the replies:

GALVESTON, April 15, 1866.

Referring to my circular of January 27th and March 1st, I am sorry to say that my opinion on the labor question has not changed for the better. I already foresee many more difficulties for the realization of the next crop in Texas, though the reports of very extensive planting are fully confirmed, and a good deal of cotton growing is already up, owing to the very favorable spring.

I have diligently and assiduously inquired of planters and merchants in the country in regard to their views about the extent of our crop this season and the working of the negro.

The answers are all remarkably alike, hardly any dissention has come to my knowledge, and I should therefore judge that they can not be far from the truth.

Within a short time many planters have become entirely discouraged, have left their plantations and the work already begun, because they could well foresee that they could not control the labor, and, therefore, not certain of making a crop. I hear that quite a number from one neighborhood have left for Mexico. Others again are willing to make a trial, and seem to have good hopes to realize their expectations.

Serious apprehensions are more and more felt in regard to the question: Will the negro work when the warm weather sets in? His laziness is proverbial and well authenticated, therefore, these fears appear to me well founded. If now, after the dry weather we have had for a long time, the next months should be wet, and the cotton go into grass, I should not hesitate to say, that without the most strenuous efforts of the laboring hands, the crop would be an entire failure.

I have already made my remarks on the entire unwillingness of the women and children to work in the fields as before, and from every point, I am sorry to say, I have full confirmation of the correctness of my observation, in fact, this important part of our former labor force seems now altogether lost. It is now apparent that we will have scarcity of labor in our State too, and even the force we have is already interfered with by the unscrupulous competition for hands I hinted at in my circular of January 27, at that time only referring to known proceedings in other States than Texas.

The best reports we have in regard to the behaviour of the negro reach us from distant inland places, but our richest lands and best cultivated (from which formerly the bulk of the cotton crop of this State did come to market, are in great danger, all attributable to the demoralization of labor already felt), lay all in the neighborhood of the coast. Still taking all in all, we are better off in Texas than in any other State; our small farmers, principally Europeans, make every possible effort, and with good success so far as I can learn. Besides, many discharged soldiers have settled and *gone in for* making a few Bales of Cotton.

Estimates of the probable crop of our State are far apart, estimatists are speaking of about 50,000 bales, backing their different other arguments of short-work and abandoned lands, with the prophecy that the army-worm will again have his share of the crop, pretending that the very mild winter we have had, and the consequently early season, are the sure signs of the worm plague in summer. I should, however, not be surprised to see the above-mentioned amount come forward from small farmers only. The most sanguine estimates

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go even so far as 200,000 bales for the Gulf ports, and 275,000 to 300,000 bales for all Texas, of which a large part is tributary to New Orleans.

Should even the latter figures be realized, the fact would be discouraging to our long crop men in itself, showing them that with about double the amount of the laboring force (as reported to exist in Texas) compared to that before the war, we can have but a crop considerably short in quantity compared with former results. In all other States the laboring force has decreased perhaps to one-half of former times. The consequences must therefore be clear to every thinking man.

I have repeatedly been asked to give an estimate of the cost of raising cotton this year; it is extremely difficult to form an opinion. I have made inquiries, but have had unsatisfactory answers. The estimates vary from 12c. currency to 20c. specie per pound on the plantation. Our small farmers, as they and their families all work, can raise cotton at but little higher cost than before the war, and they are nearly sure of a crop. Another thing it is with the planter, working negro hands, with him all depends on the faithful performance of the contracts made between him and his hands.

We have very different systems of contracts, viz: Some employers pay their hands from $8 to $14 specie per month, feed and clothe them, and naturally give them shelter.

Others give one-third of their crop, and furnish nothing but the teams, the agricultural implements necessary, and shelter. Plantations have been rented at from $3 to $8 per acre, and stocked plantations, with teams and implements, at from $8 to $12 per acre.

Taking into consideration the higher price of the hands, and the immense deficiency in the labor performed by them, further the probability, that in the picking season extra hands will have to be employed, if attainable, at extra wages. I think, not to be far from the mark, in putting down the first cost of cotton on the plantation at fully double the former figures, say 12c. *a* 14c. specie, always provided, that the present good prospects for the growing crop be realized and the latter be harvested.

I have heard of parties making advances to planters, payable in cotton, when grown, at 25c. specie per pound on the plantation. The price of 20c. specie, exclusive of revenue duty per pound, would appear the very lowest cost possible for cotton delivered on the coast, to remunerate the planter for his work.

We have now further to await the decision of our Congress regarding the tax to be hereafter levied on cotton. Already, in September last, I hinted at the probability of a heavy *export* duty to be put upon cotton. As such a step would embrace in its bearings an alteration of the constitution, the proposition now is to raise the internal revenue tax to 5c. per pound instead of 2c. per pound.

I shall continue my investigations, and shall be happy to communicate the result to you.

2.—SUGAR INTERESTS OF LOUISIANA.

A PETITION has been sent to Congress, signed by a large number of the most influential planters and merchants of Louisiana, praying as follows:

The petition of the subscribers respectfully represents, that the legitimate result of the unequal and crushing excise tax now collected on domestic cane-sugars, is *not* to secure revenue to the U. S. Government, *not* to afford the protecting care which Government owes to every important agricultural interest under its control, but to convert the sugar lands of Louisiana and Texas into a wilderness, to make the free labor experiment there a failure, and to reduce the laborers to beggary.

Wherefore, your petitioners earnestly pray, that domestic cane sweets be entirely relieved of this ruinous excise tax.

Should this be refused, we pray you to largely *increase* the import duty on foreign sugars and molasses, that in *some* manner this important agricultural interest may be protected rather than destroyed.

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In regard to the question of negro labor for the sugar plantations, a writer in the *Franklin Banner* says:

The writer knows that ngeroes who were employed on both cotton and sugar plantations preferred making sugar. The fact was made manifest in this way—he owned a plantation that had been for several years planted in cotton, and afterwards changed to a sugar plantation; one season, finding that the overseer had neglected to put up enough seed-cane, he ordered cotton to be planted when the old and most intelligent negroes came to him and begged him not to make it a cotton plantation again, that they preferred to make sugar. It seemed so extraordinary that they should prefer a crop in which they would have to work eighteen hours in the twenty-four, for two months in the year, that he mentioned it to several friends who had some experience in the matter, and they confirmed the fact. People who know nothing of the reasons could not be made to believe it. After a further investigation, some of the reasons were discovered. The picking of cotton is a constant monotonous business, employing from three to four months of the year, while sugar making takes only about two months or less, and is like a frolic. The hands were singing all the time, were well fed and cared for, and had syrup and molasses to eat at discretion, and on many plantations had coffee to drink at the proper times; and the sugar-making season was generally, too the most delightful weather of the whole year, as good as could be wished.

3.—COTTON PRODUCT.

We have seen nothing yet to induce a change in our figures, materially in regard to the ensuing cotton crop. We assumed 1,500,000 bales, the results of calculation, to be the most probable result. It is scarcely possible that 2,000,000 can be made. Since our estimate, the crevasses on the Mississippi have done much damage, and the complaint is general from the whole planting district, of deterioration and want of vitality in the seed.

We extract the following account of the cane-brake region of Alabama, one of the most fertile and vast cotton fields in the South:

"It is probable that no section of country has suffered less from the disturbing influences of the war than the cane-brake region of South Alabama. At no time was it the scene of hostilities.

"Locked up between rivers, the negro population had but little communication with the outer world, and have less generally changed their locations than perhaps in any other section of the country. Provisions also are plentiful, and capital sufficient to furnish mules and farming implements for the whole breadth of arable land. Whatever observations may be made, therefore, in this section, must be considered as far above an average of the condition of the South. It is a region of unsurpassed fertility, and at any period before the war, must have produced one fourth of the cotton crop of Alabama. These few facts which follow, though not reduced to figures, will readily show what proportion of this product may be expected from the coming crop. But to the facts.

"The breadth of land in cultivation was estimated by those with whom we conversed, at about two-thirds of that usually planted before the war. This estimation was made by a gentleman residing in the best portion of the cane-brake—we mean in that portion which is best off as to the number of laborers. Nevertheless, we heard of entire plantations of very fine land lying out of cultivation.

"The number of black laborers has largely decreased on that of former years, while there has been considerable addition of white laborers drawn from other sections of the State where cotton was not usually grown. Most of the field labor is now performed by men, the women regarding it as the duty of their husbands to support them in idleness. These, with the children, constitute, however, a reserve force which may be profitably employed in picking-time.

"The prevailing feeling among the laborers seems to be one of contentment with their wages, and most of them are laboring industriously."

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DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

1.—COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

The New York *Journal of Commerce* calls attention to the remarkable discrepancy between the reports of Mr. Chase and Mr. McCulloch of the Treasury Department.

By Mr. Chase's report, the exports for 1861 to 1864, exceeded the imports $192,916,424, but by McCulloch's the imports were $46,183,924 in excess. Subsequently it was stated that the excess for 1861 was $86,305,240, instead of $42,625,885 as at first reported. All of this is very remarkable and requires explanation.

The commerce of the last fiscal year is as follows:

FOREIGN IMPORTS AT THE PORTS OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1865.

Dutiable merchandise	$183,258,278
Free merchandise	43,856,155
Specie and bullion	7,225,377
Total imports for the year	$234,339,810

The above represents only the foreign cost of the goods in gold, without including any part of the freight and duty.

EXPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES TO FOREIGN PORTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1865.

Domestic produce		$254,381,481
Foreign dutiable mdse..	$23,455,837	
Foreign free mdse.....	4,411,621	
		27,867,458
Domestic specie and bullion.....	$51,925,277	
Foreign specie and bullion.....	2,522,907	
		54,448,184
Total exports for the year		$336,697,123

The export figures (except for specie which is given at its tale value), represent the market value in the ordinary currency at the port of shipment, and are thus chiefly computed in paper money.

2.—FUTURE OF NEW ORLEANS.

The *Planters' Banner*, published at Franklin, Louisiana, thus discourses upon the subject of New Orleans:

From her location and position, sitting at the gate of the great valley of the Mississippi, New Orleans is the only city to be thought of in this connection. Already the West is turning to her wharves as the great natural market and point of export for her products. In ten or twenty years (a microscopic point of time in a nation's history,) railroads, converging at New Orleans will send out lines penetrating to the remotest bounds of this Southern country, even to the shores of the distant Pacific.

She will moor at her wharves, ships bearing the produce of every land, and whose sails have whitened every ocean. From every portion of the globe will come, seeking new homes, the laborer and mechanic; with them, and the invited capital of Europe, (now so poorly paid,) we will reproduce on our variegated soil the identical work, mechanical and agricultural, which celebrates any portion of the world. New Orleans is to be the great central point for this importation and distribution for all this centralization and exportation.

This is no fancy sketch. The grand future of the South, thus feebly hinted at, must be infinitely elaborated and colored, and not reach the whole truth. In view of it, is there no duty devolving upon Southern men? This future to the South is conditioned upon the exertions of her sons. Have they breathed out all their devotion to her on the battle-field? Do they owe her no further

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duty? A large warfare demands their exertions to place the South upon a level which she shall be proud of.

We need home factories, home literature, home institutions of learning, which we must encourage, foster and support. But first and foremost, we want a home commerce, and direct trade with Europe. Let us foster and cherish this, and the rest will follow.

3.—COMMERCE OF THE GREAT WESTERN PLAINS.

The number of freighters engaged in transporting goods during the past year was greater than in any previous season, although, of course, the old firms did the larger part of the business. First on the list of heavy shippers is the mammoth Butterfield Overland Dispatch Company, whose business connections, extending to nearly every large city on the continent, are well defined and influential.

The total amount of goods shipped by these freighters during the season was 21,531,830 pounds of assorted merchandise, requiring for its shipment 4,917 wagons, 5,256 men, 7,164 mules, 27,685 oxen and 100 horses.

Of this amount of goods 7,102,000 lbs, was shipped to Denver, Colorado; 4,950,667 lbs to Central City and Black Hawk, Colorado; 2,715,282 to Salt Lake City, Utah; 1,482,123 to Santa Fe, New Mexico; 889,000 to Julesburg, Colorado; 600,000 to Fort Laramie, L. T.; 712,000 to Fort Riley, Kansas; 759,000 to Camp Collins; 303,500 to Fort Union, New Mexico; 412,009 to Virginia City, N. T.; 197,648 to Montana; 162,310 to different points in Nevada; 46,000 to Fort Kearney, N. T.; and 1,200,000 to different points in Western Kansas, Colorado, Utah and Idaho.

The capital invested in this great commerce is enormous. Oxen, mules and wagons have commanded unusually high prices during the past year. The cost of the wagons employed would average $306 apiece; mules $290; oxen $160 per yoke; harness $90 for each six mules. The time occupied by each train in loading and making the trip through and back, will average three months, and the wages of the men employed $50 per month. To sum up the total capital invested this season would be about as follows:

The total value of 4,917 wagons, averaging $300 each, would be	$1,475,100
Value of 7,164 mules, averaged at $400 per span would be	1,432,800
Value of 27,685 oxen, worth $160 per yoke would be	2,214,800
Harness for 7,164 mules, worth $90 for each six would be	107,450
Wages of 5,256 men, at $50 per month averaging three months each trip	788,300
Estimated cost of provisions for employes	200,000
Estimated cost of ox-yokes, chains, etc	40,000
Showing a total capital invested of	$6,258,560

THE OVERLAND STAGE LINE.

The longest stage route in the world, forms another great feature in the business of Atchison. Its coaches leave here daily for Denver and Central City, Colorado, 653 miles; Great Salt Lake City, Utah, 1,255 miles, and Placerville, California, 1,913 miles. From Salt Lake, a branch line runs northward, traversing Northern Utah, Idaho and Montana Territories, reaching Bannock and Virginia cities. Another branch, 850 miles long, runs Northwest via Boise city, Idaho, to the Dalles Falls of the Columbia, the head of navigation on the river from the ocean. Between this city and Salt Lake, the company has 450 men, 1,200 horses and 180 coaches in its employ, while on all of its connections there are 825 men, 356 coaches and express wagons, and 8,530 horses and mules. The fare through from Atchison to Placerville is $200. Railroad fare from New York to Atchison is $41, and from Placerville to San Francisco $10; thus mak-

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ing the fare through from New York City to San Francisco $251. The stations on the route are about thirteen miles apart, and meals average sixty cents. Passengers are allowed twenty-five pounds of baggage free. The coaches make the trip through from Atchison to Denver in four to six days; to Salt Lake in about eleven or twelve days, and to Placerville, California, in from seventeen to twenty days. Telegraph stations are established all along the line. The coaches carry the great overland mails, and are all new and commodious.

From Hugo Richards, Esq., the gentlemanly agent of the line in this city, we have obtained the above items. Mr. Richards also informs us, that during the past year the coaches carried 2,097 passengers West, and brought 2,281 from the West, making a total of 4,288. The aggregate price of passage was $190 and the total amount received from this source $814,720. The coaches during the year also brought in $2,400,000 in specie, and carried 46,000 pounds of express freight. The coaches of this line run over the North Platte route.

4.—MEMPHIS—ITS COMMERCE AND PROSPECTS.

In the "old times" says a Memphis *exchange*, we are free to confess that Memphis, not being prepared to supply all demands, could not, probably, successfully compete with Eastern cities. But "*nous avons change tout cela*"—a great change has been wrought in Memphis since the war. Before that era, the preponderance was with the retail houses. Now, the wholesale establishments exceed those devoted exclusively to customers by retail. Memphis, in short, has become a wholesale market, where everything the interior dealer may wish, may be obtained at as good a rate, and, everything considered, *better* rates than at New York, Philadelphia or Boston. For example—the country dealer wishes to lay in a stock of ten thousand dollars worth of goods suited to his particular locality. He can obtain them in Memphis at ten per cent. less than it would cost him to go to New York, or any of the eastern cities, to obtain them—that is to say, taking the prime cost, freight, insurance, personal expense, etc., the goods he will obtain in New York will cost ten per cent. more than he can obtain them in Memphis and lay them down at home. Another advantage to the country dealer which Memphis offers is, that his stocks can be replenished at shorter periods and in smaller quantities, than by purchase in the Atlantic cities. In the present unstable and fluctuating price of goods, this is a great advantage.

5.—PITTSBURGH—ITS PRESENT AND FUTURE PROSPECTS.

The ratio of production between this city, and other cities, States, and the United States, of some of the principal manufactures, gives Pittsburgh an extraordinary record. Our production of iron, compared with that of the whole country, is as one to nine. We produce one-half of all the steel manufactured and one-fifth of all the copper used in the country. The annual value of the glass trade of the city is understated, when given at seven millions of dollars, yielding an internal revenue to the Government of about $350,000. That of the glass factories east of the mountains, it is stated at $3,123,000, and as yielding an internal revenue of $156,150. It is therefore apparent that glass manufacturing at Pittsburgh is in all things quite double that of the rest of the United States. We refine nine-tenths of all the oil that goes to foreign markets.

The quality of some of our manufactured products, says the *Oil News*, from which we are quoting, are such as no city, State or nation can rival. The best brands in the nail markets, everywhere, are the "Juniata," "Clinton," "Kensington" and "Eagle." The iron markets of the country put forward "Wayne," "Sable," "America," "Sligo," and "Duquesne." The favorite brands of glass, in all markets, is "O'Hara," "Arsenal" and "Phœnix." And in our home and foreign trade for refined oils, the call is for "Standard," "Soho," "Petrolite" and "Globe." The best qualities of manufactured steel in the country, bear the mark "Black Diamond," "Sheffield" and "Wayne."

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EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANIES.

How touching and beautiful the mode which, by common consent, has been adopted among us to set apart the 26th day of April (the anniversary of the surrender of our armies) to visit the graves, and pay honors to the memory of the noble army who died on the thousand battle-fields of the South. Ever forward in all good works, the women, in most of our towns and villages, decked the graves of the soldiers with beautiful flowers, and offered pious incense in their behalf. At Memphis, the ceremonies were imposing in the highest degree, and an eloquent address was delivered by Dr. Ford, who said:

"Standing here to-day amid their quiet resting-places, subdued and sorrowful, and feeling

'That mystery of woe the tongue can never speak,'

we solemnly avow that with us the conflict is ended—we abide the issue. Besides our own loved dead, in these same solitudes repose the foemen who met them in the living strife. These, could they speak, would not be the men to insult the memories of those who so manfully encountered them on the bloody field. In the words of Scott:

The solemn echo seems to cry,
Here let their discord with them die:
Speak not for them a separate doom,
Whom Fate made brothers in the tomb.'

But if this be denied us; if the discord is still to live; if humiliation and punishment are to pursue us, we ask the poor privilege of cherishing the memory of our dead, and mingling our tears with the flowers we spread o'er their graves.

"On one of Switzerland's loveliest lakes, on an annual festive day, are seen a thousand light boats skimming the bright waters and landing at the consecrated spot where stands the chapel of William Tell. The day is spent in festooning with fresh flowers the broken column that perpetuates his memory and records his daring deeds. So let us come annually here, and make this 26th of April our floral festival, to call up the memories of our brave Confederate dead, and wreathe around their lowly graves flowers that shall syllable

'Regrets Eternal! Regrets Eternal!'

and the memory of the loved braves shall never die."

The following are the names of the officers of the noble association which had in charge the *Southern Relief Fair* at Baltimore, from which such splendid results were realized. Truly does Baltimore deserve the recognition of her Southern sisters, and her commercial prosperity should be regarded as our own:

President—Mrs. Benj. C. Howard.
Secretary—Miss Mary E. Frick.
Chairman—Lawrence Sangston.
Secretary of Managers—Chas. E. Waters.

We annex the Card recently issued by the lady managers:

A CARD.

The officers and Executive Committee of the Ladies' Southern Relief Association, having heretofore issued an appeal to the benevolent, feel it to be their pleasing duty now to communicate to their friends the result of the enterprise, far exceeding their most sanguine expectations. Already largely over one hundred thousand dollars have been received, besides some other sums have yet to come in.

They should do injustice to their feelings if they did not go on to acknowledge the exuberant kindness which has sprung up all around them. In the first place, they wish to express their cordial thanks to the Committee of gentlemen who, with the spirit of the chivalry of olden time, hastened to the assistance of ladies who wanted help, and whose ardent and persevering care enabled the lady managers to achieve a brilliant success. In the next place their thanks are due to the ladies who conducted the sale tables and other supplies, whose unwearied assiduity from morning till night and cheerful deportment, contributed very largely to the success of the enterprise.

In the next place, their thanks are due to the generous donors, whether in our own State or elsewhere, who loaded these tables with articles of great intrinsic value and refined taste. In this category must be included the many benefactors who contributed money, many of them from other States.

The lady managers also gratefully acknowledge the valuable assistance of artisans of taste, and those who furnished lumber; all of whom, gratuitously, fitted up all parts of the

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immense hall for the various purposes for which it was destined. Passing to the lunch-room, it is difficult to say enough in commendation of the ladies who conducted it, or the warm-hearted contributors who furnished the tables with every luxury of the land or water. He must be a churl, indeed, who did not feel his heart warmed by the smiling countenances and ready hands which sprang forward to minister to his wants.

Passing from the hall, our attention is attracted by the great liberality of the lines of railroads and steamboats, which all reduced their rates of fare to suit the convenience of those who wished to attend the fair; and also the great generosity of the express companies, who conveyed all articles, sometimes bulky, to the fair free of expense. In this class must be included the handsome donation of five hundred dollars by the City Passenger Railway.

The generosity of the charitable has not been confined to our State; but valuable contributions have come in from other States, from Missouri to Massachusetts inclusive. From England, too, handsome sums have been remitted through the influence of Mr. James M. Mason, and since the fair closed, boxes of choice articles have been received through the exertions of the Hon. Anderson Herbert, who recently spent some time in Baltimore.

The lady managers present their cordial thanks to the Masonic Fraternity for their liberal permission to make use, gratuitously, of their rooms on Charles Street. They are informed (and they believe correctly) that benevolence to their fellow-creatures is the corner-stone of this ancient and venerable institution; and it is in fine harmony with this noble sentiment that they have stepped forward to aid the present charity.

Before concluding, the lady managers wish to express their entire satisfaction with the conduct of the police and other persons employed about the building. Such was their gentlemanly deportment that it was only necessary to intimate to visitors the rules which had been adopted in order to insure a cheerful and prompt acquiescence in their observance. Not a disagreeable case occurred during the entire exhibition.

Finally, the lady managers wish to say that their thanks to their generous contributors are of little account when compared with the sweet satisfaction which each one must feel when he reflects that suffering and starving women and children will utter a voice of thanks to their unknown friends; and it is not presumptuous to hope that these thanks will find their way to the great account which must be settled hereafter.

Mrs. Benj. C. Howard, *President*.
Mary E. Frick, *Secretary*.

We have received from a benevolent association of ladies in Clarksville, Tennessee, the circular of an organization for the protection, maintenance and education of the orphans of the Confederate dead of the South, which has just been put into existence in that city. Of this Society Mrs. Marion Henry, wife of the Hon. Gustavus A. Henry, is President, Mrs. Trice is Recording Secretary, Mrs. A. B. Mumford is Corresponding Secretary, and Mrs. E. B. Hoskins is Treasurer. The Vice-Presidents are Mrs. Finley, Mrs. Tompkins, and Mrs. Galbraith. In addition to these the following list of directors is announced:

Mrs. W. A. Quarles, Mrs. W. Forbes, Mrs. E. M. Barker, Mrs. Cooke, Mrs. B. F. McKeage, Mrs. Hornberger, Mrs. W. T. Dortch, Mrs. Bailey, Mrs. John P. House, Mrs. Jane Bibb, Mrs. Henry Atkins, Mrs. Samuel Johnson, Mrs. Conroy, Mrs. Joshua A. Brown, Mrs. M. Breadus, Mrs. Thomas Mumford, Mrs. T. W. King, Mrs. B. F. Coulter, Mrs. John Bailey, Mrs. Mylne, Mrs. J. E. Rice, Mrs. Wm. Beaumont, Mrs. G. Brown, Mrs. G. S. Smith, Mrs. Carter, Mrs. Hodgson.

The object of this charitable association is to erect an asylum near Clarksville for the parental guardianship of those unfortunate orphans of the South made hopelessly destitute by the casualties of our late unhappy civil strife.

We insert, with pleasure, the following circular from the ladies of Nashville, Tennessee, inaugurating another and noble charity:

Nashville, *April* 18, 1866.

Ladies,—You will please permit me to call your attention to the organization and object of the Benevolent Society of Tennessee. There are many Confederate soldiers who have lost their limbs during the late war, whose unfortunate condition appeals to the benevolent sentiment of our State, and it only needs that this sentiment may be united in its effort to meet the demand made upon it. We therefore invite your assistance by organizing a Branch Society. It is deemed advisable that the different religious denominations shall be represented in your Board of Managers, and that your officers be a Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer. It is desired that you engage and have in regular rehearsal all the amateur talent within your reach, for a Concert and Tableaux. Mr. Green Morrom will travel through the State, and superintend these entertainments. Your Society will be expected to co-operate with and give him all the assistance he may require. The object of this noble work has been approved by Major-General Thomas. We are sure the appeal we make to the Christian benevolence of Tennessee will be cordially responded to. You will report to the State Society at your earliest convenience. Mrs. Felicia G. Porter, *Pres't*,
33 Cedar Street.
Mrs. Thomas L. Marshall, *Secretary*.

It has been proposed in Mississippi, and we hope will be adopted throughout the South, to organize *Historical Societies* to preserve the memorials of the recent sanguinary struggle. The Governor of the State writes as follows upon the subject:

Executive Office,
Jackson, Miss., *Feb.* 9, 1866.

Col. J. L. Power, Supt. of Army Records:

Sir,—Your suggestion recommending Historical Societies in each county in the State must meet the cordial approbation of the people.

The actors in the great tragedy of the Revolution are fast passing away, and much valuable information must be lost by delay. One side of the story has been written—truth has been hushed by the dumb eloquence of num-

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bers, and in the flush of success, the world's verdict is rendered against the South and her people. Through the labors of these Societies, durable records in the form of maps, charts and diagrams of the movements and counter movements of both armies—minute details of battles, skirmishes, robberies, conflagrations and vandalism—together with the heroic part acted by our brave people, will be transmitted to posterity, to whom we appeal for the vindication of the truth of history and the rectitude of our cause.

Very respectfully, your ob't servant,
BENJ. G. HUMPHREYS, *Gov. of Mississippi.*

The following beautiful lines are the production of Wm. Gilmore Simms. They give expression to the sadness which reigns over the Southern heart in view of all that our people have suffered and all that we have lost. We believe, however, that there is a brighter day in reserve for the South, and with that hope cheer ourselves and others. A kindlier and gentler rule will be substituted for the harsh one which a radical and violent policy dictates. When this shall happen, peace and prosperity may again smile upon our land:

THE SOUTH.

Well may we sing her beauties,
This pleasant land of ours,
Her sunny smiles, her golden fruits,
And all her world of flowers;
The young birds of her forest groves,
The blue folds of her sky,
And all those airs of gentleness
That never seem to fly;
They wind about our forms at noon,
They woo us in the shade,
When panting, from the summer's heats,
We seek the welcome glade;
They win us with a song of love,
They cheer us with a dream
That glide our passing thoughts of life
As sunlight does the stream;
And well would they persuade us now,
In moments all too dear,
That, though our hearts may sinful be,
We have our Eden here.

Ah, well has lavish Nature,
From out her boundless store,
Spread wealth of loveliness around,
On river, rock and shore;
No sweeter streams than ours may be—
And what of sunny France?
She boasts no fairer fields than ours
Within her matron glance;
Our skies look down in tenderness
From out their realms of blue,
The fairest of Italian climes
May claim no softer hue;
And, let them sing of fruits of Spain,
And let them boast the flowers,
The Moors' own culture—they can claim
No dearer sweets than ours.
Perchance the dark-haired maiden
Is a glory in your eye,
But the maidens of the South will rule
When all the rest are nigh.

And none may say it is not true,
The burden of my lay,
'Tis written in the sight of all
In flower and fruit and ray;
Look on the scene around us now,
And say if song amiss,
The song that pictures to your eye
A spot so fair as this;
Gay springs the merry mocking bird
Around the cottage pale,
And, scarcely taught by hunter's aim,
The rabbit down the vale.
Each boon of kindly Nature,
Her buds, her blooms, her flowers,
And, more than all, the maidens fair,
That fill this land of ours,
Are still in rich perfection
As our fathers found them first;
But our sons are gentle now no more,
And all the land is cursed.

Wild thoughts are in our bosoms,
And a savage discontent;
We love no more the life we led,
The music, nor the scent;
The merry dance delights us not,
As in that better time,
When oft in happy bands we met,
With spirits like our clime.
And all the social loveliness
And all the smile is gone,
That linked the spirits of our youth,
And made our people one.
They smile no more together,
As in that early day,
Our maidens sigh in loneliness
Who once were always gay;
And though our skies are bright,
And our sun looks down as then,
Ah, me! the thought is sad I feel,
We shall never smile again.

The South is rapidly re-establishing her manufactures, and she has gained great experience during four years of war, when all of her capacities in this respect were taxed to the uttermost. The *Augusta Chronicle* says:

One of the most extensive manufacturing establishments ever projected in the South is now under construction on the South Carolina Railroad, nine miles from Augusta. This enterprise is known as the Kalmia Mills, and will consist, when completed, of a cotton factory, one paper mill for the manufacture of writing paper, and one for the manufacture of news and book paper. The Charleston *News*, alluding to this Company, states that the machinery is all imported, having been ordered by the President of the Company, while in Europe last year, and consists, in the cotton factory of ten thousand self-acting mule-spindles for filling, and five hundred looms. The Company will also introduce approved bleaching machinery adapted to the finer grades of long cloth, print goods and shirting, of which their manufacture will chiefly consist. Their paper machinery will comprise, in the letter-mill, a forty-two inch machine; and in the news mill, an eighty-four inch Fourdrinier machine. The capital of the Company is half a million of dollars, with the privilege charter of increasing it to two millions.

It is the intention of the Company to employ white operatives, and they will chiefly be selected from the vicinity. It will afford employment for several hundred hands, in the different departments; and though owned and controlled chiefly by the capital of a neighboring city, it will confer material advantage upon the industrial classes of our city and vicinity.

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The following statement shows the amount paid by the several States named, during the last quarter of the year ending December 31st, 1865, upon their quotas of the direct tax levied by act of Congress August 5th, 1861.

Tennessee	$50,000
North Carolina	35,986
Louisiana	20,000
Total	$105,986

The following-named States are the only ones who have not yet paid something towards the liquidation of their direct tax accounts with the General Government:

	Quota.
Georgia	$584,867 33
Alabama	529,318 33
Mississippi	413,064 66
Texas	354,106 66
Total	$1,881,871 98

Since the close of the war, the States named below have paid over to the Government on account the following sums:

	Paid in.	Quota.
South Carolina	$334,756 17	$268,570 66
Virginia	171,490 27	937,550 66
Florida	43,500 81	77,523 66
Arkansas	33,165 52	261,986 00
Louisiana	220,000 00	385,886 00
Tennessee	108,272 00	669,498 00
North Carolina	35,986 00	576,194 42
Total	$852,100 57	$3,373,100 40
Add amounts due by Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas		1,881,871 98
Total amount due the Gov'ment		$5,154,961 38

The New Orleans *Picayune* appeals with much force to Congress for aid in deepening the channels at the *mouth of the Mississippi*, and says that less than one hundred thousand dollars expended each year would effect the purpose entirely. It adds that—

All the schemes which rest upon the theory that the bar of the Mississippi is formed by the deposits of sediment, and may be swept away by an increase of the velocity of the current, have failed and will always fail. These bars are composed of tough, tenacious blue clay, and are thrown up by some mysterious subterranean or submarine influence, and can only be got rid of by some process of digging, blasting, plowing or dredging, and this work must be kept up as long as there are bars.

General Early has written a letter to friends, in which he gives a most discouraging view of the chances of American colonists in Mexico. He advises no one to take wife and children without making previous arrangements in the country, and adds:

It is exceedingly difficult for those who have succeeded in getting lands to procure labor to put them in a state of cultivation, as the native population cannot be relied on for that purpose. All idea of procuring assistance from the Government must be abandoned by those who desire to emigrate to the country. On the railroad which is being constructed from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico, practical and experienced engineers, contractors and mechanics may find employment, but otherwise very few positions are open to those who do not wish to cultivate the soil. Physicians who can speak the language, can get permission to practice their professions, but beyond this there is no opening whatever for any of the learned profession.

We refer in another place to the proposed compromise offered by the bondholders for the acceptance of the stockholders of the *New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad*. Subsequently we have seen and conversed with General Beauregard, President of the Road, who is on his way to Europe to negotiate with the bondholders, and who placed in our hands the following preamble and resolutions which were lately adopted:

Whereas, Certain parties holding an inconsiderable amount of the first mortgage bonds of the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad Company, inspired by motives which we are forced to consider as more sinister than generous or patriotic, have recently instituted a suit in the United States Circuit Court for this District, against this Company, and applied for the appointment of a receiver to take charge of and manage the property, and pray also for an order of the Court to sell that portion of the Road embraced in the State of Louisiana, with all its rights, appurtenances and franchises; and

Whereas, The same parties, in prosecution of their designs, have recently submitted to the bondholders, shareholders and general creditors of the Company, a plan of reorganization under a new name and a totally new administration, which, however specious and attractive in appearance, would, in our judgment, if adopted, be highly prejudicial to the best interests of all except its authors and prove destructive to the value and usefulness of this important public work; and

Whereas, Under the circumstances, we deem it our duty to the bondholders, shareholders and other creditors of the Road to present to them a candid and well-considered statement of our views on both of the movements or propositions above referred to; therefore be it

1. *Resolved*, unanimously, That the default in the payment of the interest coupons of the first mortgage bonds, which has unfortunately occurred in the last five years, and the delay in the liquidation of other claims against this Company, embraced under the schedule of its floating debt, was occasioned by no mismanagement of the affairs of this Company or indifference to its plighted faith; but were the results of a great national calamity which we were powerless to avert, and the disastrous effects of which extended to every State, corporation, association and individual in the Southern States, causing a general destruction of property, resources and business, and entailing upon States, as well as the most solvent and prudently managed corporations, failure in the performance of engagements contracted anterior to the war, the fulfillment of which would have been certain and easy had our country been blessed with peace.

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2. *Resolved*, That in the present financial condition of this Company, and after a careful examination of its affairs, we see no reason to doubt its ability to discharge every dollar of its indebtedness, if its creditors will extend to us a reasonable share of confidence and indulgence. From a condition of general wreck and paralysis in June, 1865, at which time it was returned by the military authorities to its legitimate custodians, the road has, with large outlay certainly, but yet with great energy, skill and economy been restored by the late Board to an efficiency equal to all the demands of through and local traffic. Its receipts have steadily increased from $26,000 per month in July, 1865, to $150,000 per month at the close of the year. Its earnings for the four past months of the current year, show an aggregate of over $500,000, or $125,000 per month, with fair prospects of a remunerative business, even for the approaching summer months.

3. *Resolved*, That this Board hereby pledge themselves to the Bondholders and general creditors of the Road to use the most rigid economy in the administration of its affairs, to promote its efficiency and increase its income by every legitimate means and to apply scrupulously all its net earnings to the payment of its outstanding obligations, at the earliest practicable day.

4. *Resolved*, That we approve fully of the plan suggested in the report of the Finance Committee to make a weekly deposit of funds in bank, to be set aside for the punctual payment of the coupons falling due 1st January, 1867; and that we are prepared to sanction any arrangement entered into by the Finance Committee and the Bondholders for the future payment of the overdue coupons, which they may mutually agree upon. R. S. CHARLES, *Sec.*

Since the appearance of the last number of the REVIEW, the editor has visited CINCINNATI, as one of a Committee from Nashville to call the attention of the people to the importance of a *direct railroad communication between the two cities*. The account of this trip and of all the interesting circumstances connected with it must be deferred to our next issue. We can only now present the main features of the scheme as prepared for the *Nashville Banner*, reserving the statistics, maps, &c., for the full report;

Nashville desires the most direct route of railway communication with the East; and Cincinnati for many years has felt the need of a direct Southern line of travel to the Gulf. There is no route which presents so many advantages to the Cincinnati people, as the route through Nashville. A road has already been constructed from Cincinnati to Danville, Ky., via Lexington. At Lexington the Covington and Lexington road connects with the Maysville and Lexington which runs to Danville, in a direction, which, if continued on the map, would lead directly to New Orleans, via Nashville. It is the cheapest Southern route for Cincinnati, from the fact that there are but 140 miles to be constructed from Danville to Nashville, through a comparatively level country, and undoubtedly the richest as well as most productive section in America. It would be the best paying route, from the fact, that Nashville, with her numerous railway connections, south, east and west, would bring to it a vast amount of travel and freight it would not receive from any other contemplated route. The road from Nashville directly south to Decatur, Ala., and the Tennessee, is now in complete running order, and one of the best paying roads that centres at Nashville.

The Pensacola road—chartered as "the Alabama Central Railroad"—starts at Decatur, Ala., and terminates at Montgomery, Ala., where it intersects with the road thence to Pensacola, which is finished and in use. The length of the road (very nearly an air line, and very nearly due south and north) is one hundred and eighty miles, of which about one hundred miles is graded, and that portion lying between the Lime Kiln (where it crosses the Tennessee and Alabama River Railroad) and the Cahawba river, some fifteen or twenty miles is finished and is in use. Besides the capital stock of the Company, the State of Alabama made a free donation or bonus of $600,000, the interest on which is to be paid until the road is completed, when the principal is to be paid over to the road. Besides this, the United States granted to the State of Alabama upwards of 400,000 acres of land lying along the road in alternate sections, with the privilege of running back six miles on each side of it. Mr. Frank Gilmer, of Montgomery, is the President of the road.

The Mobile and Great Northern Railroad intersects the Alabama and Florida Road at Pollard, from which point to Pensacola is about forty miles, and to Mobile fifty or sixty miles. The Tennessee and Alabama Railroad (which is crossed by the Alabama Central at Lime Kiln) reaches from Selma to Blue Mountain or Jacksonville. By the last road, Selma, Meridian, Jackson, Miss., and Vicksburg are reached. At the latter place it meets the road being made to Shreveport, Louisiana, a portion of which (how much we do not know) is now finished to Monroe, Louisiana.

The Northeastern and Southwestern Railroad from Meridian via Tuscaloosa intersects with the Central Alabama road at Elyton, Ala. The half of this Northeastern and Southwestern road is already graded. This Northeastern and Southwestern road to Meridian and thence to Jackson makes the shortest projected line from Nashville to New Orleans—taking the New Orleans and Jackson road at Jackson.

We lay these facts before our Cincinnati friends, and earnestly ask their in-

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vestigation of this route. A few moments' study of the railroad maps will satisfy them that Nashville is unquestionably in their directest and shortest route to the South, to say nothing of the fact that Nashville can make a heavier subscription to the road than can be obtained elsewhere in the route of any other community, outside of Cincinnati.

We acknowledge our indebtedness to Charles C. Whittlesey, of St. Louis, for a copy of his able and searching argument upon the rights of *practising lawyers in the Supreme Court of the United States*, and will endeavor in our next to make some extracts for the benefit of our readers.

Mr. Lysander Spooner, of Boston, who sends us his pamphlet upon *Banking*, will also receive our thanks and promises of future attention.

FOR SALE.—A very fine estate situated on the Jackson Railroad, in the parish of St. Helena, 84 miles from New Orleans, between Camp Moore Station and Osyka. It consists of 598 acres, more or less, contained between parallel lines, running to Tangipahoa river which is its front boundary. Another beautiful and picturesque stream, called Terry's Creek, with water as clear as crystal, runs through the land close by the house, and affords an opportunity for delightful baths. The fishing is excellent in both streams, and in other water courses in their immediate vicinity. Game is superabundant, and good society close at hand. The land is covered with a magnificent forest of magnolias, oaks, beech trees, poplars, hollies, etc. Eighty acres are ready for cultivation, and would easily produce a bale of cotton to the acre. There are few pines on the place, but as it is situated in the midst of pine bearing and unfertile lands, it is as healthy a spot as can be found anywhere. It is like an Arabian oasis in the desert.

This is indeed a remarkable place, which combines unlimited water power, fertility of soil and magnificence of timber, in the immediate vicinity of such a market as New Orleans, which can be reached in four hours.

The House and other establishments are elegant, and situated in the midst of a superb English park. In one word, there are few places in Louisiana which might be made more productive and more beautiful. The place is two hundred feet above the level of New Orleans, the water is of the purest, and there are no mosquitoes. The nights are delightfully cool.

No one having cash in hand and wishing to cultivate cotton, to establish saw mills, or wood yards, or erect factories, and at the same time enjoy the various delights of a princely residence in a locality as free from disease as any other on the face of the earth, will resist the temptation of buying, on examining the resources of this uncommon piece of property.

Competent judges have declared that there is on it a sufficient quantity of the finest white oaks to make millions of staves. The holly, poplar and beech are abundant, and would find a ready market in New Orleans, being in great demand by cabinet makers. Address,

DE BOW'S REVIEW, Nashville, Tenn.

DEBOW'S REVIEW ADVERTISING INDEX.

All advertisements in the REVIEW will be regularly noted in this index. Our terms are the same as before the war, and considering the large circulation of the REVIEW in every part of the Union, and especially in the Southern States, its limits should be occupied. Merchants and manufacturers of the South, and those having lands for sale, would do well to imitate in advertising the enterprise of Northern cities. Our pages are open to all, and it is from this source only that the REVIEW can be made remunerative.

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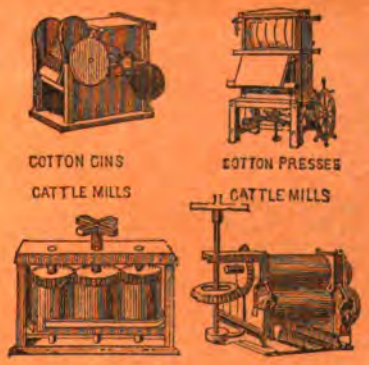

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J. D. B. DEBOW, Editor and Proprietor, Nashville, Tenn.

All matters relating to the **Editorial** will be addressed to **Nashville,** where the accounts of Subscribers in States **South of Maryland, Ohio and Missouri,** will be kept, and where **subscriptions for those States will be received.**

All other accounts, including the **Northern & Western States, California and Foreign Countries,** will be in charge of **B. F. DE BOW,** Assistant Editor, 40 Broadway, New York.

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